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Modern Philology

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CHAUCER'S DARES

I. FRIGII DARETIS YLIAS

When in the *House of Fame* Chaucer turns his eyes from the "feminyne creature" who capriciously awards to men their meed of praise or blame, he sees on either side of her dais a series of metal pillars on which stand the great writers of the past who, by their writings, have helped to perpetuate fame. First among pagan writers stands the "Tholosan that highte Stace,"

> And by him stood, withouten lees,
> Ful wonder hye on a pileer
> Of yren, he, the gret Omeer;
> And with him Dares and Tytus [i.e., Dictys]
> Before, and eek he, Lollius,
> And Guido eek de Columpnis,
> And English Gaufride eek, ywis;
> And ech of these, as have I joye,
> Was besy for to bere up Troye.
>
> [*Fame*, 1464–72.]

Of these "bearers-up of Troy" it is the second in the list, Dares, who concerns us at present. Dares, mentioned by Homer (*Iliad* v. 9) as a priest of Hephaestus, is the reputed author of an "eyewitness" history of the Trojan War written in Greek. An utterly uninspired work which bears the title *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia* purports to be a Latin translation of this Greek work made by Cornelius Nepos.[1] To this twice-spurious history Chaucer is apparently

[1] The most available text is the Teubner edition, edited by F. Meister, Leipzig, 1873.

alluding in the lines just quoted; but nothing in the *House of Fame* indicates that Chaucer's knowledge of the work was any more intimate than was his knowledge of Homer.[1]

In the *Book of the Duchess* there is another mention of Dares:

> And therfor was he [Achilles] slayn also
> In a temple, for bothe two
> Were slayn, he and Antilegius,
> And so seyth Dares Frigius,
> For love of Polixena.
> [1067–71.]

The death of Achilles and Antilochus is, indeed, narrated in chap. 34 of Dares; but the episode is given at much greater length by Benoit (21838–22334),[2] and by Guido (sig. *l* 3, verso, col. 2);[3] hence we can have no assurance that Chaucer actually read it in Dares.

Near the beginning of *Troilus* (I, 146), Dares is mentioned with Homer and Dictys as a writer of "Troyane gestes," where the curious may read "how this toun com to destruccioun"; but in this vague reference Chaucer may merely be echoing the frequent citation of these names by Benoit and Guido.[4]

Finally, at the very end of *Troilus*, we find the following stanza:

> And if I hadde ytaken for to wryte
> The armes of this ilke worthy man,
> Than wolde I of his batailles endyte.
> But for that I to wryte first bigan
> Of his love, I have seyd as that I can.
> His worthy dedes, whoso list hem here,
> Reed Dares, he can telle hem alle yfere.
> [V, 1765–71.]

Of this passage Professor Lounsbury says:

> In the brief and meager narrative of that writer [Dares] the inquirer would find little to reward his search. He would learn, indeed, that Troilus was a great leader; that on several occasions he put the Greeks to flight,

[1] Ll. 1475–80 of the *House of Fame* are to be explained as an echo of Benoit, 45–70, 110–16, rather than of the preface of Dares, which says nothing of Homer's partiality for the Greek side.

[2] For Benoit I have used the edition of L. Constans, Paris, 1904–9.

[3] For Guido I have used the Strasbourg edition of 1489.

[4] See Karl Young, *Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer Society, 1908, pp. 129, 130. To the third chapter of Professor Young's book I am indebted for several of the references cited in this article.

drove back the myrmidons, wounded Diomede, Agamemnon, and even Achilles, and was at last only slain when taken at great disadvantage. But these details occupy hardly any more space in the history of Dares than they do in the account just given. It was in Guido da Colonna's work that Chaucer found the martial deeds of Troilus recounted in full. . . . . While he was speaking of Dares, he was thinking of the 'Trojan History' of the Sicilian physician which professes to have been itself derived from the work of the Phrygian soldier.[1]

More recent opinion would substitute the name of Benoit for that of Guido, but would otherwise agree with Professor Lounsbury. Professor Karl Young states the generally accepted opinion when he says: "There is no proof that Chaucer reverted for materials to the *De Excidio Trojae Historia* of Dares Phrygius."[2]

But the brief and meager narrative of the *De Excidio* was not the only work accessible to the mediaeval reader which went under the name of Dares Phrygius. During the ninth decade of the twelfth century an Englishman, known from his birthplace as Joseph of Exeter, in Latin, Josephus Iscanus or Josephus Exoniensis, produced a paraphrase, or better an elaboration, of the prose Dares in Latin hexameters of no slight degree of merit, to which modern editors have given the title *De Bello Trojano.* The poem, which is neither brief nor meager, is in six books, and reaches the not inconsiderable total of 3,645 lines.[3]

Of Joseph's poem three manuscripts are known to exist: (1) Westminster Abbey, Chapter Library, No. 18; (2) Bodleian, Digby 157; (3) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 15015.[4] Of these manuscripts I

[1] *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 315. Professor Lounsbury holds, however, that the reference in *Legend of Good Women*, 1457, to the "Argonauticon" is due to chap. i of Dares. This seems more than doubtful. On the whole matter of Chaucer and Dares see Bech, *Anglia*, V, 325, 326.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 2.

[3] The most available modern edition of the poem is in Valpy's reissue of the Delphin Classics, *Scriptores Latini in Usum Delphini*, London, 1825, where it is included in one volume with Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius, or the original Delphin edition of 1702 (Amsterdam). The first book, edited from the Paris MS, is printed by J. J. Jusserand in his thesis *De Josepho Exoniensi vel Iscano*, Paris, 1877. For a list of earlier editions see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *s.v.* "Joseph of Exeter." In the *editio princeps* of 1558 (Basle) it bears the title "Daretis Phrygii . . . . de Bello Trojano . . . . libri sex a Cornelio Nepote in Latinum conversi." It continued to pass under the name of Cornelius Nepos until 1620, when Samuel Dresemius restored it to its rightful author. None of the editions, except Jusserand's, is at all satisfactory.

[4] According to Jusserand, *op. cit.*, p. 91, the Paris MS is defective: "Deficiunt carminis sextus liber majorque pars quinti libri." In modern accounts of Joseph, including that of Jusserand, there is said to be a fourth manuscript of the work in the library

have personally examined the first two. They are beautifully written in thirteenth-century hands. Neither has a title; but the colophon of the Westminster MS reads "Frigii daretis yliados liber sextus explicit," and that of the Bodleian MS, "Explicit liber Frigii Daretis." I was prevented by the outbreak of the European war from examining, as I had intended to do, the manuscript at Paris. According to M. Jusserand, it also is in a thirteenth-century hand,[1] and bears the title "Frigii daretis yliados liber primus incipit."[2]

It is to be particularly noted that in none of the three extant known manuscripts, all of which antedate Chaucer's lifetime, is there anything to denote the authorship of Joseph of Exeter. Had any one of these three manuscripts fallen into Chaucer's hands, he would have been fully justified in referring to it as "Dares Frigius." A careful reading, to be sure, would have shown him that in the opening lines of the poem the author addresses an archbishop of Canterbury, third in succession from St. Thomas, who is no other than Archbishop Baldwin, a fellow-townsman of Joseph, who was archbishop from 1185 till his death in 1190.[3] At the end of Book III he might have read:

> Sic Britonum ridenda fides, et credulus error
> Arturum expectat, expectabitque perenne.

of Magdalen College, Oxford. This is an error. MS 50 of the Magdalen College Library, specifically cited in *DNB*, contains a copy of the *prose* Dares. In regard to this non-existent Magdalen MS, Mr. H. A. Wilson, librarian of Magdalen College, very kindly wrote me, under date of October 17, 1914, as follows: "The evidence that we *had* such a MS is, I think, entirely dependent on Leland, who says that he saw in our library 'libellum carmine scriptum, cum hoc titulo, Dares Phrygius de Bello Trojano.' He describes the MS as 'imperfectum, et tantum non obliteratum.' It was therefore probably a fragment only, and in such condition as might well have led to its being thrown aside when our MSS were being put in order at a later time. He goes on to say that he afterwards found elsewhere some other MSS of the same work, and was able to identify it as the poem, based on Dares Phrygius, of Joseph of Exeter. What he says about the work is printed *in extenso* by Tanner, who seems to add nothing of his own.

"Bale's *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, edited by Dr. R. L. Poole, contains the statement that 'Josephus Deuonius' (i.e., Joseph of Exeter) 'carmina scripsit in Daretem Phrygium de bello Trojano' (p. 277). Bale gives as the sources of his knowledge 'Ex Collegio Magdalenae' and 'ex Officina Toye.' Dr. Poole, in his note, gives a reference to our MS 50, and to Coxe's Catalogue. But the work contained in MS 50 (bound up with Solinus) is *not* in verse; nor does its *title* contain the name of Dares Phrygius; it is also in good condition; and it is quite clear that it cannot be the MS which Leland saw. It is the Latin *prose* version or abridgement of Dares Phrygius. . . . . I am afraid that there is no doubt that the fragment seen by Leland has disappeared."

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 91. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 101. [3] See *DNB*, *s.v.* "Baldwin."

At the end of Book V is a passage, omitted in the printed editions, which refers to "Tertius Henricus noster,"[1] whom M. Jusserand clearly identifies as the eldest son of Henry II, crowned in advance at his father's wish in 1170, who died in 1183, while Henry II was still alive. A careful reader, then, might have inferred that the bulk of the poem was composed between 1170 and 1183, but that its opening address to Archbishop Baldwin was written after 1185.[2] But even this careful reader, which Chaucer very likely was not, would, in default of any other title, refer to the work as "Dares Frigius."

Joseph's poem is, indeed, a poetical elaboration of the prose Dares, the general scheme of which it follows. Book I tells of Jason and the Golden Fleece, and of the first destruction of Troy under King Laomedon. Book II narrates Priam's attempt to recover the captive Hesione, and, in great detail, the judgment of Paris. Book III contains the rape of Helen. Book IV draws the portraits of individual Trojans and Greeks, and recounts the hostile preparations of the latter. Book V contains the battles before Troy up to the death of Hector. Book VI contains the later battles, the deaths of Troilus and Achilles, the destruction of the city, and the return of the Greeks. As in the prose Dares, Troilus is, next to Hector, the leading figure among the Trojan warriors; but there is no suggestion of his love for Briseis. Of Briseis we are given a portrait in seven lines (IV, 156–62); but she is not elsewhere mentioned. What sources, other than the prose Dares, Joseph used, has not been satisfactorily determined. There is no reason to think that he used Benoit de Ste. Maure.[3] His style, which, despite a much too ingenious rhetoric, is not without elements of true poetry, is modeled on Statius and Claudian, with not infrequent echoes of Virgil and Ovid.

That Chaucer knew and used this "Frigii Daretis *Ylias*," a fact not hitherto suspected, I shall show in the following pages. As Professor Karl Young has said, there is no proof that Chaucer ever drew upon the prose Dares. In view of these facts, it seems a not

[1] Quoted by M. Jusserand, p. 96.

[2] On Joseph of Exeter and his works, and for the grounds on which the poem on the Trojan War is attributed to him, see the work of Jusserand already cited, and A. Sarradin, *De Josepho Iscano*, Versailles, 1878, the latter of no great value.

[3] According to Constans, *op. cit.*, VI, 190, the *Roman de Troie* was composed between the years 1155 and 1160.

unreasonable inference that, when Chaucer bids the reader turn to "Dares" for an account of Troilus' "worthy dedes,"[1] the book he has in mind is the *Iliad* of Josephus Iscanus. There, indeed, "the armes of this ilke worthy man" are told "alle yfere" with much heroic rhetoric.[2] There is at least implied in Chaucer's stanza the idea that "Dares" confines himself to the battles of Troilus to the neglect of his love. This is true of Joseph's poem; Benoit and Guido give us both.

If Chaucer already knew Joseph of Exeter's poem at the time when he wrote the *Book of the Duchess*, he could have found there, in lines 402–61 of Book VI, an account of the death of Achilles and of Antilochus. The reference in the *House of Fame* and that in Book I of *Troilus* are too vague to yield any conclusions; but there is no reason why here also he may not have had the Exonian "Dares" in mind.

II. CHAUCER'S TROJAN PORTRAITS

In the fifth book of *Troilus* Chaucer interrupts his account of Diomede and his wooing of the false Criseyde to introduce, somewhat irrelevantly, six stanzas which draw for us portraits of Diomede, of Criseyde, and of Troilus.

In the earlier books, to be sure, we find descriptions, somewhat less formal in character, of Troilus and of Criseyde. We are told of Criseyde's angelic beauty (I, 102, 171–75), of her widow's dress (I, 109, 170), of her "ful assured loking and manere" (I, 182), and at greater length we read:

> She nas not with the leste of hir stature,
> But alle hir limes so wel answeringe
> Weren to womanhode, that creature
> Was never lasse mannish in seminge.
> And eek the pure wyse of here meninge
> Shewede wel, that men might in hir gesse
> Honour, estat, and wommanly noblesse.
> [I, 281–87.][3]

[1] *Troilus*, V, 1770. As we shall see, Chaucer makes use of Joseph's poem in the fifth book of *Troilus*.

[2] E.g., V, 415–22; VI, 185–340.

[3] This corresponds to *Filostrato*, I, 27:

> Ell' era grande, ed alla sua grandezza
> Rispondean bene i membri tutti quanti;
> Il viso aveva adorno di bellezza
> Celestiale, e nelli suoi sembianti
> Ivi mostrava una donnesca altezza.

She is fairer than Helen or Polyxena (I, 454, 455); Pandarus tells of her gracious and generous heart (I, 883–89); the beauty of her person is described (III, 1247–51); we hear of her "ounded heer, that sonnish was of hewe," and of her "fingres longe and smale" (IV, 736, 737); her face was "lyk of Paradys the image" (IV, 864).[1]

Troilus also is described. His manner was so goodly "that ech him lovede that loked on his face" (I, 1078); his virtues are enumerated (I, 1079–85); Pandarus describes him to Criseyde as—

> The wyse worthy Ector the secounde,
> In whom that every vertu list abounde,
> As alle trouthe and alle gentillesse,
> Wysdom, honour, fredom, and worthinesse.
> [II, 158–61.]

We see him ride by on his return from battle (II, 624–51); and we are told that his happy love so increased his knightly virtues that he was "save Ector, most ydrad of any wight" (III, 1772–78).

Of a more formal character are the portraits in Book V. Of these portraits, save that of Diomede, there is no trace in *Filostrato;* and critics have hitherto been at a loss to account for them. Of the portrait of Criseyde, Skeat says: "This description seems to be mainly Chaucer's own."[2] Hamilton[3] and Young[4] cite passages from Benoit and Guido, which, however, leave the most salient features unaccounted for. We must now consider these portraits in detail.

The first in order is that of Diomede:

> This Diomede, as bokes us declare,
> Was in his nedes prest and corageous;
> With sterne voys and mighty limes square,
> Hardy, testif, strong, and chevalrous,
> Of dedes lyk his fader Tideus.
> And som men seyn he was of tunge large,
> And heir he was of Calidoine and Arge.
> [V, 799–805.]

[1] Cf. *Filostrato*, IV, 100: "la sua faccia, fatta in paradiso."

[2] Oxford Chaucer, II, 498.

[3] G. L. Hamilton, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*, New York, 1903, pp. 75, 76, 79, 81, 82, 115–18.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 108–13, 117, 118, 133.

When one turns first of all to the *Filostrato*, one finds Diomede described thus:

> Egli era grande e bel della persona,
> Giovane fresco e piacevole assai,
> E *forte e fier* siccome si ragiona,
> *E parlante quant' altro Greco mai*
> E ad amor la natura aveva prona.
> [VI, 33.][1]

Boccaccio's "forte e fier" corresponds in a general way to Chaucer's "Hardy, testif"; and "parlante quant' alto Greco mai" is clearly the source of the phrase "of tunge large." For the last line of Chaucer's stanza one must turn to another passage in *Filostrato:*

> Se'l padre mio Tideo fosse vissuto,
> Com' el fu morto a Tebe combattendo;
> *Di Calidonia e d'Argo saria suto*
> *Re,* siccom' io ancora essere intendo.
> [VI, 24.]

It will be noticed that the two specific statements in Chaucer's description which are directly due to Boccaccio are in the last two lines, and are introduced by the phrase, "And som men seyn." The "som men," therefore, reduce themselves to Boccaccio.

What, then, are the "bokes" on the strength of whose "declaration" are based the remaining elements of the portrait? As the fount and source of such a Trojan portrait one will consult first the prose Dares, whose descriptions of the Greek and Trojan personages were later elaborated by Benoit and Guido.[2] The prose Dares says of Diomede:

> Diomedem *fortem, quadratum,* corpore honesto, vultu austero, in bello acerrimum, clamosum, cerebro calido, *inpatientem, audacem.* [Cap. 13.]

In Benoit this is expanded into the following lines:

> Forz refu mout Diomedès,
> Gros e *quarrez* e granz adès;
> La chiere aveit mout felenesse:

[1] The Paris edition of 1789 reads:

> Era Diomede bello di persona,
> Giovine, grande, piacevole assai,
> E forte e fiero (come Omer ragiona).
> [VIII, 33.]

[2] For the remoter history of these portraits see J. Furst, "Die Personalbeschreibungen im Diktysberichte," *Philologus*, LXI (1902), 374–440.

Cist fist mainte fausse pramesse.
Mout fu *hardiz*, mout fu *noisos*,
E mout fu d' armes engeignos;
Mout fu estouz e sorparlez,
E mout par fu sis cors dotez.
A grant peine poëit trover
Qui contre lui vousist ester:
Rien nel poëit en pais tenir,
Trop par esteit maus a servir;
Mais por amor traist mainte feiz
Maintes peines e mainz torneiz.
[5211–24.]

In Guido we find:

Diomedes fuit multa proceritate distensus, amplo pectore, robustis scapulis, aspectu ferox, in promissis fallax, in armis strennuus, victorie cupidus, timendus a multis, cum multum esset virtuosus, seruientium sibi nimis impatiens cum molestus seruientibus nimis esset, libidinosus quidem multum & qui permultas traxit angustias ob feruorem amoris. [Sig. *e* 2, recto, col. 1.]

These portraits, as drawn by Dares, Benoit, and Guido, agree in a general way with Chaucer's account of the square-set warrior, "hardy, testif, strong, and chevalrous." None of them, however, mentions his stern voice, nor compares his deeds with those of his father Tydeus. For these details we must turn to Chaucer's "Dares," Joseph of Exeter. Here we read:

DIOMEDES: *Voce ferox*, animo preceps, feruente cerebro,
Audentique ira, *ualidos quadratur in artus*
Titides, plenisque *meretur tidea factis;*
Sic animo, sic ore fero, sic fulminat armis.
[IV, 124–27.][1]

Here we have the unmistakable source of the "sterne voys" and of the comparison with Tydeus; while Joseph's "ualidos quadratur in artus" is much closer to Chaucer's "mighty limes square" than is the "quadratum" of Dares or the "quarrez" of Benoit.[2] Perhaps, also, "animo preceps" furnished the suggestion for "in his nedes prest,"

[1] I quote from the Westminster MS. In 125 Digby reads *Ardentique*. The lines may be translated thus: "Fierce of voice, headlong in spirit, in fiery brain, and in daring wrath, stands squared in mighty limbs Tydides, and in full deeds is worthy of Tydeus; like him in spirit, like him in fierce speech, like him he thunders in arms."

[2] This trait is not reproduced by Guido.

and "feruente cerebro"[1] for "testif." For the word "chevalrous" Joseph has no equivalent; the source is apparently to be found in the last two lines of the portrait by Benoit, if any source be needed for so obvious an epithet.

Chaucer's portrait of Diomede is, then, like so many other passages in his poetry, a composite of several sources. He drew first on the "bokes" of Joseph of Exeter and Benoit de Ste. Maure, and supplemented their statements from Boccaccio, marking his transition to the Italian source by the phrase, "And som men seyn."[2]

Quite similar are the conclusions to which we are led by an examination of Criseyde's portrait. Chaucer says of his heroine:

> Criseyde mene was of hir stature,
> Therto of shap, of face, and eek of chere,
> Ther mighte been no fairer creature.
> And ofte tyme this was hir manere,
> To gon ytressed with hir heres clere
> Doun by hir coler at hir bak bihinde,
> Which with a threde of gold she wolde binde.
>
> And, save hir browes joyneden yfere,
> Ther nas no lak, in ought I can espyen;
> But for to speken of hir eyen clere,
> Lo, trewely, they writen that hir syen,
> That Paradys stood formed in hir yen.
> And with hir riche beautee evermore
> Strof love in hir, ay which of hem was more.
>
> She sobre was, eek simple, and wys withal,
> The beste ynorisshed eek that mighte be,
> And goodly of hir speche in general,
> Charitable, estatliche, lusty, and free;
> Ne nevermo ne lakkede hir pitee;
> Tendre herted, slydinge of corage;
> But trewely, I can not telle hir age.
>
> [V, 806–26.]

We may notice first of all the contradiction in the first line, which describes Criseyde as of medium stature, with the statement earlier in the poem that "She nas not with the leste of hir stature" (I, 281),

[1] Cf. "cerebro calido, inpatientem" of Dares.

[2] Cf. Boccaccio's "siccome si ragiona," or, as the Paris edition has it, "come Omer ragiona."

a statement based on Boccaccio's "Ell' era grande" (*Fil.*, I, 27). This trait of medium stature is due, as we shall see, to the series of portraits which begins with the prose Dares.

Dares says of Briseida:

Briseidam formosam, *non alta statura*, candidam, capillo flavo et molli, *superciliis iunctis*, *oculis venustis*, corpore aequali, blandam, affabilem, verecundam, animo *simplici*, *piam*. [Cap. 13.]

In the French of Benoit we read:

Briseïda fu avenant:
Ne fu petite ne trop grant.
Plus esteit bele e bloie e blanche
Que flor de lis ne neif sor branche;
Mais les sorcilles li joigneient,
Que auques li mesaveneient.
Beaus ieuz aveit de grant maniere
E mout esteit *bele parliere.*
Mout fu de bon afaitement
E de *sage* contenement.
Mout fu amee e mout amot,
Mais *sis corages li chanjot;*
E si ert el mout vergondose,
Simple e aumosniere e pitose.
[5275–88]

In the Latin of Guido this becomes:

Briseida autem filia calcas multa fuit speciositate decora, *nec longa nec breuis* nec nimium macilenta, lacteo perfusa candore, genis roseis, *flauis crinibus, sed superciliis iunctis*, quorum iunctura dum multa pilositate tumesceret *modicam inconuenientiam presentabat*, *oculis venusta*. *Multa fulgebat loquele facundia*, multa fuit *pietate* tractabilis. Multos traxit propter illecebras amatores multosque dilexit dum suis amatoribus animi constantiam non seruasset. [Sig. *e* 2, recto, col. 2.]

These accounts all agree that Briseida was beautiful, that she was of medium height, that her eyebrows joined, that she had lovely eyes, that she was a good talker, and that she was full of pity; and all these traits are included in Chaucer's extended portrait. Dares and Benoit add the qualities of simplicity and modesty. Benoit alone says that she was of "sage contenement" (Chaucer's "wys withal"), and tells us that "sis corages li chanjot," which seems to be the source of Chaucer's "slydinge of corage," though Guido's "animi

constantiam non seruasset" conveys the same idea. But these accounts leave much of the Chaucerian portrait unexplained. Some of the hitherto unexplained details are due to the description of Briseis in Joseph of Exeter:

> BRISEIS: *In medium librata statum* briseis heriles
> Promit in aspectum uultus, nodatur in equos
> Flauicies crinita sinus, umbreque minoris
> Delicias oculus *iunctos suspendit in arcus.*
> *Diuiciis forme certant insignia morum:*
> *Sobria simplicitas,* comis pudor, *arida numquam*
> *Poscenti pietas,* et *fandi gracia lenis.*
> [IV, 156–62.][1]

So ingenious is the Exonian in the rhetorical turns of his phrasing that the reader may not be sorry to have the lines translated:

> Balanced in medium stature, Briseis sets forth to view her lordly features. Her hairy yellowness is knotted into equal folds, and her eye lifts into joined arches the delights of lesser shadow [i.e., the lady's eyebrows].[2] With the riches of her form strive the marks of character: sober simplicity, a pleasing modesty, a pity never arid for him who asks, and gentle grace of speech.

That Chaucer has drawn on this portrait by Joseph of Exeter no one can doubt. The phrase "In medium librata statum" is nearer than any of the equivalent statements in the other portraits to Chaucer's "mene . . . . of hir stature." "Sobria simplicitas" accounts for the words "She sobre was, eek simple." "Arida numquam poscenti pietas" is echoed by "Ne nevermo ne lakkede hir pitee." Clearest of all is the dependence of Chaucer's "with hir riche beautee . . . . Strof love in hir" on Joseph's "Diuiciis forme certant insignia morum," a line which, as we shall see presently, had in Chaucer's copy of the poem the corrupt reading, "insignia *amorum.*" Though the method in which Criseyde dresses her "heres clere, Doun by hir coler at hir bak bihinde," is not that of the two folds into which Briseis knots her "hairy yellowness," the suggestion

[1] Quoted from the Westminster MS, which, however, reads in 157 *affectum* for *aspectum* (the reading of Digby), as does also the Delphin edition. In 158 the Delphin edition reads *Planities* for *Flauicies*, a clear case of misreading.

[2] The phrase beginning "umbreque minoris" is peculiarly obscure. The translation I have given was suggested by Dean Andrew F. West and concurred in by Professor David Magie, both of the Princeton Department of Classics. "Umbra minor" is apparently used of the eyebrow as opposed to the "umbra major" of the lady's hair. In support of this interpretation may be adduced Claudian, *Nupt. Honor. et Mar.*, 267: "Quam iuncto leviter sese discrimine confert Umbra supercilii!"

for this detail also may well be due to Joseph. At least, no other of the portraits deigns to concern itself with the lady's coiffure.[1] Joseph agrees with Dares, Benoit, and Guido in the trait of the joined brows; though he does not, like Benoit and Guido, suggest that this was in any way a "lak." Rather it is, as any Greek would have regarded it, a mark of beauty.[2] It is just possible that Chaucer, failing to understand the obscure phrase of Joseph, took the words "umbreque minoris delicias" to mean "and for a shadow of less delight." The order of ideas and the context of the Chaucerian passage lend some color to this conjecture; but, in view of Benoit's specific statement that the joined brows "auques li mesaveneient," there is no need to impugn Chaucer's Latinity.

Chaucer's portrait of Criseyde, then, like his description of Diomede, is a composite of Joseph and Benoit; though his own fancy has played freely over the whole. One striking phrase of Chaucer, for which we should expect a definite source, is, however, not accounted for—"That Paradys stood formed in hir yen." This is not unlike Boccaccio's "Il viso aveva adorno di bellezza Celestiale" (*Fil.*, I, 27), or "La sua faccia fatta in paradiso" (*Fil.*, IV, 100); but Chaucer specifically tells us that his statement is on the authority of those "that hir syen." This appeal to an eyewitness suggests at once that he is thinking of "Dares." But the prose Dares does not say more than "oculis venustis"; and Joseph is silent.[3] Benoit says, "Beaus ieuz aveit de grant maniere," and Guido, "oculis venusta."

Of Troilus, Chaucer writes:

> And Troilus wel waxen was in highte,
> And complet formed by proporcioun
> So wel, that kinde it not amenden mighte;
> Yong, fresshe, strong, and hardy as lyoun;
> Trewe as steel in ech condicioun;
> On of the beste enteched creature,
> That is, or shal, whyl that the world may dure.
>
> And certainly in storie it is yfounde,
> That Troilus was never unto no wight,

[1] See on this passage Young, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[2] On the joined brows see Krapp, *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, 235, and Hamilton, *ibid.*, XX, 80.

[3] Dictys Cretensis, the other "eyewitness," does not mention Briseis.

As in his tyme, in no degree secounde
In durring don that longeth to a knight.
Al mighte a geaunt passen him of might,
His herte ay with the firste and with the beste
Stod paregal, to durre don that him leste.
[V, 827–40.]

In the prose Dares the portrait is a brief one:

Troilum magnum, pulcherrimum, pro aetate valentem, fortem, cupidum virtutis. [Cap. 12.]

In Benoit this is expanded into fifty-four lines, from which I shall quote only those which in any way resemble Chaucer:

Troïlus fu beaus a merveille;
Chiere ot riant, face vermeille,
Cler vis apert, le front plenier:
Mout covint bien a chevalier.
. . . . . .
A merveille ert beaus chevaliers.
Jambes ot dreites, vous les piez,
Trestoz les membres bien tailliez.
. . . . . .
Granz ert, mais bien li coveneit
O la taille, que bone aveit.
Jo ne cuit or si vaillant home
Ait jusque la ou terre asome,
. . . . . .
Ne qui tant ait riche corage,
Ne tant coveit pris ne barnage.
Ne fu sorfaiz ne outrajos,
Mais *liez e gais e amoros.*
. . . . . .
Bachelers ert e *jovenceaus*
De ceus de Troie li plus beaus
E li plus proz, fors que sis frere
Hector, qui fu dreiz emperere
E dreiz sire d' armes portanz.
[5393–5440.]

Guido's description also I shall reproduce only in part:

Troilus vero licet multum fuerit *corpore magnus*, magis tamen fuit corde magnanimus. . . . . In viribus vero & strennuitate bellandi vel fuit alius hector vel secundus ab ipso. *In toto etiam regno troie iuuenis nullus fuit tantis viribus nec tanta audacia gloriosus.* [Sig. *e* 2, verso, col. 1–2.]

In Joseph of Exeter, Troilus is thus described:

TROILUS: Troilus in spacium surgentes explicat artus
Mente gigas, etate puer, *nullique secundus*
Audendo uirtutis opus: mixtoque uigore
Gratior illustres insignit gloria uultus.
[IV, 60–64.][1]

On none of these accounts of Troilus has Chaucer drawn very heavily. Some of the details seem due to Benoit. From Joseph's "nullique secundus Audendo uirtutis opus" is clearly taken Chaucer's "in no degree secounde In durring don that longeth to a knight." It is to be noticed that Chaucer does not admit, with Benoit and Guido, that Troilus was second to Hector.[2] From Joseph's "mente gigas" came, apparently, the suggestion for Chaucer's "Al mighte a geaunt passen him of might."

No one, I think, who has examined the parallel passages cited above, will doubt that Chaucer knew Joseph's poem and used it for his Trojan portraits. If any further proof is needed, it is furnished by the fact that in two of the manuscripts of *Troilus* lines from the Latin poem are written beside the stanzas which we have been considering. The manuscripts are Cambridge University Library, Gg. 4. 27 (Gg), and St. John's College, Cambridge, L. 1 (J); and in each case the quotation is written by the original scribe.[3]

In Gg, between ll. 819 and 820 of the fifth book, we find:

Versus Sobria simplicitas sonus pudor arida num*quam*
Versus Poscente poetas gracia fandi lenis;

and between ll. 826 and 827:

Versus Troilus in spacium surgentes explicat art*us*
Versus Mente gigas etate puer mixtoq*ue* vigore
Versus Nullique *secundus* audendo virtutis opis.

These lines, which the scribe has so painstakingly labeled for us as "Versus," are a sadly bungled version of ll. 161, 162, and 60–63 of Joseph's fourth book, already quoted above.

[1] Again I quote from the Westminster MS. In 60, Digby reads *armos* for *artus*. The lines may be translated thus: "Troilus in bulk extends his rising limbs, in mind a giant, in age a boy, and second to none in daring valor's deed; and with tempered vigor a more pleasing glory marks his splendid features."

[2] See, however, *Troilus*, II, 158: "The wyse worthy Ector the secounde."

[3] The quotations are given in the Chaucer Society's print of Gg; in the print of J they are silently omitted.

In J the quotations are fuller, and distinctly less corrupt. In the margin of stanza 115 (V, 799–805), which describes Diomede, the scribe has written:

Voce ferox *a*nimo *pr*eceps
audentiq*ue* ira. Validos
quadrat*ur* in art*us* tetides
pleniusque meret*ur* tidea *fac*tis
sic *a*nimo sic ore fero *sic et cetera*
Calidonius heres.

We have here a fairly accurate text of IV, 124–27, of Joseph's poem. The words "Calidonius heres" are not, however, part of the quotation, which is marked as finished by the "et cetera"; and I am at a loss to explain their origin. Diomede is called "Calydonius heros" in IV, 349; and possibly "heres" is a misreading of "heros." It is to be noted that the words "Calidonius heres" stand in the margin beside Chaucer's line, "And heir he was of Calidoyne and arge."

In the margin of stanza 116 (V, 806–12) is written:

In medi*um* libr*a*ta
statu*m* Criseis he
riles p*ro*mit in aff*ec*
tu*m* vult*us* nodat*ur*
in equos flauicies
crinata.

These are Joseph's lines, IV, 156, 157, and part of 158. It is to be noted that the heroine's name is Criseis instead of Briseis. The change of initial, however, is probably to be explained as a scribal variation, which has taken place under the influence of the English poem after the Latin lines were first copied into the margin of J's ancestor. The reading *affectum* for *aspectum*, found also in the Westminster MS, doubtless goes back to the manuscript from which the quotation was originally copied. The word *sinus*, indispensable to the sense, is omitted after *crinata*, itself a corruption of *crinita*.

In the margin of stanza 117 (V, 813–19) is written:

Vmbr*a*que minoris
dilicias oculu*s* iunc
tos suspendi*t* in
arcus

diuicijs forme c*er*
t*an*t insignea amo*rum*.

These are lines IV, 158–60, of Joseph's poem. The line-space between *arcus* and *diuicijs* brings the last sentence directly beside the last two lines of Chaucer's stanza, which are based on it. Note the reading *amorum* for *morum*. The corrupt reading clearly stood in Chaucer's copy of Joseph; for, had he had the correct reading before him, he would hardly have failed to preserve the more effective antithesis, which sets character over against beauty.

Beside stanza 118 (V, 820–26) is written:

Sobria simplicitas
comis pudor ari
da num*quam* / posc*enti*
pietas gra*cia* fandi lenis.

This is IV, 161, 162, of Joseph's "Dares." Note that J agrees with Gg in omitting *et* before *gracia*, though it avoids the other errors into which Gg has fallen.

In the margin of stanza 119 (V, 827–33) is written:

Troilus i*n* spaciu*m*
surgentes expli
cat arcus

Mente gigas eta
te puer. mixtoq*ue*
vigore,

and in the margin of stanza 120 (V, 834–40):

Nulliq*ue* secund*us*
virtutis opis.

These are lines IV, 60–63, in Joseph; but the word *audendo*, found in Gg, is omitted before *virtutis*. This word, represented in Chaucer by "durring don," must have been present in Chaucer's copy. It may be only a coincidence that in one of the Bodleian manuscripts of *Troilus*, Selden B 24, fol. 103*a*, "durrying don" is glossed "audendo." As an error of Chaucer's copy of Joseph must be regarded the transposition of the phrase *mixtoque vigore*, since this corruption is found both in J and in Gg.

We must now ask how these quotations found their way into the pages of these two manuscripts, and in particular whether their presence may be due to Chaucer himself. In a recent volume of the Chaucer Society's publications on the *Textual Tradition of*

Chaucer's Troilus, I have shown that in the later books J and Gg are both derived from a copy of the poem which had not received the revisions and alterations incorporated in the great majority of the manuscripts, a copy, moreover, which was apparently in the poet's own possession. They are not, however, related by descent from any common ancestor nearer than this "archetype" manuscript. Barring the ever-present possibility of contamination, the presence of the quotations in J and Gg would, therefore, indicate their presence in this archetype.[1] Considerations of general probability, also, favor the assumption that the quotations are due to Chaucer himself. If not due to him, they must come from some mediaeval "source-hunter," who recognized Chaucer's not very extensive debt to an obscure Latin poem, and took the trouble to record his discovery in the margin of his own copy.[2] Such a hypothesis does not explain the presence of the quotations both in J and in Gg. Finally, it may be noted that, as already shown above, Chaucer's copy of Joseph of Exeter contained in IV, 160, the false reading *amorum* for *morum*, and that this reading was also present in the manuscript of Joseph from which the marginal quotations were derived.

In such a question as this, fortunately not a vital one, certainty of answer is impossible. It seems most probable, however, that the quotations are due to Chaucer himself. Just why he should have written them in, one cannot say.[3]

III. CHAUCER'S CATALOGUE OF TREES

The only other instance I have discovered of Chaucer's use of Joseph of Exeter is in the *Parliament of Fowls*, where, in his description of the garden, Chaucer devotes a stanza to an enumeration of the various trees which shaded that "blisful place":

> The bilder ook, and eek the hardy asshe;
> The piler elm, the cofre unto careyne;
> The boxtree piper; holm to whippes lasshe;

[1] The quotations are not found in the Phillipps MS nor in Harleian 1239, both of which normally give in Books IV and V the unrevised "alpha" text of the poem.

[2] One of the *Troilus* manuscripts, Harleian 2392, contains a running commentary in the margin, supplied by some mediaeval editor. The comments include now and then references to Ovid, with book and line indicated (see *The MSS of Chaucer's Troilus*, Chaucer Society, 1914, Plate XV); but the notes, though displaying some taste and learning, are of a very obvious character.

[3] They are analogous to the Latin lines giving the argument of Statius' *Thebais* found between ll. 1498 and 1499 of Book V in all *Troilus* manuscripts save Rawlinson Poet. 163 and Harleian 2392.

The sayling firr; the cipres, deth to pleyne;
The sheter ew, the asp for shaftes pleyne;
The olyve of pees, and eek the drunken vyne,
The victor palm, the laurer to devyne.
[176–82.]

Some of the epithets which Chaucer applies to the various trees seem to have been suggested by a similar passage in the first book of Joseph's *Iliad*, where the poet is describing the beauties of Mt. Ida:

Haut procul incumbens urbi mediantibus aruis
Ydeus consurgit apex, uerus incola montis
Silua uiret, uernat abies procera, *cupressus*
Flebilis, interpres laurus, uaga pinus, *oliua*
Concilians, cornus uenatrix, *fraxinus audax*,
Stat comitis paciens ulmus, nunquamque senescens
Cantatrix buxus, paulo procliuius aruum
Ebria uitis habet, et dedinata latere
Cancicolam poscit phebum.
[I, 505–13.][1]

In the *Knight's Tale* (A 2920–24) Chaucer has another catalogue of trees, which includes an even greater number of species; but the trees are not, as here, epithetized. Nor does the list of trees in the *Roman de la Rose* (1338–68; Chaucerian translation 1355–86) bear any similarity to that of the *Parliament of Fowls* beyond the fact that some of the trees in the two lists inevitably coincide.[2] The essential feature of the two lists just quoted is that each tree is briefly characterized by a word or phrase. For a list of trees so characterized the ultimate source is a passage in Ovid[3] (*Met.* x. 86–108); but, as Skeat has pointed out,[4] other similar lists are found in Seneca (*Oedipus* 532–41), Lucan (*Pharsalia* iii. 440–45), Statius (*Thebais* vi. 91–99), and Claudian (*De raptu Proserpinae* ii. 105–11). Primarily based on Statius, though indebted also to Ovid, is the tree-list in Boccaccio's *Teseide* (XI, 22–24). These passages are so readily accessible that there is no need to quote them in full. It will better serve the purposes of this discussion to take each of Chaucer's thirteen trees in order, and to see how far the epithets which he applies agree with those in the several lists just cited. When an epithet in one of these possible sources is like Chaucer's, the quotation is

[1] I quote from Jusserand's print of the Paris MS (p. 133). In 506 the Delphin edition reads *vetus* for *uerus*. In 513 *Cancicolam* should probably be emended to *Cancricolam*. The word is glossed in the Paris MS as equivalent to *feruentem*. The Delphin edition reads *Canicolam*.

[2] See D. S. Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, New York, 1914, pp. 113, 114.

[3] Cf. also Virgil, *Aeneid* vi. 179–82.

[4] Oxford Chaucer, I, 511, 512.

printed in italics. When no quotation from a given author is found, it will be understood that the tree in question does not appear in his list.

1. "The bilder ook." Ovid: "frondibus aesculus altis"; Seneca: "curvosque tendit quercus et putres situ annosa ramos"; Lucan: "robore denso"; Statius: "situ non expugnabile robur"; Claudian: "quercus amica Iovi." Chaucer's epithet seems to be original.

2. "The hardy asshe." Ovid: "fraxinus utilis hastis"; Lucan: "procumbunt orni"; Statius: "infandos belli potura cruores fraxinus"; Joseph: "*fraxinus audax*"; Boccaccio: "i frassini ch' e' vani sangui ber soglion de' combattimenti."

3. "The piler elm, the cofre unto careyne." Ovid: "amictae vitibus ulmi"; Statius: "nec inhospita vitibus ulmus"; Claudian: "Pampinus induit ulmus"; Joseph: "comitis paciens ulmus"; Boccaccio: "l' olmo che di viti s' innamora." Chaucer's "piler elm" may be intended to suggest its support of the vine, the idea contained in all the other epithets; the rest of his phrase has no parallel.

4. "The boxtree piper." Ovid: "perpetuoque virens buxum"; Claudian: "denso crispata cacumine buxus"; Joseph: "nunquamque senescens *cantatrix buxus*."

5. "Holm to whippes lasshe." Ovid: "cirrataque glandibus ilex"; Lucan: "nodosa inpellitur ilex"; Statius: "iliceaeque trabes"; Claudian: "ilex plena favis"; Boccaccio: "e gl' ilici soprani." Chaucer's phrase has no parallel.

6. "The sayling firr." Ovid: "enodisque abies"; Statius: "audax abies"; Claudian: "*apta fretis abies*"; Joseph: "abies procera"; Boccaccio: "l'audace abete." Claudian is the only one to parallel Chaucer's epithet for the fir; but similar phrases are used of the alder: Seneca: "per immensum mare motura remos alnus"; Lucan: "fluctibus aptior alnus"; Statius: "alnus amica fretis." Joseph has the phrase "vaga pinus"; and the pine is near cousin to the fir.

7. "The cipres, deth to pleyne." Ovid: "metas imitata cupressus"; Seneca: "cupressus altis exerens silvis caput virente semper alligat trunco nemus"; Lucan: "non plebeios *luctus testata cupressus*"; Statius: "brumaeque inlaesa cupressus"; Claudian: "*tumulos tectura cupressus*"; Joseph: "*cupressus flebilis*"; Boccaccio: "e 'l

durante cipresso ad ogni bruma." Chaucer is slightly nearer to Joseph than to either Lucan or Claudian.

8. "The sheter ew." Statius: "metuendaque suco taxus"; Boccaccio: "e 'l tasso, li cui sughi nocimenti soglion donare." Chaucer is quite independent.

9. "The asp for shaftes pleyne." The aspen appears in no other list; but compare Ovid's "fraxinus utilis hastis."

10. "The olyve of pees." Joseph: "*oliua concilians.*" The olive does not appear in the other lists.

11. "The drunken vyne." Ovid: "pampineae vites"; Joseph: "*ebria uitis.*" In the other lists the vine is mentioned only in connection with the elm.

12. "The victor palm." Ovid: "lentae, *victoris praemia, palmae*"; Boccaccio: "*d'ogni vincitore premio la palma.*"

13. "The laurer to devyne." Ovid: "innuba laurus"; Seneca: "amara bacas laurus"; Claudian: "*venturi praescia laurus*"; Joseph: "*interpres laurus.*"

When one looks over the evidence just tabulated, he is struck first of all with the extraordinary lack of correspondence between Chaucer's characterizations and those of most of the other lists. To Seneca and to Statius Chaucer owes nothing at all. With Ovid there is but one agreement (No. 12), and there Boccaccio furnishes an alternative parallel—the only parallel, it is to be noted, between Chaucer's list and the Italian. In one instance (No. 6) Chaucer agrees with Claudian alone, unless Joseph's "vaga pinus" is admitted as a parallel; in another (No. 13), with Claudian and Joseph; in still another (No. 7), with Claudian, Lucan, and Joseph. For five of Chaucer's thirteen characterizations (Nos. 1, 3, 5, 8, 9) there is no parallel in any of the lists. In view of these facts it is the more striking that in six of the thirteen (Nos. 2, 4, 7, 10, 11, 13) Chaucer's descriptive phrase is in accord with Joseph's, and that in four of these instances (Nos. 2, 4, 10, 11) Joseph furnishes the only parallel.

We are, of course, dealing in many of these characterizations with widely current commonplaces. The association of the olive with peace, or of the palm with victory, needs no specific attribution of source. Hardly less common is the connection of the cypress with death or of the laurel with divination. But other things than pipes

are made of box-wood; and the vine, one must hope, is not invariably drunken.[1] Statius, and Boccaccio following him, choose the fir rather than the ash for the epithet "audax." Even though the agreements are in trite characterizations, the number of the agreements must give us pause. Ovid, for example, equally with Chaucer, gives a series of rather obvious characterizations; and yet there is but one place where the two coincide. Since Ovid names some twenty-five trees to Joseph's ten, in accordance with the theory of probability the agreements between Ovid and Chaucer should, if due to mere chance coincidence in the obvious, be more than twice as numerous as the agreements between Chaucer and Joseph. Finally, we may notice that, of Chaucer's possible sources, Joseph is the only one who uses a verbal noun of agent ("cantatrix buxus," "cornus venatrix") as characterizing epithet—a locution which Chaucer uses four times.

Were there no other evidence that Chaucer knew and used Joseph's poem, one might be skeptical as to the influence here; but with the certainty that the Trojan portraits owe much to Joseph, it seems at least probable that the agreements between the two tree-lists are not fortuitous.

The identification of Chaucer's "Dares" adds one more to the already long list of the poet's "bokes olde and newe." It does more than this; it shows us something of his methods of work. Not content with supplementing the *Filostrato* by details drawn from Benoit and Guido, he went back to what he may well have regarded as the primary source of all, the *Iliad* of "Dares Frigius." If the influence of Joseph on the catalogue of trees be admitted, it adds some slight confirmation to the opinion, now generally held, that the composition of *Troilus* is to be assigned to the years 1381–82 or thereabouts, the period already firmly established for the *Parliament of Fowls*.

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[1] Chaucer's opinion in the matter of prohibition may, perhaps, be gathered from the following words of Criseyde:

> For though a man forbede dronkenesse,
> He nought forbet that every creature
> Be drinkelees for alwey, as I gesse.
> [*Troilus*, II, 716–18.]

OBSERVATIONS ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF "PIERS THE PLOWMAN."—*Concluded*

V. IS THE A-TEXT "INCOHERENT" ELSEWHERE?

Mr. Chambers next undertakes to show that A is "incoherent" elsewhere than in the Sloth–Restitution–Robert the Robber passage. That is, he believes that A has included inappropriate material in the accounts of other sins in passus 5. It is to be presumed that he chose as examples of "incoherence" the most notable examples he could find. His first example is furnished by A's account of Lechery:

> Lecchour seide Allas, and on oure Lady criede
> To make mercy for his mysdede betwyn God and his soule,
> Wiþ þat he shulde þe Satirday seue ȝer þer aftir
> Drinke but wiþ þe doke, and dyne but ones. [5. 54–58.]

This is "incoherent," in Mr. Chambers' opinion, because *as a whole* it is absolutely inappropriate to Lechery. He says:

> It is easy to gloss the text by explaining that the eating of two or more dinners *per diem*, which Lecchour abjures, tends towards Lust (though I should rather have thought it tended towards indigestion) whilst abstinence leads to continence. But I understand the claim for A to be that he is so coherent that he needs no gloss, and therefore cannot be B, who often does. Once admit A capable of incoherency, and there is no longer any necessity to assume that the incoherency of his Sloth must of necessity be due to a shifted or missing leaf [pp. 8–9].

Mr. Manly's citation of the *Parson's Tale* as evidence that fourteenth-century theologians believed that lechery proceeded from overeating and overdrinking was not intended to "gloss" the passage, but to show that A was in entire harmony with mediaeval doctrine as to lechery, its cause, and its cure. Mr. Chambers' parenthesis is a witticism enjoyable in itself, but it is positively startling as coming from a scholar who not only was familiar with mediaeval ideas before entering this controversy, but had, in addition, made a special study of the mediaeval treatises on the deadly sins for the express purpose

of confuting Mr. Manly. The question at issue is not the opinion of Mr. Chambers as a modern dietitian in regard to overeating and overdrinking, but the prevalence of a mediaeval view that overeating and overdrinking are causes of lechery. And not only Chaucer, but a multitude of other writers believed in the fourteenth century that overeating and overdrinking produced incontinence. The *Ayenbite of Inwyt* says: "Lechery. . . . . To that sin belong all the things whereby the flesh arouses itself and desires such a deed; such are the great drinkers and eaters, the soft bed, delicate clothes."[1]

In the discussion of Chastity it says: "But the great foods and the strong wine kindle and nourish lechery, as oil or grease kindle and increase fire."[2]

The *Ancren Riwle* says: "Lechery comes from gluttony and from ease of the flesh. For, as Saint Gregory says, 'Too much food and drink bear three children: light words, and light works, and lechery's lusts.'"[3]

Other mediaeval authors and works which call overeating and overdrinking a cause of lechery are: *Handlyng Synne* (ll. 7259–66); *Ormulum* (ll. 11653 ff.); Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests* (ll. 1361–62, 1381–82); *Alexander and Dindimus* (ll. 679–88, 887–89); *Horstmann, Samm. ae. Legenden* (p. 4, ll. 46–49, p. 5, ll. 86–89); "Piers Plowman" B (14.76); Chaucer (*C.T.*, C 480 ff.); Wyclif (*Select Eng. Works*, ed. Arnold III, 197); (*Eng. Works*, E.E.T.S., p. 8); *Knight of Tour Landry* (pp. 10, 58, 72); *Jacob's Well* (p. 159).

Furthermore, A himself elsewhere voices the same belief:

> Loth in his lyf dayes for lykyng of drinke
> Dede be his douȝteris þat þe deuil lykide,
> Delyted him in drynke, as þe deuel wolde,
> And leccherie hym lauȝte, and lay be hem boþe,
> And al he wytide it wyn, þat wykkide dede. [1. 27–31.]

Is there then any parallel between the present condition of A's Sloth and that of his Lecchour? No other author except B puts the

[1] Lecherie. . . . . To þo zenne belongeþ alle þe þinges huer by þet uless him arist and wylneþ zuiche dede; ase byeþ þe mochele drinkeres and eteres, þe zofte bed, cloþes likerouses" (p. 47).

[2] "Ac þe greate metes and þet stronge wyn aliȝteþ and norisseþ lecherie ase oyle oþer grese aliȝteþ and st[r]engþeþ þet uer" (p. 205).

[3] "Golnesse cumeð of ȝiuernesse and of flesches eise; vor ase Seint Gregorie seið, 'Mete & drunch ouer rihte temeð þreo teames; lihte words & lihte werkes, & lecheries lustes'" (pp. 286–88).

withholding of wages and the non-payment of debts under Sloth, and no other author mentions restitution of wicked winnings as a part of the repentance of Sloth. On the other hand, nearly every writer on the deadly sins says that lechery is a result of overeating and overdrinking. Obviously, then, the confession of A's Lecchour is not to be regarded as "incoherent" or inappropriate.

"A's other 'Sins,'" resumes Mr. Chambers, "are almost equally incoherent. A's Pride shows signs of Envy." This is the argument offered by Mr. Jusserand, on the basis of the lines spoken by Pernel Proud-heart: "But now wile I meke me, and mercy beseke Of alle þat I have had *enuye* in myn herte" (5. 52–53). The argument was refuted by Mr. Manly when he pointed out that a common meaning of the word "envy" in the fourteenth (and indeed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth) century was "ill-will, hatred, despite." Mr. Chambers himself, on p. 18, urges that in the B-text "Under Pride we rightly have, as one of its branches, *Despite.*" That A knew the word "envy" in that sense is shown elsewhere in the poem:

> Ac be war þanne of Wraþ, þat wykkide shrewe,
> For he haþ *enuye* to hym þat in þin herte sittiþ. [6. 98–99.]

"A's Envy shows as many traits of Wrath as of Envy," says Mr. Chambers. This argument is another offered by Mr. Jusserand and refuted by Mr. Manly. Neither Mr. Jusserand nor Mr. Chambers meets Mr. Manly's refutation. Chambers, it is true, adds to the boldness of the phrasing: "Envy shows *as many* [italics mine] traits of Wrath as of Envy." Mr. Jusserand presented exactly two lines from A's Envy as seeming to belong to Wrath.[1] Mr. Chambers mentions no others. A's Envy extends through forty-seven lines.

"No one reading A's Gluttony could tell whether it was the confession of Gluttony or of Accidie," says Mr. Chambers. It is difficult to believe that he has read A's account of Gluttony. A's Gluttony, as Mr. Chambers says, does start to church to confess his sins. He has that impulse in common with other deadly sins whose hearts are moved by the preaching of Repentance. He is diverted on the way, but not by an idler. Beton the Brewster is the seducer. He enters her tavern, not to idle, nor even to drink, but to eat hot spices,

[1] *Mod. Philology*, January, 1909, pp. 300–301. He also admits they are really appropriate to Envy.

to allay his queasy stomach.[1] In the tavern he ultimately yields to his besetting sin and becomes overwhelmingly intoxicated, so that he is ill for two days. The assertion that A's Gluttony cannot be distinguished from Sloth can be accepted only by one who resolutely refuses to read the A-text of "Piers the Plowman."

VI. THE ARGUMENTS FROM MR. JUSSERAND

Inasmuch as Mr. Chambers charges A with being guilty of many other incoherencies, and contents himself with the declaration that Mr. Jusserand has pointed them out "so ably . . . . that it is a waste of time to urge the matter further," it becomes necessary to examine some parts of Mr. Jusserand's discussion.[2]

The first incoherence which Mr. Jusserand believes he finds in the A-text he words thus: "The Lady answers in substance: The tower on this toft is the place of abode of Truth, or God the father; but do not get drunk." This outline is certainly incoherent. Mr. Jusserand has, however, secured the effect of incoherence by reducing twelve lines of text, pregnant with material, to a semicolon. Any author can be made to appear incoherent by such a surgical operation.[3]

The next incoherence which Mr. Jusserand thinks he detects consists in the question about "þe money on þis molde þat men so faste holdiþ," to which, according to him, "the Lady makes a somewhat rambling answer, both question and answer being equally unexpected and irrelevant." He holds that the incoherence consists at least partly in the fact that the people portrayed in the field full of folk did "all sorts of things, except hold fast 'moneye on þis molde.'"

[1] This point seems to have been missed by all the writers on the subject but Mr. Manly. Glutton is sincere when he starts for the church; he does not yield to the temptation of the ale offered by Beton; he enters the alehouse, or thinks he enters it, not to drink, but to put his poor stomach in condition to resist the appeal of drink. Once within the alehouse he joins his old companions, as Beton of course knew he would.

[2] For Mr. Jusserand's statements see *Mod. Philology*, January, 1909, pp. 309–12. Mr. Manly's reply to this part of Mr. Jusserand is contained in *Mod. Philology*, July, 1909, pp. 126–28. Mr. Jusserand's last reply is in *Mod. Philology*, January, 1910, pp. 318–19.

[3] The course of the thought in this passage is shown to be perfectly coherent in Mr. Manly's summary in the *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 6 (Amer. ed., p. 7), which he quoted in reply to Mr. Jusserand in *Mod. Philology*, July, 1909, p. 127. Moreover, the coherence is not artificially introduced into the summary, as Mr. Jusserand insinuates, but is actually present in the text, as any person can see who is willing to read this part of the poem.

Now out of the ninety-two lines in the prologue devoted to the field of folk, thirty-seven, or much more than one-third, describe classes of persons who are specifically accused of being greedy for money, and in every case "money," or "gold," or "silver" is explicitly named. Minstrels get *gold* with their glee (33–34); "*money*" and the merchandise of friars meet together since friars have become peddlers (55–64); the pardoner by his preaching gets rings, brooches, and *gold*, which he divides with the bishop and the parish priest (65–79); parish priests go to London to sing for *silver* (80–83); sergeants plead the law only for *pennies* and *pounds*, and will not open their mouths unless *money* is showed (84–89). And this does not include other classes who are under suspicion of the same practice, but in connection with whom there is no explicit reference to money.

Moreover, the question itself is not so unexpected and irrelevant as Mr. Jusserand maintains. Lady Holy Church has just told the dreamer that God created him, gave him five wits, and commanded the earth to supply him with food, drink, and clothing. But the prominence of money in the world, already emphasized in the prologue, has impressed the dreamer so deeply that he demands to know "to whom that treasure appends."

"What the Lady should have explained was not hard to make clear," resumes Mr. Jusserand. To be brief, he believes that she should give a full account of the field full of folk (even though the dreamer has just finished doing this in the prologue), or she should give a full description of the Tower of Truth (even though the author has reserved this to use in its proper place in the sixth passus, where Piers, after telling the searchers for Truth the way to the tower, describes it so that they will know it when they come to it). In putting his detailed description of the field of folk into the prologue, and his description of the tower into the sixth passus, the poet of A planned with great skill the disposition of his material. His plan for the first passus does not include the repetition of what he has already described or the anticipation of material which he intends to utilize later. His plan, on the other hand, is to have Lady Holy Church explain to the dreamer (1) that the owner of the Tower is Truth—that is, God—who created man and gave him intelligence and means of subsistence; (2) the attitude of God toward money, a

source of much of the evil in the field of folk; (3) that the dungeon is the castle of Wrong; (4) that the speaker herself is Holy Church (who, of course, is the most fitting person to convey information about God and the salvation of souls); (5) that the means of that salvation is Truth (the person in the tower, and the principle which that person represents); (6) Truth, she goes on to explain, should govern the whole world; loving God includes love and charity for man. I cannot understand how it is bad structure to make Holy Church the interpreter of God to man.

"*None* of the visions, episodes, or stories in these passus have any ending," says Mr. Jusserand (p. 311), "nor are continued by what comes next." [Italics mine.] But the facts controvert this assertion:

1. The vision of the field in the prologue is pure description (mainly satirical), which in a hundred lines pictures members of nearly every class in the state, and that without becoming a mere catalogue.

2. The account of Truth by Holy Church in passus 1 is nearly pure exposition, and, as I have shown, is complete.

3. The adventurous career of Meed ends with her utter disgrace before the king as a result of Reason's denunciation.

4. The preaching of Conscience and Repentance results in the conversion of the field of folk. Do "*none* of the visions, episodes or stories . . . . have any ending"?

Let us also see whether any of them are "continued by what comes next."

1. In the prologue two elements are left undeveloped and unexplained—the tower and the dungeon. In passus 1 the tower is explained, and the principles of Truth, who dwells therein, are expounded by Holy Church. In passus 2 we meet Wrong, the lord of the dungeon, his offspring, Falsehood, and the latter's associate, Meed. The prologue, then, is evidently continued by what comes next.

2. At the end of passus 2 the journey of Meed and her companions to Westminster is interrupted, Meed's following is dispersed, and Meed herself is arrested. The account of Meed is not abandoned at this point, as we might expect to find it if Mr. Jusserand's

contention were true. In the following passus (3–4) Meed is brought before the king for trial, attempts to rescue Wrong by bribery, and is exposed and put to shame by Reason.

3. Wrong, Meed, and Falsehood having been disposed of, the account of the people in the field is resumed in passus 5 with the preaching of Conscience to bring all sinners to repentance. And all the sinners having repented, no time could be more appropriate for them to determine to set out on the pilgrimage to the shrine of Truth. I cannot understand how anyone can maintain that none of these incidents show a continuation from the preceding.

Mr. Jusserand "outlines" further: "Conscience . . . . consents at last to kiss Meed, provided Reason agrees he should. Reason is brought forth, makes a speech on quite different topics, and we never hear any more of the kiss or the marriage. 'þene Pees com to parlement'; a new episode begins, the word 'þene' being all that connects it with the previous one. And so on, till the end."

From Mr. Jusserand's "outline" the reader would infer, unless he himself should read the passage under discussion, that Reason "makes a speech on quite different topics," finishes, and disappears, and that Meed also completely disappears, never to return, before "Pees com to parlement." The fact is that the only speech made by Reason before the entrance of "Pees" is made before Reason starts to the court. This speech consists of directions to his boy to saddle his horse. Furthermore, there is a much more vital connecting link between Reason and the coming of "Pees" to parliament than the single word "þene." Reason is summoned to court to decide whether Conscience shall marry Meed; he rides to court, is received by the king, is invited to sit on the bench, between the king and his son, and remains there a great while in consultation over the case in hand. "*þene* Pees com to parlement, and put vp a Bille" against Wrong. Whereupon Wisdom and Wit, Wrong's lawyers, *with the aid of Meed*, try to secure the release of Wrong *through bribery, the peculiar vice of Meed.* Reason's consent to the acquittal, however, is first necessary. He not only refuses to give consent, but seizes the opportunity at the close of his speech to denounce outright the inherent viciousness of Meed. He will have no pity, he says, while *Meed* has any power to plead in the king's court. If he were king no

one would ever get his grace through *bribery*. He would punish every wrong in the world that he could discover, and *for no meed* would he have mercy, but only if meekness governed the wrongdoer. And after this scathing denunciation what becomes of Meed? There was no one in the moot-hall who did not hold Reason the master and Meed a wretch; Love despised her, and laughed her to scorn, and said: "Who so wilneþ hire to wyue for welþe of hire godis, But he be cokewald ycald, kitte of my nose." Is not this sufficient to dispose of the proposition to marry Meed to Conscience? Is "þene" the only connection between the episode of "Pees" and the previous one? On the contrary, it is evident that the author has displayed great structural skill in contriving a situation wherein Meed is caught red-handed in the exercise of her besetting sin, and is therefore forever ruled out of court, and wherethrough the question of her marriage to Conscience is disposed of completely and finally.

In the same paragraph Mr. Jusserand makes two other assertions that do not accord with the facts. "A question of the dreamer how to know 'the Fals,' of which Fals *not a word had been said before*, is all there is of 'structural excellence' in the connecting of the two episodes." [Italics mine.] First with regard to the previous mention of Fals. The "question of the dreamer" occurs in passus 2, line 4. In passus 1, line 62, Holy Church has said that Wrong, the inhabitant of the Dungeon, was the "Fader of Falsness."

Now as to the structural excellence. The prologue mentions a tower, a dungeon, and a field full of folk. The prologue proceeds to describe in detail the folk in the field. Passus 1 is devoted to the Tower of Truth. Passus 3–4 are devoted to the offspring of Wrong, the owner of the dungeon, and to his followers, especially to Meed, the most vicious of these followers, and to the problem of her marriage to Fals or to Conscience. And the introduction of Meed is motivated in the most obvious manner by the denunciation, in the prologue, of classes of people who are intimate with Meed, as well as by the question of the dreamer about the "money on this mold." It is difficult, indeed, to understand how such a logical and inevitable arrangement of material could escape the attention of any critic who can recognize structural excellence, unless his mind has become saturated with the conviction that A *must be* badly organized because

B and C are badly organized; in which case, of course, his preconceived opinion has totally blinded him to the facts.

All the reasoning of those who use the argument depending on "overlapping" of the deadly sins in A is based on a failure to take into account the essential nature of the situation. There is no denying that, in the mediaeval conception, *some* of the sins overlapped *some* others, or led to some others. Certain kinds of Wrath, for instance, grew out of some kinds of Envy. Covetousness might have its root in Envy. Sloth and Gluttony are not without some common manifestations. Lechery, as we have seen, is regarded as a sequence of Gluttony. But, on the other hand, there are certain of the sins which possess qualifications that are never attributed to others. There would be something wrong if we found Wrath vowing to eschew lechery, or if Covetousness swore never to be gluttonous. In spite of Mr. Chambers' ingenious and superficially plausible reasoning, there must be a fault in the text when we find Sloth, generally conceived as spiritual negligence or flabbiness (and so conceived by A), engaging in an abrupt and unparalleled vow to restore all of his property to some one because he won it wickedly.[1]

VII. THE NAMES OF PIERS' WIFE AND CHILDREN

One of the imperfections in the A-text which was adopted into the B-text is the four-line passage naming Piers' wife and children (7. 71–74), which occurs without connection in the midst of Piers' speech announcing his intention of undertaking the pilgrimage to the shrine of Truth, and containing a statement of his preparations for the journey. The whole passage is as follows:

'And I shal apperaille me, quaþ Perkyn, in pilgrymis wyse,
And wende wiþ ȝow þe wey til we fynde Treuþe.'
He caste on his cloþis ycloutid and hole,
Hise cokeris and his cuffis for cold of his nailes,
And heng his hoper at his hals in stede of a scrippe:
'A busshel of breed corn bryng me þere inne,
For I wile sowe it my self and siþþe wile I wende. [59.]
And who so helpiþ me to eren or any þing to swynke

[1] Spiritual flabbiness and "wicked winnings" present a *non sequitur*. Idleness (one of the many branches or consequences of Sloth) and "wicked winnings" present a flat contradiction. See *Mod. Philology*, XIV, 557.

Shal haue, be oure Lord, þe more hire in heruest,
And make hym mery wiþ þe corn, who so it begrucchiþ.
And alle kyne crafty men þat conne lyue in treuþe,
I shal fynde hem foode þat feiþfulliche libbeþ,
Saue Iakke þe Iugelour and Ionete of þe stewis,
And Robyn þe ribaudour for hise rusty woordis.
Treuþe tolde me ones, and bad me telle it forþer,
Deleantur de libro. I shulde not dele wiþ hem,
For Holy Chirche is holden of hem no tiþe to asken.
Et cum iustis non scribantur.
þei ben askapid good auntir. Now God hem amende. [70.]
Dame Werche-whanne-tyme-is Piers wyf hatte; [71.]
His douȝter hattiþ Do-riȝt-so-or-þi-damme-shal-þe-bete;
His sone hattiþ Suffre-þi-souereynes-for-to-hauen-here-wille-
And-deme-hem-nouȝt-for-ȝif-þou-dost-þou-shalt-it-dere-abiggen. [74.]
Let God worþe wiþ al, for so his woord techiþ. [75.]
For now I am old and hor, and haue of myn owene,
To penaunce and to pilgrimage I wile passe with þis oþere.
For þi I wile er I wende do wryte my bequest.
In Dei nomine, Amen, I make it my seluen.
He shal haue my soule þat best haþ deseruid,
And defende it fro þe fend, for so I beleue,
Til I come to his acountes, as my crede me techiþ.
To haue reles and remissioun on þat rental I leue.
þe chirche shal haue my careyn, and kepe my bones,
For of my corn and my catel he crauide þe tiþe.
I payede hym prestly, for peril of my soule.
He is holden, I hope, to haue me in mynde,
And menge me in his memorie among alle cristene.
My wyf shal haue of þat I wan wiþ treuþe and namore, [89.]
And dele among my frendis and my dere children. [90.]
For þeiȝ I deiȝe to day my dettis ben quytte.
I bar hom þat I borewide er I to bedde ȝede.
And wiþ þe residue and þe remenaunt, be þe Rode of Chestre,
I wile worsshipe þere wiþ Treuþe in my lyue,
And ben his pilgrym at þe plouȝ for pore menis sake.
My plouȝ pote shal be my pyk staf, and pyche at þe rotis,
And helpe my cultir to kerue and close þe forewis.'
Now is Peris and þe pilgrimes to þe plouȝ faren, *etc.* [A 7.53–98.]

After Mr. Manly suggested that lines 71–74 or 71–75 seemed an obvious interpolation into the wrong spot of a marginal note, originally scribbled lengthwise in the margin, opposite lines 89–90, which

mention Piers' wife and children in a logical connection, the soundness of his observation seemed so obvious that it was accepted even by Mr. Jusserand, who denied only the inference drawn from the situation. Mr. Chambers, however, argues that the lines are not an interpolation at all, that they "do *not* interrupt Piers' remarks about preparations for his journey," because "Piers' last allusion to his journey was in l. 59, twelve lines before the mention of his wife and children."

Nevertheless, if the reader will read the whole passage, he will find that the names do interrupt Piers' remarks about preparations for his journey. Piers' preparations consist of two parts: first, he must plow and sow his half-acre, as he has said several times before; the remarks about plowing and sowing occupy lines 58–75 (exclusive of 71–74). Next, because he is "old and hor," he must have his will drawn up before he starts (lines 76–92). In his remarks about cultivating his half-acre he says that those who help him, and all "crafty" men, shall share his crop, save Jack the Juggler, Janet of the Stews, and Robin the Ribald, who are to be avoided (70), and with whom God will deal, as his word teaches (line 75). Between the line stating that these persons are to be avoided (70) and that consigning them to the mercy of God (75) occur the names of Piers' wife, son, and daughter.

But Mr. Chambers argues that the "name" lines are not inappropriate in their position because the lines preceding them are "an admonition to work," and because "this admonition is then emphasised and summarised in the names."

On the contrary, the preceding lines do not constitute an admonition to work, and the name lines do not summarize and emphasize any such admonition. The preceding lines contain, as I have said, a plain statement by Piers that those who help him to prepare for the journey by assisting him to plow and sow will share the crop, while disreputable persons will not share it. It is only by the isolation of part of the preceding lines and by a forced interpretation that they can be construed as an admonition to work. Further, only one of the four name lines is a command to work. The wife's name is "Dame-Werche-whanne-tyme-is." But the daughter's name is a command to be obedient to her mother: "Do-riȝt-so-or-þi-damme-

shal-þe-bete" (Do exactly thus, or thy mother shall beat thee). The son's name is a command to permit his sovereigns to have their will, and not to judge them: "His sone hattiþ Suffre-þi-souereynes-for-to-hauen-here-wille-And-deme-hem-nouȝt-for-ȝif-þou-dost-þou-shalt-it-dere-abiggen." It is perfectly evident that these four lines mean *work, obey, submit.*

Mr. Chambers believes further that these lines, ungainly as they seem, belong here because he thinks that in another place the author of the A-text has introduced "remarks about persons and things, which seem quite irrelevant, until we scrutinize their *names.*"

In the fourth passus, it will be remembered, Reason, at the end of his denunciation of Meed, says:

> I seiȝe it for my self, and it so were
> þat I were king wiþ croune to kepe a reaume,
> Shulde neuere wrong in þis world þat I wyte miȝte
> Be vnpunisshit be my power, for peril of my soule,
> Ne gete my grace þoruȝ giftes, so me God helpe,
> Ne for no mede haue mercy, but meknesse it made.
> For *nullum malum* þe man mette with *impunitum,* [126.]
> And bad *nullum bonum* be *irremuneratum.* [127.]
> Let þi confessour, sire king, construe þe þis in Englissh,
> And ȝif þou werche it in werk, I wedde myne eris,
> þat Lawe shal ben a labourer, and lede afeld donge,
> And Loue shal lede þi land as þe lef likeþ. [A 4.120–31.]

Skeat in his note to lines 126–27 says: "'For the man named *nullum malum* met with one called *inpunitum,*' &c. This is merely a way of introducing the words in italics." Mr. Chambers accepts Skeat's interpretation, and upon it bases his argument. "What have *Nullum Malum,* his meeting with *Inpunitum* and his remarks to *Nullum Bonum* to do with Reason's sermon? Nothing; but putting together the names of these characters we have a sentence which has every bearing upon Reason's foregoing words. Similarly, *Piers' wife* has nothing to do with his preceding remarks, but the *name of Piers' wife* has everything."

There is no doubt that the interpretation put upon the lines from the fourth passus by Skeat makes them seem nonsense. If, however, they possess a meaning which is clear, coherent, and sensible, we must reject any interpretation which has made them appear to be pure

nonsense. That the lines do possess a clear and sensible meaning can be seen immediately if they are compared with their Latin original, cited by Skeat in his notes: "Ipse est iudex iustus . . . . qui nullum malum praeterit impunitum, nullum bonum irremuneratum" (Pope Innocent, *De Contemptu Mundi*, lib. iii, cap. 15).[1]

In adapting these lines to his poem the author of A maintained the Latin order and construction as nearly as his English syntax and the demands of his meter and versification would permit him. He put "nullum malum," the object, first; "the man" (corresponding to "iudex"), subject, second; "met with" (corresponding to "praeterit"), verb, third; and "impunitum," adjective, last.

The lines obviously mean: "The man met with (i.e., encountered) no evil unpunished, and ordered no good to be unrewarded." The two lines contain no names, do not make nonsense, and fit perfectly into their context. Therefore they do not support Mr. Chambers' contention that it is a favorite trick of the author of the A-text to insert names incoherently into his text.

We do not have in passus 7 a "favorite" ungainly trick of our author's; the name lines are not an emphatic summary of an admonition to work; there is no admonition to work in the passage to connect them with; and they do interrupt Piers' remarks about his preparations for his journey. It is evident, then, that they are an interpolation absurdly introduced into the text—an interpolation which was not noticed and corrected by B when he revised the text of A.

VIII. "REARRANGING THE TEXT"

Mr. Chambers entitles his fourth section "The Rearranged Text Compared with the Text Given in the MSS."

In this section Mr. Chambers discusses two perfectly distinct problems in so confused a manner that it is almost impossible for the reader to keep the problems apart. His argument, however, in brief is: (1) that Dr. Bradley's proposed shift of the lines about Restitution and Robert the Robber to the end of Covetousness

[1] In the work attributed to Bede, *Sententiae, sive axiomata philosophica*, occurs a "sentence," "Nullum malum impunitum, nullum bonum irremuneratum," ascribed to "Boetius, *Consol.*, lib. iv, Prov. (*sic;* l. prosa) 1." (*Venerabilis Bedae Opera*, Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, Tomus xc.) In Boetius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, lib. iv, prosa 1, occurs a passage approximating this in sense only: ". . . . cognosces . . . . nec sine poena unquam esse vitia nec sine praemio virtutes."

(all in passus 5) is unnecessary; (2) that Mr. Manly's proposal to reject from the text the "name" lines in passus 7 (71–74) is untenable.

First, we may consider what Mr. Chambers says with regard to the "rearrangement" of the Restitution–Robert the Robber lines (p. 16): "Three rearrangements are suggested: that of Prof. Manly, followed by Mr. Knott; that of Dr. Bradley, followed by Dr. Furnivall and M. Jusserand; and that arrived at independently by Prof. Brown and Mr. Hall. And each critic finds serious difficulties in the rearrangements suggested by the others."

As I have pointed out (*Modern Philology*, XIV, 549), Mr. Manly and I have never proposed a rearrangement of the text in passus 5.

Mr. Chambers attempts to explain the unevenness in the treatment of the deadly sins in passus 5, the absence of Wrath, and the contiguity of Sloth and Restitution on the hypothesis that the poet's object is not to present a systematic theological account of each one of the sins, but that his object throughout the whole poem is merely to denounce the corruption of the official classes and the laziness of the poor.

Mr. Chambers has failed to observe that a distinction is to be drawn between the "object" of the poet and the structure of the poem. The object of the poet, however, was not to denounce greed and idleness except incidentally. His main object was to show what the people of the world must do to escape evil and to attain truth.

The structure of the poem is admirably designed to carry out the object. The prologue, as I have already said, presents three things: (1) the tower on the toft; (2) the dungeon in the dale; (3) the field full of folk; that is, heaven, hell, and the world, or good, evil, and the world. Passus 1 reveals the meaning of the tower. Passus 2–4 reveal the inmates of the dungeon and picture their invasion of the world. Passus 5–7 return to the field of folk, showing what would happen if Reason and Conscience ruled them, as proposed at the end of passus 4. At the preaching of Conscience the folk abandon their deadly sins, and, avowedly as a preparation for setting out on the pilgrimage to the shrine of Truth, join Piers in honest occupation.

Mr. Chambers' assertion that the way to Truth is the way of honest labor does not accord with the author's expressly stated belief. Piers points out the way to Truth in passus 6, lines 50–117. It leads

through meekness, conscience, love of God and man, and the performance of the Ten Commandments to a tower surrounded by a moat of mercy and guarded by a gate-ward named Grace, to which entrance may be gained through the seven virtues—the antitheses of the seven deadly sins. It is only when the pilgrims despair over the difficulties of this journey that Piers agrees to guide them, and then only if they will aid him in making his preparations. See the opening of passus 7. The labor of Piers and the pilgrims does not constitute the pilgrimage to Truth. It is only a preliminary to the pilgrimage.

The purpose of passus 5 is not to emphasize the worthiness of honest labor. It is to show what the folk in the field must do to be saved. They must repent of their sins. The absence of Wrath is therefore not explicable. Nor is the obvious incompleteness of the account of Envy explicable. On this point Mr. Chambers is silent. In order to conform to the plan of the passus, as evidenced by the treatment accorded to the other sins, Envy should repent. That he does not do so would be sufficient reason to suppose a lacuna at this point even if Wrath were not absent. There is therefore a cogent reason to believe that the author of A included an account of Wrath, and in his own original MS caused Envy to repent.

If, then, my understanding of the object of the poet and of the structure of the poem is correct, the poet did not present Gluttony, Sloth, Robert, and the Palmer because they were idlers and therefore were foils to Piers, the honest laborer. He presented the deadly sins in passus 5 to show how all sinful persons in the world ought to repent. He presented the Palmer to show that the professional pilgrim was ignorant of the path to the shrine of Truth. He presented Piers to show that path—through meekness, conscience, love, the Ten Commandments, and the seven virtues.

In this section also Mr. Chambers tries to force Mr. Manly to stand sponsor for a new "shift" theory, the sheer creation of Mr. Chambers himself, regarding the disposition to be made of the "name" passage (7. 71–74). Mr. Chambers says:

> Remove [these lines] and we have a crude transition.[1] And where are we to place them? Professor Manly would dismiss them as an expansion

[1] As regards the "crude transition," if we remove the four lines, the line following (75) fits perfectly with the line preceding (70). The passage will then read:

of a marginal gloss—a device which has served the turn of innumerable critics. But the names cannot have been the marginal glosses of a scribe, *for they alliterate*. [Italics his.] It is certain that whoever invented the names of wife *Work*, daughter *Do*, and son *Suffer* meant them to take their place in an alliterative text. Therefore the lines, if removed at all, must be placed elsewhere. But to insert them after ll. 89, 90, in the will, *is* to cause an interruption. A man does not name himself in the third person in his will.

In Mr. Chambers' judgment, then, these lines *must* be authentic *because they alliterate*, for "whoever invented the names . . . . meant them to take their place in an alliterative text." It is, however, an unsafe leap to the conclusion that the composer of the lines *must* have been the author of the poem, and that the author must have intended them to occur where they do. The various MSS of the A-text exhibit scores of unauthentic lines, some of them in small subgroups of MSS, many in only one MS (e. g., Harl. 875). Composing alliterative interpolations was obviously a common diversion of scribe-editors. To argue that such lines, or any lines, *must* be attributed to the author of "Piers the Plowman" *because they alliterate* would be further, I believe, than Mr. Chambers would care to go, especially since on p. 9 he argues directly to the contrary.

Nor can Mr. Chambers maintain that the "name" lines, "if removed at all, must be placed elsewhere." And the argument which he urges against placing them in the will—"a man does not name himself in the third person in his will"—holds with even greater force against retaining them in their present position. They occur in the MSS in the midst of a speech by Piers. And a man does not name himself in the third person in the middle of one of his own speeches.

Mr. Manly has not proposed to shift these lines. He is not required to find any other position for them. It is enough to point out that they do not belong where they are, and that quite as evidently they do not belong in the text in any other connection, the

> Treuþe tolde me ones, and bad me telle it forþer,
> *Deleantur de libro.* I shulde not dele wiþ hem,
> For holy chirche is holden of hem no tiþe to asken.
> *Et cum iustis non scribantur.*
> Þei ben askapid good auntir. Now God hem amende. [70.]
> Let God worþe wiþ al, for so his woord techiþ. [75.]

Mr. Manly remarks to me that he is still doubtful whether the interpolation consists of four or of five lines. Line 75 might be part of the son's name. Even in that case, however, the transition is not "crude." It is simply a transition from one paragraph of Piers' speech to another closely related paragraph.

latter point being urged by Mr. Chambers himself. That these lines, an obviously accidental and unconnected interpolation, were accepted by B and C carries its own inference.

Mr. Chambers further says:

> Finally, it must be remembered that evidence which might be sufficient to show a probability of interpolations, or of lost or shifted leaves, in a one MS text, is insufficient in the case of a text preserved in thirteen MSS, which seem to have remarkably few *common* errors, and the archetype of which, if not actually the author's holograph, was probably not far removed therefrom. When Prof. Manly suggests that ll. 71–74 of Passus VII are a scribe's gloss, which has been absurdly introduced into the text in a wrong position, it must be remembered that such a corruption postulates time and a succession of copyists [p. 14].

And yet on pp. 26–27, in discussing "Problems of the Texts," Mr. Chambers points out that all extant MSS of B have the incorrect reading "of bread full" in prologue 41 instead of "bretful, bredful," as in A and C. In other words, according to Mr. Chambers, all the MSS of B certainly are descended from a corrupt archetype, but all the MSS of A could not have descended from a corrupt archetype. Surely, if it is demonstrable that all MSS of one version are incorrect, it is legitimate for Mr. Manly to argue, on such strong grounds, that all MSS of another version are incorrect.

IX. THE DIALECT OF A 1, A 2, AND B

Mr. Manly has pointed out demonstrable differences in dialect between the A-text and the B-text. Mr. Chambers in reply has emphasized the fact that only four MSS out of forty-seven are in print, and that both printed and unprinted MSS exhibit the widest dialect variations. He has made much of the fact that in one and the same line some MSS of the A-text have *are*, while others have *ben*, *beþ*. The difficulty of classifying a large body of such complicated material is of course obvious. In his discussion Mr. Chambers implies that until this mass of material has been classified we can in no case determine what was the original dialect form. On p. 22, in footnote 2, however, Mr. Chambers recognizes the validity of the method of determining original dialect forms, which was pointed out by Mr. Manly in *Modern Philology*, July, 1909, p. 124: "If we find, for example, that no instance of 'are' occurs in A 1 and

that instances occur in A 2, which, because they are essential to the alliteration, clearly proceed from the author and not from a scribe, we are justified in concluding, even if the texts of A 2 contain also instances of 'ben,' that, in all probability, A 2 used 'are' and A 1 did not." In other words, Mr. Manly proposes to use the same criterion used by Mr. Chambers, who says: "The alliteration seems to show that in B XII. 195 (and perhaps also in B XIV. 222) *'ben'* was the original form."

A 1 is shown by the alliteration to have used only the present plural form "ben, beþ":

Beggeris and bidderis *ben* not in þe bulle. [A 8.68 (A 1).]

A 2 is shown by the alliteration to have used also the form *arn:*

Angeles and alle þing *arn* at his wille. [A 10.31 (A 2).]

There are in the A-text (A 1) several lines in which the feminine pronoun "heo" is shown by the alliteration to have been the original form. In no case is the situation such that "she" is required by the alliteration in A 1:

I auȝte ben hiȝere þanne *heo,* I com of a betere. [A 2.21.]

The B-text, on the other hand, is shown by the alliteration to have employed also the form "she" (as well, sometimes, as "heo"):

But sothenesse wolde nouȝt so, for *she* is a bastarde. [B 2.24.]

Mr. Manly's assertion, therefore, that the dialect of the A-text differs from that of the B-text (and that A 1 differs from A 2), rests upon a type of evidence which Mr. Chambers himself accepts.

X. SUMMARY

Some minor parts of Mr. Chambers' paper I have not replied to. I have for the most part paid no attention to those arguments, repeated from Mr. Jusserand, which had been answered by Mr. Manly in *Modern Philology,* VII, 83–144, six months before Mr. Chambers' paper appeared.

I believe, however, that I have shown that Robert the Robber is not an exemplification of Sloth, and that Sloth was not conceived in the fourteenth century as a sin that resulted in the accumulation of wicked winnings; Mr. Chambers' contention that robbery and wicked winnings belong under Sloth, and that there is no break in the

text at that point (5. 235–36), is therefore untenable. I have shown that A, in the perfectly transmitted parts, is not "incoherent," but that he exhibits remarkable structural skill; Mr. Chambers' a priori argument that A is as "incoherent" elsewhere as in the Sloth–Restitution–Robber combination is therefore untenable. I have shown that the "name" lines in passus 7 (71–74) are an interpolation; Mr. Chambers' assertion that B has not here accepted a serious and extensive textual blunder is therefore untenable. I have shown that the dialect of A 1 is different from that of A 2 and from B, using for the determination of original dialect forms only criteria that Mr. Chambers himself has explicitly approved; this evidence corroborates the belief that A 1, A 2, and B were three different poets.

I have furthermore pointed out above[1] that Mr. Chambers in his final summary[2] (p. 32), by implication—indeed, by direct affirmation—has understated and misrepresented Mr. Manly's whole case.

That those few of Mr. Manly's arguments which I have restated in this paper are not "assumptions" (Mr. Chambers' term) I feel confident I have been able to prove. The full presentation of all the arguments awaits only the establishment of the critical texts of the B- and the C-versions.

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[1] *Mod. Philology*, XIV, p. 533. [2] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V.

ANTONY'S AMAZING "I WILL TO EGYPT"

Among the characters for whom Shakespeare seems to have had a certain fondness, and who in consequence appeal most deeply to us, the hero of *Antony and Cleopatra* must surely be included. This is the more surprising in view of the fact that few of Shakespeare's men are faultier, and certainly not one of those with whom we sympathize is placed in a more unsympathetic position. The need of Hamlet to perform a deed which he cannot bring himself to accomplish, the helplessness of Othello to compete against Iago's cunning, the impotent rage of the mighty exiled Lear—these are all appealing because of the essential nobility of the character and the magnitude and hopelessness of the struggle. In Antony also there is an element of grandeur, but in his struggle there is something ignoble.

It is not that Antony's love for Cleopatra is itself in violation of morality; it is rather that we feel a certain paltriness in his effort to free himself from her, and to take his rightful place in the world of men. This feeling does not come to us as we see the enslaved giant in Act I. It is the greatness of his love that we first realize, and not the mere shame of it on which Demetrius and Philo are commenting when the play begins. We know that the struggle is coming; and when Antony himself says:

> These strong Egyptian fetters I must break,
> Or lose myself in dotage. . . . .
> I must from this enchanting queen break off;
> Ten thousand harms, more than the ills I know,
> My idleness doth hatch,

we are ready to witness a mighty contest between the man's two natures. Before the act closes Antony has gone to take his stand with Caesar against the warring Pompey, though he goes as Cleopatra's "soldier" and with her spell still upon him.

Immediately upon his arrival in Rome, however, Antony makes his peace with Caesar, and readily agrees to bind it by marrying Caesar's sister, Octavia. At the close of this scene Enobarbus throws out the hint that Antony will not leave Cleopatra utterly. So far

the issue is clearly defined. But we come now to the scene which throws us completely out of our calculations, and shows us an Antony who is neither loyal in his love to Cleopatra nor in the least concerned to free himself from her. We are robbed at once both of the truly tragic hero and of that conflict of will which Brunetière says is essential to all drama. The scene is so brief, and I must refer to it so constantly, that I give it entire:

[*Enter* Antony, Caesar, Octavia *between them, and* Attendants.]

Ant. The world and my great office will sometimes
Divide me from your bosom.
Octa. All which time
Before the gods my knee shall bow my prayers
To them for you. Good night, sir.[1]
Ant. My Octavia,
Read not my blemishes in the world's report.
I have not kept my square; but that to come
Shall all be done by the rule. Good night, dear lady.
Good night, sir.
Caes. Good night. [*Exeunt all but* Antony.

[*Enter* Soothsayer]

Ant. Now, sirrah, you do wish yourself in Egypt?
Sooth. Would I had never come from thence, nor you either.[2]
Ant. If you can, your reason?
Sooth. I see it in
My motion, have it not in my tongue; but yet
Hie you to Egypt again.
Ant. Say to me
Whose fortunes shall rise higher, Caesar's or mine?
Sooth. Caesar's.
Therefore, O Antony, stay not by his side.
Thy demon, that's thy spirit which keeps thee, is
Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,

[1] This is my own reading. The folios and all modern editors (so far as I know) give the last three words to Antony, while many editors have followed the Second Folio in giving the *second* "Good night, sir" to Octavia on the ground that Antony has already said "good night" to Caesar. But, as Malone says, Caesar immediately answers this, and for Antony to say "Good night, sir" *twice* to Caesar is, as Ritson remarks, absurd. It is equally absurd for him to turn and say "Good night, sir" to Caesar before answering Octavia, and for Shakespeare to leave her with no "good night" to Antony.

[2] This is again my own emendation. The text reads, "Nor you thither." Mason noted that the sense requires "hither" rather than "thither." I see no reason why "either," or perhaps the double negative "neither," should not be substituted. The line with "thither" or with "hither" implies some sort of contrast in the coming of Antony and the Soothsayer, which, of course, is not the case.

Where Caesar's is not; but near him thy angel
Becomes a fear, as being o'erpowered: therefore
Make space enough between you.

Ant. Speak this no more.

Sooth. To none but thee; no more, but when to thee.
If thou dost play with him at any game
Thou art sure to lose; and, by that natural luck,
He beats thee 'gainst the odds; thy luster thickens
When he shines by. I say again, thy spirit
Is all afraid to govern thee near him,
But he away, 'tis noble.

Ant. Get thee gone;
Say to Ventidius I would speak with him. [*Exit* Soothsayer.
He shall to Parthia. Be it art or hap,
He hath spoken true; the very dice obey him,
And in our sports my better cunning faints
Under his chance: if we draw lots, he speeds;
His cocks do win the battle still of mine
When it is all to naught, and his quails ever
Beat mine, inhooped, at odds. I will to Egypt;
And though I make this marriage for my peace,
In the east my pleasure lies.

[*Enter* Ventidius.]

O, come, Ventidius,
You must to Parthia; your commission's ready;
Follow me and receive it. [*Exeunt.*

That Antony, immediately after what he has said to Octavia, and before he is even married to her, should turn with his nonchalant "I will to Egypt" to plan his second infidelity in advance comes to me like a slap in the face. We cannot believe that he is insincere in what he says to her; there is nothing of that tone in his gratuitous assurances. Knight says: "Shakespeare has most skilfully introduced the Soothsayer at the moment when Antony's moral weakness appears to have put on some show of strength." But in this scene Antony is not only weak; he is contemptible. Macbeth is weak; but there is something magnificent in his career of crime. Yet the fact remains that Antony is one of Shakespeare's mightiest men; and when we blot from our minds this one impression of sudden horror, he appeals to our deepest sympathies almost as truly as Macbeth.

It is not that Antony will return to Egypt—we have known that; we are prepared for that. It is the occasion, the moment at which he says it, that gives us this sickening sense of aversion to him, and the feeling that there is no genuine *conflict*, no real struggle in the man's soul. Furthermore, the dramatic interest comes to a sudden halt. It is not the *time* for this decision to be reached. This thought led me to the conviction that something must be wrong with the text, that the Soothsayer portion of this scene must somehow have got out of place, that perhaps Shakespeare originally put it at the end of this act.[1]

So radical a theory could never win credence with any sober-minded critic unless there were abundant evidence to support it. Is there anything more than a mere aesthetic and personal reaction to warrant the idea that this scene has indeed been shifted, and that Shakespeare himself placed it elsewhere? There is such evidence, and whether or not that evidence is sufficient I now submit.

Antony's first line in Act II, spoken to Ventidius, "If we compose well here, to Parthia," must refer to the impending war with Pompey. It could not refer to any adjustment between Antony and Caesar, as has been suggested, for that would not liberate Antony's general for other conquests. Antony's purpose in coming, his purpose in having Ventidius with him, is to meet Pompey.[2] It would be therefore wholly impossible for him to send Ventidius away at this point in the action. I do not qualify this statement; I repeat, it would be *wholly impossible*. It must be remembered also that this war was imminent. As soon as the marriage with Octavia is arranged, Lepidus says,

> Time calls upon us;
> Of us must Pompey presently be sought,
> Or else he seeks out us.

And Antony answers,

> Haste we for it;
> Yet, e'er we put ourselves in arms, dispatch we
> The business we have talked of.

[1] I am indebted for suggestions to various members of my 1914 Shakespeare seminar at Stanford, in which this question first arose. I regret that I cannot give individual and specific acknowledgment to some of the members of this class.

[2] This is not presented as the sole cause of Antony's leaving, but it is the chief and immediate cause, as Antony says both to Enobarbus and to Cleopatra.

Caesar agrees to bring him at once to Octavia. In the following scene we have presumably the conclusion of this meeting; yet the Soothsayer speaks of games and sports, of cock fights and contests with quails, in which Caesar is habitually the winner. Shakespeare does not thus indicate the passing of time when there is neither cause nor excuse for it. Until Pompey was disposed of, there could have been no time for cock and quail fights, and for that protracted stay at Caesar's court which the lines unequivocally indicate. It may be noted in passing that when Antony questions the soothsayer he merely asks, "Whose fortunes shall rise higher, Caesar's or mine?" Until the difficulty with Pompey was adjusted, this question could not arise.

A still more convincing reason for believing that the Soothsayer portion of this scene does not belong here is that there is an inherent contradiction in the lines themselves. Both Antony and Caesar regard the marriage as a means of binding them permanently together; Antony could have no other motive for welcoming the idea so avidly; and both he and Caesar know that, if this marriage is to unite them, it must not be profaned. To return to Cleopatra after being wedded to Octavia would mean for Antony not peace but war. Of that there could not be the faintest trace of doubt in his mind. It was therefore wholly impossible for him to say, "And though I make this marriage *for my peace*," and immediately add that he would return to Egypt for his pleasure. If, however, the scene came at the end of Act II, after he had long been married to Octavia, after he had wearied of such unsatisfying pastimes as cock and quail fighting with the tedious and punctilious Caesar, after he had tried and failed to free himself from Cleopatra's power, he could then make the essential *contrast* which the lines denote in saying,

> I will to Egypt;
> And though I *made* this marriage for my peace,
> In the east my pleasure lies.

This may show him weak and wicked if you will, but at least it will not set him down as an absolute fool. The slight change of tense was of course essential when the scene was shifted to its present place.

One further consideration may strengthen our conviction that Shakespeare really placed the Soothsayer's entrance where the exigencies of the drama demand it instead of where we find it in the Folio. This is that Plutarch himself records the advice of the Soothsayer and the sending of Ventidius to Parthia immediately after the banquet and the settlement with Pompey, which is exactly the place in which they ought to come. Though, of course, Shakespeare felt perfectly free to rearrange his material, and though in this very play there are several instances of such a readjustment, yet on the whole Shakespeare followed Plutarch closely here, and, what is much more to the point, his rearrangements are always to secure a definite dramatic gain. But if in this instance he chose to make the change which we find in the text, it could be only for the purpose of needlessly defaming his hero's character, and that at a very considerable dramatic loss.[1]

The remaining scenes in the act accord with the arrangement that I have suggested. In scene v Cleopatra learns of Antony's marriage, but her fury lacks point if we have already heard him announce his intention to return. Dramatically, this scene should aid the suspense which Antony's departure and his marriage to Octavia has

[1] After describing the feast on Pompey's galley, Plutarch continues: "Antonius, after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia, to stay the Parthians, and to keep them that they should come no farther; and he himself in the meantime, to gratify Caesar, was contented to be chosen Julius Caesar's priest and sacrificer, and so they jointly together dispatched all great matters concerning the state of the Empire. But in all manner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away, the one with the other, Antonius was ever inferior unto Caesar, and always lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Egypt, that could cast a figure and judge of men's nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so by his art, told Antonius plainly that his fortune (which of itself was excellent good and very great) was altogether blemished and obscured by Caesar's fortune; and therefore he counseled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. 'For thy demon,' said he '(that is to say the good angel and spirit that keepeth thee), is afraid of his; and being courageous and high when he is alone, becometh fearful and timorous when he cometh near unto the other.' Howsoever it was, the events ensuing proved the Egyptian's words true. For, it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have anything, or whether they played at dice, Antonius always lost. Oftentimes they were disposed to see cockfight, or quails that were taught to fight one with another; Caesar's cocks or quails did ever overcome. The which spited Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward show of it; and therefore he believed the Egyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affairs of his house unto Caesar, and went out of Italy with Octavia his wife, whom he carried into Greece, after he had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying all winter at Athens, news came unto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the Parthians in battle."

aroused. In scene vi Pompey makes his peace with the triumvirate. They did indeed "compose well here," and Pompey says,

> I crave our composition may be written,
> And sealed between us.

Again, and this is of real significance, note how the hints of Enobarbus later in the scene, that "Octavia is of a holy, cold, and still conversation," and that in consequence Antony "will to his Egyptian dish again," renew our interest in the main situation. But what value is there, dramatic or other, in this "prophecy" of Enobarbus if we already know from Antony's own lips that he had resolved to go back to Cleopatra, before ever he was married to Octavia? The shrewdness of the somewhat gross-minded realist gives him the natural right to anticipate Antony's return before Antony himself would realize it.[1] His place in the economy of the drama is here distinctly that of *preparation* for Antony's own resolve to return.

Here, then, are eight indications, of which at least three are unescapable, that the scene in question is out of place, and that in consequence Antony is a fit hero for a lofty tragedy. For though this change is in itself so slight, I believe that the difference it makes in our interpretation of the drama is far-reaching. If the scene does indeed come where we are accustomed to read it, we must interpret Antony as a man who is completely under the dominance of Cleopatra, who makes no slightest effort to free himself from her (as he determines in Act I that he will do), yet who is as grossly false to his vows of love as he is to his vows of marriage. He is not warm-blooded and impulsive, generous and noble, as he shows himself throughout all the rest of the drama. He is no longer one of the world's great lovers; he is simply coldly faithless for the sake of policy. Nor is he even a clever politician, which at least he has shown himself to be in *Julius Caesar*.[2] For, as I have already said, no man of even an ordinary amount of intelligence could enter into a marriage

[1] Compare his "aside," III, xiii, 88. Here, as always, Enobarbus interprets and anticipates the action.

[2] I do not in the least mean to say that we should look for consistency in Antony's portrayal in the two plays. The difference which we feel so strongly is not that between a young man and the same man in middle age. It is not even the difference of the politician who has grown into a statesman. The character is entirely re-created, which seems to have been Shakespeare's custom even in revising a play. Thus we may find two different Capulets in *Romeo and Juliet* and two Birons in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

for the sake of peace and confide to us in advance his intention of returning to his mistress.

But with the change I have suggested we have an Antony who makes a genuine effort to free himself from Cleopatra's bondage, who marries Octavia in the resolve to live henceforth "by the rule," and who does indeed remain constant for a considerable period (as Plutarch recorded). His resolve to return, if spoken at the end of Act II, becomes not a cold-blooded predetermination to prove unfaithful, but rather a momentary impulse which has not yet gained full control of him. For I cannot feel that Antony's parting from Caesar in Act III, where his attitude toward both Caesar and Octavia rings true and loyal and affectionate, is merely the acting of an arch-hypocrite. The lines do not read so. The thought of Cleopatra is here, I take it, only subconsciously with him.[1] Even in his parting from Octavia in scene iv there is no warrant for believing that Antony is merely making an excuse to be rid of her. It is a subtle and insidious force that is drawing him back to Egypt. His return is not calculated, it is inevitable. He has no soliloquies of doubt or struggle, like Hamlet and Macbeth. We simply learn that the thing has happened; and when we next see Cleopatra, her finally enslaved Antony is with her.

There are two objections to our transferring the Soothsayer scene to the end of Act II. One is the very obvious objection that in our only authority, the Folio, it does not come there, and we may well question how it got into its present position if Shakespeare really placed it somewhere else. My answer to this difficulty is simply to state the second reason that may be urged against transferring the scene, namely, that Ventidius opens Act III with the announcement that his expedition has been victorious and Parthia subdued. To avoid bringing immediately together the starting upon an expedition and its success, it was natural enough to push this short scene forward, and to join it to a scene where Antony is already present.[2]

[1] If I may be permitted the comparison, the next scene has somewhat the value of an "insert" in a motion-picture play. When a character is thinking of, or remembering, some incident, the action is halted while that incident itself is thrown upon the screen. It is thus that we see Cleopatra again, hoping for Antony's return, and feeling that because of Octavia's insufficiency, "all may be well enough."

[2] Superficially considered, too, Antony's resolve to return to Cleopatra would be dramatically effective immediately after his new resolve to remarry and break from her forever.

There was abundant opportunity for the making of this change after Shakespeare's death, and before the altered manuscript served as copy for the First Folio.[1] If the scene fitted perfectly at the end of the act, I should indeed wonder how it could ever have been misplaced, for such a shifting could scarcely have resulted from mere accident.

But is not this objection sufficient to prevent our believing that the scene ever came at the end of Act II? It is not Shakespeare's way to send his character on a mission and then to open his next scene, even if that scene begins a new act, with an announcement that the whole business is over. It would be as if the King in *Hamlet* sent Cornelius and Voltimand to Norway at the very end of Act I and welcomed their return in the opening lines of Act II. It would be even a more serious breach of dramatic principles than that, for Ventidius must subdue all Parthia in this imaginary interval. And though Ventidius gains but a few hours of actual time by his earlier leaving, the friendly audience will grant him unlimited "stage time" during the feasting on Pompey's galley.

A possible means of avoiding this difficulty would be to place the scene before, instead of after, the concluding scene of Act II; but here it would directly contradict the action as described in scene vi. There we read (lines 82–84):

Pomp. Aboard my galley I invite you all;
Will you lead, lords?
Caes. *Ant.* *Lep.* Show us the way, sir.
Pomp. Come.

And together they all enter in scene vii. It is true that it would be characteristic of Shakespeare to break up the two Pompey scenes by a brief return to some other aspect of the story; and especially is it unlike him to give so much time to the Pompey episode while the main theme of the drama is held in abeyance. In scene vi the trouble with Pompey is completely adjusted, so that there is no further call for Ventidius to remain; and, wonderful as it is in itself,

[1] The text of *Antony and Cleopatra* shows other symptoms of having been tampered with. The use of the pronouns of address in this play is wholly at variance with Shakespeare's custom.

there is no *dramatic* purpose served by this final scene of the act unless it supplies the essential "stage time" for Ventidius to subdue Parthia.

But in spite of all these considerations, I still feel that the Soothsayer scene was placed by Shakespeare at the end of Act II. That Ventidius, as conqueror of Parthia, opens Act III is the only serious objection; and the objection is here, not that there is any impossibility about it, but simply that it is not Shakespeare's usual way. I should let this consideration determine me against my thesis, were it not that so much greater difficulties attend our leaving the scene where it is, or placing it anywhere else. In *Antony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare does not adhere in many other ways to his usual methods; and he may have felt free to proceed with his story without his customary device of giving a seeming sequence to events which were widely separated in time.[1]

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[1] It is possible that Act III opened with a Cleopatra scene which was afterward cut out, and that this caused the shifting of the Soothsayer scene.

TWO NOTES ON *THE TRIAL OF TREASURE*

Although the editorial comments on the play of *New Custom*, in the Hazlitt-Dodsley edition, have in some cases elucidated the text[1] by references to Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, the same service is not performed for *The Trial of Treasure*, published in the same volume. In the latter play an allusion made by Just, in the course of an invective against the Papists, is rendered intelligible through an incident recorded by Foxe among instances of persecutions under Mary. This circumstance enables us to date the play, in its present form, somewhat more definitely than has heretofore been possible.[2]

The characters Just, Trust, and Contentation are engaged in a harmonious discussion of the virtues which they represent, and the opposite vices. In the contribution of Just the emphasis falls on ambition, which, in the words of the speaker,

> . . . . Chiefly did reign
> Among those that should be examples to other;
> We saw how their brethren they did disdain,
> And burned with fire the child with the mother.[3]

Foxe has recorded a single instance, among English martyrdoms, of the burning of a child with its mother. The heading of the section in the *Acts and Monuments* that is devoted to the occurrence runs as follows: "A tragicall lamentable and pitiful History, full of most cruel and tyrannical murther done by the pretended Catholicks upon three Women and an Infant; to wit the Mother, her two Daughters, and the Child, in the Isle of Gurnsey, for Christs true Religion, the year of our Lord 1556 July 18."[4] The main features

[1] Hazlitt-Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. 1874, III; see especially pp. 11, 35.

[2] The first printed edition is that of 1567, and certain passages indicate that the date of composition is early in Elizabeth's reign. The most significant of these are mentioned by Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Halle, 1903), III, 525. See also Halliwell, *Percy Society*, XXVIII, Preface to *The Trial of Treasure*, and Farmer's note in *Anonymous Plays* (London, 1906), Ser. 3, pp. 299–300.

[3] Hazlitt-Dodsley, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

[4] *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1684, III, 625. The account of the affair, together with the record of a protracted theological wrangle which took rise from it, occupies pp. 625–32.

of the story are these. The three women referred to in the heading were arrested on suspicion of heresy and sentenced to be burned. One of the women, by name Perotine, was pregnant at the time, and at the first pain of the flames her body burst open and the child fell into the fire. It was rescued by a bystander, but at the command of the bailiff was again thrown into the flames. The brother of Perotine brought supplication to Queen Elizabeth for the punishment of the persecutors in 1562, and all those who had taken active part in the affair were accused.[1]

Since this record supplies the only known historical instance which illustrates the words of Just, it is doubtless the source of the allusion. Moreover, the incident would hardly have become sufficiently familiar matter to warrant such a reference until the suit had been brought to court and been made the subject of London talk. One would therefore hesitate to date the play in its present form earlier than 1562.

A further suggestion as to the background of the play draws upon very different material. It will be remembered that the comic relief in *The Trial of Treasure* is supplied almost exclusively by a series of incidents in which one of the characters assumes the rôle of a fractious horse. Inclination, the Vice, after having been forcibly bridled by Just, is mistaken for an actual horse by Greedy-gut, the satellite Vice, who, however, soon recognizes him and is prevailed upon to set him free. Later he is securely bridled again, and after a vigorous resistance led from the stage.

The device, as is seen, is exploited to the utmost, and the crude fun of the affair, largely a matter of kicking and neighing, fits awkwardly into the humorless disputations which constitute the greater part of the play. One would hesitate to credit a dramatist otherwise so consistently lifeless with the invention of this bit of noisy farce; and the record of a much older morality proves beyond question that *The Trial of Treasure* was not the first drama to divert an English audience with "horse play" in this literal sense. Mr. T. S. Graves, in an article which appeared a few years ago,[2] brings forward,

[1] They submitted themselves to the Queen's pardon, and were later acquitted (Foxe, *loc. cit.*).

[2] "Some Allusions to Religious and Political Plays," *Modern Philology*, IX, 545–54.

in another connection, a letter written by the Spanish ambassador to England, which describes the performance of a morality at a royal banquet in 1522. The central incident in this play was the forcible bridling, by Friendship, Prudence, and Might, of an unruly horse, who represented in this case the King of France. The allegorical meaning of the incident must have been sufficiently clear to the audience, as it is mentioned both in the ambassador's letter and in Hall's *Chronicle*,[1] which also gives a condensed account of the performance.

The exact nature of the connection between two instances so remote from each other in point of time can hardly be established with certainty, but the similarity of the cases[2] challenges explanation. Perhaps we should be warranted in supposing that the convention of bridling a human "horse" persisted on the stage from the days of Henry to those of Elizabeth. More reasonably, however, we may infer that the original version of *The Trial of Treasure* belongs near enough to the earlier performance to render imitation of the bridling incident probable. In that case the 1567 edition of *The Trial of Treasure* would represent a revamping of an earlier morality for immediate controversial purposes.[3] For lack of data the question must for the present be left open; my present purpose is simply to call attention to the interesting parallel.

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[1] The account of Hall (*Chronicle*, p. 641) is also mentioned by Mr. Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

[2] There is nothing in either account of the 1522 performance to indicate whether a horse or a man took the part of the recalcitrant King of France. In view, however, of the difficulties of the rôle, which demanded a high degree of responsiveness, it hardly seems worth while to consider the possibility that the King was played by a horse.

[3] Such usage was, of course, not infrequent. See Mackenzie, *The English Moralities* (Boston, 1914), p. 46, n. 1, who cites Fleay, *History of the Stage*, p. 64.

CORRIGENDA

As I received no proofs of my article entitled *Chauceriana* in the issue of *Modern Philology* for September, 1916, I beg to state that on page 125, in the Cornish quotation, for *zos* one should read *ȝos*, and on page 126 the Flemish quotation should read:

Hi sach, *suut* onder die sonne,
Lamfroit *comen* geronnen.

Also on page 126 for *Soudon of Damas* read *soudan of Dammas*. In two of the above cases I believe the error did not originate with the printers, but was in the copy. All these errors might have been avoided if I had taken the pains to typewrite the copy.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Rhythm of Prose: An Experimental Investigation of Individual Difference in the Sense of Rhythm. By William Morrison Patterson, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. Pp. xxiii+193.

This book presents the results of a series of experiments performed upon a group of twelve trained observers, with a view to determining the average individual's reaction to rhythmic experience and performance. Its application, however, transcends the immediate bounds of the scientific field and appeals in addition to a wider circle of musicians and literary persons. Whether mistaken or justified, many a thoughtful reader of the monograph will gather the impression that Dr. Patterson's ulterior purpose has tended toward the provision of a practical method of style-analysis and toward the standardization of criticism from an angle fundamentally at variance with some of the vacuous generalities of the day. Rightly or wrongly, one feels that the author, too, has felt the surfeit of hearing a volume of modern free verse characterized as "redolent with the pungent breath of the heath," or a symphony, like the C minor of Brahms, sweepingly labeled a "colossally somber work of rugged severity."

Many of the basic conceptions of prose rhythm have been laid down by previous authorities. Wundt's all-embracing contention that no series of impressions is possible which cannot in some way be comprehended as rhythmic, not only commands the approbation, but also furnishes the major premise of all investigators. Others, like Meumann and Sievers, have recognized the two antagonistic tendencies present in rhythm: the centripetal, which seeks to order, and the centrifugal, which lends freedom and variety to the capricious groupings of prose. The modern scholar regards the experience of prose rhythm no longer as perceptional or emotional, but rather as pre-eminently kinaesthetic, a subjectively *experienced* movement of periodic word-waves whose troughs and crests of attention are marked off by subtle patterns of time and stress and melody. What differentiates prose from poetry, in the last analysis, is the lack of uniform recurrence in the unbound speech. Its rhythm enjoys unevenness, just as harmony becomes more intense when associated with dissonance. The rhythm of music is after all genetically identical with the rhythm of speech. What, then, is the force which organizes the seeming irregularities of prose into a subjectively pleasurable sensation?

It is at this point that the author's contribution to the subject proves of immediate importance. Dr. Patterson's formula is syncopation: the

instinctive rhythmic sense in the Red Man's drumbeat tune; the double-shuffle of the buck-and-wing dancer; finger-taps alternating with spoken syllables; the negro plying his hoe to the accompaniment of an improvised melody; technically, the possibility of preserving a certain series of time-intervals while the motions that mark the beats undergo a varied change. The conventional dignity of the modern man inhibits many a native impulse and frowns even at the tapping of feet in correspondence with the time of effective music. The American Indian can accelerate and retard his series of time-beats and perhaps gauge it; he can certainly enjoy it. His civilized brother must, however, be what the author terms an "aggressive timer" in order to be able to discriminate and measure the swing of rhythm and, by means of the sense of syncopation, bring its haphazard series into subjective co-ordination. We may not be far from the mark if we compare this "timer" of Dr. Patterson's with the musician who possesses a sense of the absolute pitch. For the "timer" must similarly be highly developed in order to organize his time-experiences into musical transcription. The combination of numerically recurrent stressed and unstressed syllables; the interplay of words with the nuance of thought; the word-painting and phrase-balancing of the imagist—these are experiences that can be appreciated even by a person who is only passively rhythmic. But these are also the very elements that represent the static balance of the sentence and not its progressive movement. The "stresser," as experiments have demonstrated, reacts to the vigor of De Quincey's *Confessions*, but not to its rhythmic tune, its subtle elasticity.

It follows, to revert to our introductory remarks, that the final fitness of a musical and literary critic varies in direct ratio with his ability to respond to rhythmic stimuli. One deficient in such aggressiveness will gain from rhythm but a vague impression of elusiveness, is powerless to give a clear-cut description of his own experience, and often deals perforce with a hodge-podge of aesthetic superficialities. The suitableness, ease, and spontaneity of a musical and literary rhythm to the theme of which it is a vehicle will be obscured in inverse ratio to his sense of motor reaction.

Interesting is the timer's view as to the effect which the perception of prose, verse, and *vers libre*—a timely discussion—made upon him. Dr. Patterson's observers found that poetry, representing a coincidence of the measuring pulses with the accented syllables of the text, gave the sensation of marching or dancing on level ground. Prose, a resilient succession of balances appealing to the timer's sense of syncopation, reminded one of the irregular climbing of the Hopi Indian to his cliff dwelling. Free verse proved, not merely a compound of felicitous phrasing and vivid imagery—welcome emotional values—but primarily a superimposition of the regular time-patterns of poetry upon the movable time-scheme of prose. It is not surprising, therefore, that, deprived of visual arrangement, the verses of Tennyson and Browning were declared to be prose by a group of observers

at Yale. To the timer in question, the author points out, free verse gives a "disquieting experience of attempting to dance up the side of a mountain. For those who find this task exhilarating *vers libre*, as a form, is without a rival. With regard to subtle cadence, however, which has been claimed as the chief distinction of the new poets, it is still a question as to how far they have surpassed the refinement of balance that quickens the prose of Walter Pater."

The book, as a whole, is stimulating as few of its class can be. Its authoritativeness is vouched for by the cumulative evidence of scrupulously interpreted experimental data. There may be those who will object to the application of physical instruments to the investigation. Verrier, *Old Testament and Semitic Studies* (Chicago, 1908), p. 177, remarks: "Facts which require instruments for their discernment have no place in the study of rhythm." More serious will appear the assignment of a very subordinate position in the rhythmic tune to stress and pitch relations, especially when experiments have shown that melody is based essentially upon a motor activity in most respects identical with that underlying rhythm. Cf. Bingham, "Studies in Melody," Monograph Supplement, *Psychological Review*, XII, 83. So, too, in all likelihood, there will not be wanting trained philologists, especially in the Germanic field, who will take exception to the author's view of Sievers' practical application of sentence-melody as "the hobby of a great scholar" and "poetic speculation." All readers, however, will support Dr. Patterson in his warning against rhythmic atrophy. He advises the sedate victim of dignity to shake off some of the inhibitions of modern society, follow music with enthusiastic abandon, tap off the drum-beat of standard prose, walk, nod the head, and sway the body in accompaniment to rhythmic syncopation, until the "tunes" have sung their way into the automatic processes of the brain and become an unconscious fund of rhythmic facility. As the reviewer envisages the question, the present world may never revert to the age of the itinerant bard or of the serenading troubadour, when music was a vibrant idiom and poetry a spoken art. But it is unquestionably worth while, in order to heighten our powers and pleasures of appreciation, to try to regain the primitive man's instinctive grasp over the balance of rhythmic flow.

Now the prosaic task of bibliographical additions. (Of typographic errors only a few were met with: p. 27, l. 13, the division should be "Lautreihen"; p. 40, n. 147, the initials are C. A.; p. 183, *s.n.* Gayley, the date should be 1899.) It is assumed that it was not the intention of the author to furnish a bibliography of rhythm similar to those found in the *American Journal of Psychology*, XXIV, 508–19, and XXVI, 457–59, and that the books listed represent the works actually consulted. The following titles, some of which will be found to supplement the above bibliographies—the second is at present inaccessible to me—could have been drawn upon with equal profit:

RHYTHM

D. S. MacColl. "Rhythm in English Verse, Prose and Speech," in *Essays and Studies by the English Association*, V, 7–51. Oxford, 1914.

C. W. E. Miller. *The Relation of the Rhythm of Poetry to That of the Spoken Language*. Baltimore, 1902.

Benoist-Hanappier. *Die freien Rhythmen in der deutschen Lyrik*. Halle, 1905.

Saran. *Der Rhythmus des französischen Verses*. Halle, 1904 (listed in Bibliography I).

VERSIFICATION

R. D. Miller. *Secondary Accent in Modern English Verse*, dissertation, Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore, 1904.

E. B. Setzler. *On Anglo-Saxon Versification, from the Standpoint of Modern English Versification*. Baltimore, 1904.

B. A. P. Van Dam. *William Shakespeare, Prosody and Text*. Leyden, 1900. Treatise on heroic and blank verse.

T. B. Rudmose-Brown. *Étude comparée de la versification française et de la versification anglaise*. Grenoble, 1905.

M. Grammont. *Le Vers français*, 12th ed. Paris, 1913.

A. Heusler. *Zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Verskunst*. Breslau, 1891.

———. *Über germanischen Versbau*. Berlin, 1894.

T. S. Omond. *English Metrists in the 18th and 19th Centuries*. London, 1907. On the *clausula*, cf. *American Journal of Philology*, XXV, 453; XXXII, 344.

POETRY

F. N. Scott. "The Most Fundamental Differentia of Poetry and Prose," *PMLA*, XIX, 250–69.

Hudson Maxim's iconoclastic *Science of Poetry*. New York, 1900. Unscholarly, but very suggestive.

A. Goldbeck-Loewe. *Geschichte der freien Verse in der deutschen Dichtung*. Kiel, 1891.

MELODY

O. Rutz. *Musik, Wort und Körper*. Leipzig, 1911.

———. *Sprache, Gesang und Körperhaltung*. Leipzig, 1911.

Cf. also *Idg. Forsch.*, XXVIII, 301. Further literature of interest is to be found in Schammberger, *Zum Gedichte Lob Salomos*, dissertation. Leipzig, 1910, pp. 5 ff.

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Of Reformation Touching Church Discipline in England. Edited by W. T. HALE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. lxxxix+224.

Studies in the Milton Tradition. By J. W. GOOD. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4.) Urbana, 1915. Pp. 310.

These additions to our critical understanding of Milton are as unlike in purpose and method as is humanly possible. One investigator has used his

surgical scalpel upon the minutiae of a single document; the other, to use his own phrase regarding certain eighteenth-century critics, has labored "with a sword in one hand and a commentary in the other" that he might prove Milton a constant influence upon English life and thought. The former shows how well Milton understood his own generation, while the latter displays in proper categories the critical estimates of others, taken from the documents of a hundred and fifty years.

Dr. Hale has edited *Of Reformation Touching Church Discipline in England* in a scholarly manner. His introduction forms a proper approach to the pamphlet, for it gives a clear survey of the religious background for Milton's first philippic against Episcopacy. The facts are well known, but they have never been presented with more simple clearness. A useful summary of the argument precedes the text, which is a faithful reproduction of the 1641 edition and its variants. The remainder of the book is devoted to well-documented notes, a glossary, and bibliography. This edition will be especially useful to scholars demanding a critical text of the pamphlet, and will also afford general readers easy access to its true meaning. The following typographical faults need correction: on p. 81, l. 25, read 1384 for 1284, and on p. 97 read 1627, 1635, and 1636 for 1827, 1835, and 1836, respectively.

The mass of material forming Dr. Good's study of the Milton tradition is too great for detailed analysis. Of chief interest are his methods of research, the new conclusions of permanent value, and the more evident errors in fact. An introductory chapter aptly displays the heavy stress of present criticism upon the eighteenth-century vogue of the *Minor Poems*, and ends with the assertion that *Paradise Lost* was of far greater consequence for the romantic phases of literary history. This is the central thesis of the book and one that affects deeply the conclusions of the author's various inquiries. Dr. Good has brought into union much evidence regarding the publication of Milton's works, some two hundred poetical tributes to his genius, the leading biographical opinions before 1801, formal literary criticisms for the same period, and the accidental contributions to his reputation of religious, political, and literary controversy. These may best be examined in turn.

The mathematical evidence of publication from 1637 to 1801 is clearly in favor of *Paradise Lost* and against all the other works of Milton. It appears that before 1801 (pp. 25–27) there were one hundred and thirty editions of the epic. This, or the total of one hundred and one given in the comparative summary (p. 49), surpasses the totals shown for the *Minor Poems*. These are listed variously. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* were printed (p. 40), in all forms, including musical adaptations, "seventy-nine times up to the year 1801"; but the preceding table shows eighty entries, and another record (p. 49) gives the total of seventy-four. *Lycidas* (p. 38) had sixty-three issues during the same years, or (p. 49) sixty-eight. This

array of figures would be more emphatic if accompanied by facts regarding the number of copies in any edition after that of 1688. The list for *Paradise Lost* is not complete, nor is it accurate in its description of early editions; the excuse offered is that "at a distance of two centuries one can only hope for an approximate correctness, even in the most careful study of those early 'editions.'" Because of these facts the safe conclusion to draw from this record is that *Paradise Lost* was constantly popular up to the year 1801. Nothing further is evident.

The chapter of poetical tributes suffers similarly from incompleteness. Gray is well represented, but not by the famous lines from *The Progress of Poesy*. Dr. Dalton's *Prologue to Comus* (1738) is not printed, nor are other obscure selections, easily accessible in Todd's *Milton*. Even though all those given are reminiscent of Milton and his themes, they have little critical value without an accompanying interpretation in the light of personal interest or special occasion of writing. Imitation, a more sincere expression of esteem, could not have had full consideration here, but it deserves at least equal place with what at times is mere verbal recognition.

The succeeding chapters on biography and formal criticism contain more satisfying results of investigation. They show a careful reading of the critical reviews and give useful summaries of longer critical works dealing exclusively with Milton. A typical passage presents the causes leading to Dr. Johnson's ill-natured *Life*. The general drift of these chapters and of that on controversies is to the effect that Milton's ideas were constantly useful in religious and political disputes, and that out of such limited recognition evolved a true literary appreciation. The essays of Mr. Dowden and Professor Havens in the *British Academy* (1908) and in *Englische Studien* (1909) marked out the lines for these conclusions, but no one hitherto has carefully analyzed the record through to the close of the century. These summaries of opinion are admirably built up within the limits of an evolutionary conception to prove Milton an object of national regard.

The account of Milton's share in the romantic revival depreciates the *Minor Poems* in order to exalt *Paradise Lost*. This summary in behalf of Dr. Good's central thesis lacks most of the admitted facts regarding the influence of the earlier poems. In a previous chapter (p. 142) Dr. Good denies value to his own citations in high praise of the *Minor Poems;* there, in spite of prima facie evidence to the contrary, he sums up the popular attitude toward them from 1691 to 1730 as "one of comparative indifference." Here the topic is displaced by a study of the romantic elements of *Paradise Lost*.

The epic is shown to have affected both popular ideas of religion and formal theological doctrine. Its graphic descriptions made eternity a reality of belief, while the concrete depiction of individualistic revolt in Satan's character gave point to Milton's abstract prose discussions regarding

human liberty. It popularized narrative and descriptive poetry, and also gave body to the arguments for blank verse as against rhyming. These are positive additions to the Milton tradition.

Beyond this point, however, it is impossible to follow Dr. Good's exaltation of *Paradise Lost*. One suspects that men of that time drew moral guidance quite as much from their ponderous theologians and that the English Bible was another known source of the creation story. It is extravagant to say (p. 242) that "the romantic movement may almost be defined as a returning of the nation to the vision of Milton, with the aspirations that are consequent and correlated to his divine conceptions"; or that (p. 243) "upon eighteenth-century life his views fell with the weight of divine sanction." Such straining of a clear case makes the whole account seem uncritical. Without these embarrassments the evidence proves unmistakably that *Paradise Lost* had a continuous vogue, with specific relationship to the changes in English art and thought. Nowhere else is the book so free from the fault of being merely a compilation.

Space remains for only such errors of fact and of printing as may not be immediately evident. As noted above, the lists of editions in chap. ii are incomplete. "G. Hog" (p. 37 n.) is identical with "W. Hog" named elsewhere, being taken from the Latin form of "William" used in the title of Hog's edition. Other faulty Latin (p. 53, l. 22), *cincta* for *cuncta*, gives an amusing turn to Barrow's lines:

> Qui legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni
> Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legis?

Also, the *Miltoni Epistola ad Pollionem* appears (p. 45) as *ad Pollio* and (p. 304) as *ad Polio*. A more important fact is that the poem was written, not by Milton—as Dr. Good asserts—but by William King (1685–1763). It is a satirical poem of two hundred and nine lines, not a prose letter, and was first issued in 1738. The list of Milton's prose works (pp. 43–44) lacks the *De Doctrina Christiana*, printed in 1825. Faulty quotation (pp. 53–54) of Marvell's poem published with the 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost* requires a change of "posts" for "post," l. 9; of "plume" for "plumes," l. 38; and of "The" for "A," l. 39. *Spectator No. 10* asserted that the paper had 60,000 *readers* when a week old, not (p. 155, n. 60) that that many copies were issued. Handel did not make *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* "a part of his *Samson Oratorio*" (p. 169), but formed them into a separate work with a third part, *il moderato*, by Jennens. It is not true that Gray "declared" (p. 183) "the world—obliged by fashion to admire" Milton; he was quoting the words of Warburton.

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A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. By JOHN R. CLARK HALL. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xii+372.

The new edition of this well-known book is markedly superior to the first edition, and a rapid examination indicates that it will prove exceedingly useful to all sorts of readers of Old English. The typography and the arrangement of material on the page are almost ideally clear. The volume is light and easily handled—a real desideratum for any dictionary which is to be used as an "elbow-companion." It has exhaustive cross-references, going even so far as to enter, in the proper alphabetical order, inflectional forms and principal parts of strong verbs, as well as of "irregular" weak verbs, thus largely increasing the value of the book for elementary students. The new edition contains the material made accessible by the contributions to Old English lexicography published in the last twenty years or more, which has hitherto not been included in any Old English dictionary. Another valuable feature in a work of such small compass is the frequency of references to passages in Old English texts. The strictly poetic words have been given a distinctive mark. A novel and highly useful feature is the introduction of references to head-words in the *New English Dictionary* which contain information regarding the etymology, meaning, and occurrence of Old English words.

Space has been saved, though not altogether happily, by not listing separately words beginning with the prefix *ge-*. Verbs occurring both with and without this prefix are entered together. Since in these cases all the definitions are run together without distinction as to the meaning of the simple and of the compound forms, students are likely to get a false impression of the force of the prefix. The prefix itself is not satisfactorily discussed in the entry: "original meaning *together;* but it has usually lost all collective and intensive force." The prefix *ge-* in Germanic and Old English was not only collective and intensive, but was also widely used with a perfective force. It has been shown that Old English verbs with the prefix frequently mean "to get, to acquire, to reach" through the action of the verb. Many verbs with the prefix have also a number of secondary meanings developed from these perfective meanings. Some of the definitions of other words in the book are just a trifle misleading. *āglǣca* is not primarily "wretch, monster, demon," but "fierce fighter." This word is applied, not only to Grendel, but also to Beowulf and to other warlike heroes. The order in which the various definitions are arranged under a word does not always reveal the most primitive meaning. *dēman* means primarily "to judge, to decide," and not, as the student might surmise, "to consider, to think." Such faults as these, however, should not be regarded as constituting a serious defect in a book which, on the whole, possesses real excellence and serviceability.

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THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE *KINDER- UND HAUS-MÄRCHEN* OF THE BROTHERS GRIMM. II

These views are reflected in the notes contained in the appendixes of the volumes of the first edition, some of which may be cited here. In Vol. I, No. 5, "The Wolf and the Seven Little Kids," the editors remark: "The Nereid, Psamathe, sent the wolf to the flocks of Peleus and Telamon; the wolf devoured them one and all, and was then turned to stone, just as, in our story, stones were sewn into him,"; No. 47, "The Juniper Tree," "The collecting of the scattered bones is found," the editors say, "in the myths of Osiris, Orpheus, and the legends of Adalbert. In like manner Thor collects the bones of the eaten goats and revives them by shaking"; No. 50, "Briar Rose," according to the editors: "The maiden who lies sleeping in a castle surrounded by a wall of thorns, until the prince sets her free, is identical with the sleeping Brynhild, who is surrounded by a wall of flames through which Sigurd forces his way"; in No. 67, "The twelve Huntsmen" (named "The King with the Lion" in 1812), after remarking that the first bride is forgotten in various other stories, the editors add: "We will give only two remarkable examples: Duschmanta forgets Sacontala and Sigurd, Brynhild"; Vol. II, No. 1, "The Poor Man and the Rich Man," is, according to the editors, "the ancient legend of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid *Met.* viii. 617)"; in No. 6, "The Golden Mountain," the editors say: "The likeness with Siegfried first begins where the youth is driven forth

upon the water. The princess whom he frees is, according to the German legend, Chrimhild on the Drachenstein, elsewhere, according to the Norse legend, Brunhild. The Gold Mountain, which the hero wins, is the mountain with the treasures of gold, the Hoard, which according to the *Lied*, Siegfried also won on the Drachenstein. Most remarkable of all is the much more circumstantial account of the partition of the treasure which corresponds almost exactly with the ancient obscure account, and throws light on it." The editors continue in this way at some length. No. 25, "The Skilful Huntsman," according to the editors: "The cutting off and dividing the garments of the sleeping princess remind us of the cutting up of Brynhild's armor (*slita byrnin*). Cutting out the tongue occurs very often, the captain is the steward in *Tristan*." In No. 37, "The Old Woman in the Wood," the old woman belongs to the Circe legend. In No. 61, "The Old Man Made Young Again," the rejuvenation of old people as well as the unsuccessful attempts to imitate it forcibly recalls the Greek fable of Medea, Aeson, and Peleas. References to Norse mythology are found in many other *Märchen*, e.g., in No. 39, "The Devil and His Grandmother," "the whole *Märchen* has something Norse in its substance, the Devil is represented as a clumsy, over-reached Jote, the riddle is remarkably Norse, etc." Norse elements are also found in No. 40, "Ferdinand the Faithful, and Ferdinand the Unfaithful"; in No. 41, "The Iron Stove"; in No. 54, "The Story of the Domestic Servants"; in No. 62, "The Lord's Animals and the Devil's," where "the wolves as God's dogs coincide strikingly with the dogs of Odin (*Vidris*, gray), which are likewise wolves"; in No. 64, "The Old Beggarwoman," the editors remark: "It is noteworthy that Odin under the name of Grimner goes disguised in the garb of a beggar into the King's hall and his clothes begin to burn at the fire. One of the young men brings him a horn to drink; the other has left him in the flames. The latter discovers too late the pilgrim's divinity and wants to pull him out of the fire, but falls on his own sword."

It is unnecessary to cite further specific instances of the editors' belief in the substantial similarity of the *Märchen* with Old German and Norse mythology. In the second edition (1819) the notes of the first were omitted, the editors promising a third volume (which

appeared in 1822) devoted entirely to notes. The preface of 1819, quite different from the prefaces of 1812 and 1815,[1] which were not reprinted in subsequent editions, deals entirely with the method of collection, locality of the stories, etc. The questions of origin and diffusion are treated at length by Wilhelm in the essay "Ueber das Wesen der Märchen" which serves as an introduction to the first volume of the second edition (1819), and may be found in Wilhelm Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 333–59. In this extensive essay (it fills twenty-six pages in the *Kleinere Schriften*) the author discusses the following topics: importance of the *Märchen* as tradition, traces of pagan belief, survey of contents, and fixed characters. In the discussion of the first topic appears for the first time, so far as I can discover, the so-called Aryan theory of the diffusion of *Märchen*. Wilhelm says: "If we ask about their origin, no one knows of a bard and inventor; they appear everywhere as tradition and as such are remarkable in more than one respect. In the first place, it is undeniable that they have in this way survived among us for centuries, changing externally, it is true, but persisting in their peculiar contents. The supposition that in the beginning they issued from some one spot in Germany is opposed by the fact of their diffusion over so many regions and provinces and their almost invariable peculiar and independent form; they must in this case have been newly recast in every locality. For this reason their diffusion through literature, which scarcely is found among the people, is inconceivable. We find them again not only in the most diversified regions where German is spoken, but also among the kindred Scandinavians and English; still further among the Romanic peoples and even among the Slavic nations in different, closer, and more distant degrees of relationship. Especially striking is their resemblance to the Serbian *Märchen*, for no one will fancy that the stories in a lonely Hessian village could be transplanted to Serbia by Serbians, or the reverse. Finally, in separate features and turns of expression, as well as in their whole connection, they agree with Oriental, Persian, and Indian *Märchen*. The relationship which is manifest in the languages of all these peoples, and which Rask has lately ingeniously proved,

[1] A few pages of the preface of the first volume of the first edition were taken into the essay "Ueber das Wesen der Märchen."

reveals itself precisely so in their traditional poetry, which is only a higher and freer speech of mankind. Just as in the case of the language this relation of the *Märchen* indicates a common time which preceded the dispersion of the nations: if one seeks after their origin, it recedes further and further into the distance and remains in the dark like something inscrutable and mysterious."

In the section devoted to the traces of pagan belief Wilhelm adds to the examples cited in the prefaces of the first edition and mentioned above. Much stress is again laid on the fact that inanimate objects are endowed with life, and instances of animated trees and springs are given, e.g., "The Juniper-tree, that is, the tree which bestows life and youth, is evidently a good spirit, its fruit fufils the longing of the mother for a child, the collected bones of the murdered child are brought to life again under its branches and the soul rises from the bright but not burning flames of the boughs in the shape of a bird." With this belief of an all-animated nature is connected the transformation into other forms. The later mythological theories of Max Müller and Sir George Cox are anticipated here. "The conflict of the good and bad is often represented by black and white, light and darkness. The good, helpful spirits are almost always white birds, the evil ones announcing calamity are black ravens. The pious maiden becomes white as the day, the wicked one as black as sin (night). Thus the *Edda* knows the sons of day (*Dags-synir, megir*) and the daughters of night, and the name Dagr in the *Edda*, which appears augmented in our Dagobert, gleaming like day, may rest upon a similar idea. In that castle all is black and the three sleeping princesses, stiffened in death, through their hope of deliverance, for magic is a black art, have only at first a little white (life) in their countenances. The prince, who sleeps by day, awakens only in the night, and whom, if he is not to be unhappy, no ray of light must touch, is also a black *Alfe*. These, too, fled from the light and were turned to stone when the sun struck them. Hence the sun is called the lamentation, complaint of the *Alfen*." The *Märchen* of "The Goose Girl" and "The Black and White Bride" belong here also; it is really the old myth of the true and the false Bertha. This name signifies the resplendent one. She combs her golden hair because, like the princess who veils herself only in the mantle of her golden hair,

she is a gleaming sun, a shining light-elf, or, what is the same thing, a white swan-maiden. Such also Snow-white seems to have been, who even in death remains still white and beautiful and is honored and guarded by the good (white) dwarfs. In this connection one may recall the two worlds of the Norse mythology, the one of light and blessedness (*Muspelheim*) and the other of night and darkness (*Nifelheim*).

It is not necessary to pursue this subject much further. The author finds a decided pagan coloring in the way in which God, Death, and the Devil appear in person; and pagan in its origin is the idea of an earthly treasure which contains all happiness and may be won by those favored by fate, for whoever penetrates to the source of all earthly splendor, him paganism permits to be the lord and master of the highest life. This is the idea of the "wishing-things," which appear in various shapes, as hat, cloth, table, etc., and satisfy every thought, bestowing invisibility, respecting no space, in short, surmounting all earthly limits. The conclusion of Wilhelm is: "If we gather up these separate grains, the old belief seems to appear in the animation of all nature, pantheism, a fate, the good and evil principle, the *Trimurti*, great and higher gods, with their mountain (*Götterberg*), and the worship of lesser individual deities."

In the survey of the contents of the *Märchen* Wilhelm emphasizes the conflict between good and evil, and the similarity with the German heroic legends. The Christian character of some of the *Märchen* (No. 3, "Our Lady's Child"; No. 31, "The Girl without Hands"; and No. 76, "The Pink") is noted, and attention called to the animal stories, to some of which an allegorical meaning is ascribed.

Finally, certain fixed figures or characters are described. They are: The Simpleton, Hop o' my Thumb, the *Lalenbürger*, Brother Lustig, and the Braggart.

For the second volume of the second edition (1819) Wilhelm wrote as an introduction a delightful essay on the "Nature and Customs of Children" ("Kinderwesen und Kindersitten"), in which he culls from the early German poets many beautiful allusions to children, and illustrates some of them by popular tales and legends. Many of the customs cited are common to other lands, e.g., when inquisitive children who ask the source of information are told,

"My little finger told me" (in France, "Mon petit doigt me l'a dit"). So with games like "jackstones," "Blindman's buff," and refrains such as

> Lady-bird, lady-bird, fly and be gone!
> Your house is a-fire and your children at home.

A very ancient game is skipping stones on the water, the one winning whose stone makes the most skips. Another common custom is fortune-telling by plucking the petals of the daisy. The ecclesiastical calendar furnishes a long list of festivals in which the children share, and many of which have been lost to us since the Reformation. The essay closes with a chapter on "Children's Beliefs" (*Kinderglauben*). Here we find many widespread beliefs, e.g., that children come out of the well, or that the stork fishes them out of the water; that the "Sandman comes" when children grow drowsy and their eyes begin to blink, etc.

The above-mentioned essays were not reprinted after 1819 (except in the *Kleinere Schriften*), and the only prefatory matter after that date is the dedication to Frau Bettina von Arnim (1837, 1840, 1843, 1850, and 1857), written by Wilhelm and reprinted in the *Kleinere Schriften*,[1] and the prefaces to the second and subsequent editions. I have already alluded to the general character of the preface to the edition of 1819, and to the fact that the prefaces of 1812 and 1815 were not reprinted. This was partly due, I presume, to the fuller treatment of the mythological element in the essay on "Das Wesen der Märchen." The prefaces from 1837 on (reprinted in the seventh edition, 1857) are brief and refer to the additions made to the stories from time to time. I shall speak in a moment of the separate volume of *Notes* published in 1822 and forming the third volume of the second (1819) edition. In the preface to the third edition (1837) the editors say: "The third part, whose contents refer solely to the scientific use of the collection and hence could find admission only to a very narrow circle of readers, is not now reprinted with the present edition, because copies are still to be had

[1] This dedication consists of three letters, the last dated "Berlin im Frühjahr, 1843." In the *Kleinere Schriften* the dates of the first two are given as "Göttingen am 15. Mai, 1837," and "Cassel am 17. September, 1840." The three were reprinted in the sixth and seventh editions, 1850 and 1857. The dedication of the first and second editions, 1812 and 1815, was, as we have already seen, "An die Frau Elisabeth von Arnim für den kleinen Johannes Freimund."

from Reimer's publishing house in Berlin. In the future this third part will appear as an independent work, in which the introductions to the last edition on 'Das Wesen der Märchen' and 'Kindersitten' will find a place."[1]

The promised third part did not appear until 1822. It was uniform in size with the other volumes and bore the title *Kinder- und Hausmärchen. Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm.* Dritter Band. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Berlin, 1822, bei G. Reimer. The preface (iii)–iv, "Cassel den 4ten Januar 1822," is reprinted in the edition of 1856. The editors say: "The notes to the separate *Märchen* mention first the locality where the stories were collected from oral tradition, and state explicitly where anything has been taken from another story or where two have been combined. A real fusion has not taken place, and what has been inserted can easily be separated. Then the variants themselves are given as briefly as possible, in some cases as completely as is necessary. Those who complain of too great detail or think this mode of treatment too serious, may be right in some cases; this way seemed the best to us, because a less serious treatment, which was not without its temptation, would have afforded a slight advantage only, but in no case the true freedom which the creative poet needs, and with which the scientific aim of the collection would have been entirely lost.

"The agreement with foreign traditions, often far separated by time and place, is carefully indicated, since we are undoubtedly correct in laying weight upon this circumstance just because it is not easy to explain. Here and there one can suspect direct communication, perhaps make it probable; but in most cases it is impossible to do this, and then the fact remains unexplained and not less striking. The references and intimations concerning their contents and mythological signification must not be so understood by anyone as if in every case a sure, undoubted truth was established; much is quoted only because in the future the supposed connection may appear more clearly. The introduction to the first volume shows how we wish use to be made of it.

[1] This promise was not fulfilled and the essays in question never appeared again until they were reprinted in Wilhelm's *Kleinere Schriften*, as mentioned above.

"The collected testimonies prove the existence of the *Märchen* in different times and among different nations, or they contain judgments upon their worth, which have the greater weight since they have been pronounced without prejudice, impartially, and accidentally by men who have retained a free and unbiased view.

"The section which reviews the literature should hope for approval even from those who do not have leisure for a closer consideration of the subject. If we could have made use of preliminary studies, it would perhaps have been more complete, but we have been obliged to look up and peruse everything ourselves. It has the merit of making known more intimately and in its entire contents the *Pentamerone* of Basile, which previously, at the best, was cited by its title alone."

After the "Vorrede" come pp. v–vi, "Inhalt," omitted in 1856, then: "Anmerkungen zu den einzelnen Märchen," pp. (3)–252; "Anmerkungen zu den Kinderlegenden," pp. 253–54; "Bruchstücke," pp. (255–56) 257–60; "Zeugnisse," pp. (261–62) 263–68; "Literatur," pp. (269–70) 271–441; "Druckfehler," reverse of p. 441. I shall mention very briefly the principal features of the volume. A careful analysis of Straparola's *Nights* is given in pp. 271–76, retained in 1856. Then follows in 1822, pp. 276–369, a full analysis of the *Pentamerone*, with an "Uebersicht," pp. 370–71, of the forty-eight Italian stories which correspond more or less closely to the German ones. In the edition of 1856, p. 293, Grimm refers to Liebrecht's translation (1846) of the *Pentamerone* and says it is not necessary to repeat the analysis, while the "Uebersicht" is retained.

In the first edition (1812) under the heading "Zeugnisse für Kindermärchen" a few quotations were given from Strabo, Luther, Johannes Müller, Walter Scott, and Eloi Johanneau testifying to the antiquity and interest of popular tales. In the edition of 1822, the "Zeugnisse" are twenty in number and were increased to thirty-seven in 1856.

The section "Literatur" in 1822 was reprinted in 1856 with the omission of the elaborate analysis of the *Pentamerone*, as has been stated above, and with a very few unimportant changes. In the sixth edition (1850) the literature of the subject was continued from

1822, and is substantially the same as in the definitive edition of the *Notes* in 1856.[1]

There is no reference to the volume of *Notes* in the prefaces of the fourth (1840) and fifth (1843) editions. In the sixth (1850), as we have just seen, the survey of the literature of *Märchen* is continued from the third volume of the second edition. Six years later appeared the definitive edition of the third volume of *Notes*, which is, on the title-page, assigned to the third edition (1837), although, as we have seen, in the preface of that edition it is expressly stated that the third volume is not printed with that edition because copies were still to be had of the publisher. The form is the same as that of the earlier volumes and the title is *Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm.* Dritter Band. Dritte Auflage. Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterich'schen Buchhandlung. 1856. The "Vorrede" contains the one prefixed to the edition of 1822, and a very brief one for the new edition, which runs as follows: "Die lange Zeit die zwischen dieser und der vorigen Ausgabe des dritten Bandes liegt, hat Gelegenheit zu manchen Nachträgen gegeben, wozu auch die Hinweisungen auf die seitdem bekannt gemachten Märchensammlungen gehören. Die im ersten Band der Ausgabe von 1850 mit getheilte weitere Abhandlung über die Literatur habe ich, ergänzt und fortgeführt, hier der früheren zugefügt." Dated "Berlin den 25ten Mai, 1856."

The edition of 1856 is uniform in size with that of 1822 and contains 418 pages, 23 pages less than the edition of 1822. The omission in 1856 of the 89 pages devoted to the analysis of the *Pentamerone* leaves considerable space for the enlargement of the *Notes* to the individual tales and the additions to the literature of the subject. It is impossible to give here any adequate idea of the changes in the second edition of the *Notes*. The work was so well done in the edition of 1822 that the additions in 1856 are not as numerous as might have

[1] The position of this section in the edition of 1850 is as follows: Frontispiece, title (i–ii), "An die Frau Bettina von Arnim" (iii–iv), "Liebe Bettina, etc.," v–viii (as in 1857, pp. v-viii), "Vorrede" (ix)–xxi (as in 1857 [ix]–xix), "Uebersicht der Märchenliteratur," xxii–lxiii. Wilhelm says, p. xxii: "Ich habe in dem dritten Band, der im Jahr 1822 erschien, eine Uebersicht der Märchen-literatur gegeben, die ich hier weiter führen will: einen Nachtrag kann ich es kaum nennen, da das was seitdem gesammelt ist, an Gehalt und Umfang das Frühere weit überwiegt." The numbering in 1850 is of course different, having twenty-six numbered paragraphs to twenty-nine in 1856. There are many additions to the remainder of the section in 1856.

been expected. Still there is scarcely a story without an addition to its notes, generally very brief.

More extensive additions are found in the "Literatur," especially to the continuation published in 1850. For instance, in 1856 no less than 18 pages are added (from bottom of p. 361 to bottom of p. 379), dealing with Koelle's *African Native Literature or Proverbs, Tales, Fables and Historical Fragments in the Kanuri or Bornu Language*, etc., London, 1854.

The third volume of *Notes* did not appear again in the subsequent editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen.* Wilhelm died in 1859 and Jacob had for many years left to his brother the care of the various editions of the *Household Tales.* The literature of the subject had increased enormously and new theories of the origin and diffusion of popular tales were being propounded by Benfey and others. The task of preparing a new edition of the *Notes* grew more difficult with each year and was not undertaken until Dr. Johannes Bolte and Professor Georg Polívka issued in 1913 the first volume of their *Anmerkungen* to the *Household Tales.*[1] Those who desire to consult the notes of Wilhelm must do so in the edition of 1856, now, like all the volumes of the first seven editions, very scarce, or in the reprint in Reclam's *Universal-Bibliothek* (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen.* Vollständige Ausgabe. Dritter Band. Neudruck der dritten Auflage). I may add that the notes are translated in the English version of the *Household Tales* by Margaret Hunt (with introduction by Andrew Lang) published in Bohn's *Standard Library*, London, 1884, 2 vols., the notes being divided between the two volumes.

We shall see later what changes as to number and position of the tales were made in the editions subsequent to the first one of 1812 and 1815, and what tales from time to time were omitted and replaced by others. As will be seen from the Table and History of the Individual Tales, the largest number of changes concerned the contents of the first volume of 1812. By the time the second volume of 1815 was prepared the brothers had a clearer view of their purpose and needed to make comparatively few changes, except in the way of

[1] See my review of this great work in *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1916, pp. 33–42.

additions to the subsequent editions. The hundred and fifty-six numbers of the first edition became two hundred and one in the definitive edition of 1857.[1]

The shape of the first edition was oblong, about six by three and a half inches. The subsequent six editions were quarto in form, about six by four and a half inches. The first seven editions consisted, as we have seen, of two volumes. The two editions of the *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, bear on the title: "Dritte Band. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, Berlin, 1822," and "Dritter Band. Dritte Auflage, Göttingen, 1856." The stories until the ninth edition, Berlin, 1870, always occupied two volumes.

The care of the publication of the collection devolved upon Herman Grimm after his father's death in 1860. In the preface (dated Berlin, June, 1864) to the eighth edition, two volumes, Göttingen, Dieterich'sche Buchhandlung, 1864, Herman Grimm says: "Die achte Auflage der Märchen, deren Correctur, an Stelle meines verewigten Vaters, mir zugefallen ist, stimmt mit der siebenten durchaus überein."

The ninth edition, in one volume, appeared at Berlin, W. Hertz, in 1870, and in the preface, dated Berlin, June 1870, Herman Grimm says: "Die neunte Auflage unterscheidet sich nur von den früheren, dass ein grösseres Format gewählt worden ist, wodurch es möglich ward beide Theile in einem Bande zu vereinigen." Since this date all subsequent editions of the complete work for which the Grimm family is responsible have appeared in one volume, without notes, and bear on the title-page the words "Grosse Ausgabe."

[1] No complete account has yet been given of the materials collected by the brothers and not used by them in the various editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. An interesting beginning of such an account has been made by Dr. Johannes Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 1915, pp. 31–51, 372–80, "Deutsche Märchen aus dem Nachlass der Brüder Grimm." This first instalment contains two stories from the Münster territory, collected by the Haxthausen family before 1816. These stories (two of six which Dr. Bolte intends to publish) are contained in a package of papers left by the Grimms, entitled: "Märchen, aus den Quellen des Buches aufgehoben, weil noch einiges darin stand, das nicht konnte benutzt werden, oder weil die Quellen noch einmal nachzusehen sind," and "Zweifelhaftes, Fragmente, Spuren, Einzelenes." The stories of this package were not used and are of interest as being *Märchen* not represented in the final collection of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. The two stories in question: "Des Toten Dank," and "Der dankbare Tote und die aus der Sklaverei erlöste Königstochter," belong to the cycle of "The Thankful Dead," about which so extensive a literature has clustered. The range of the Grimms' collection is very wide and it is interesting to learn that tales and motifs which do not there appear existed in Germany at the time in forms which the brothers did not feel that they could use.

In 1825 the brothers published at Berlin, by G. Reimer, a "Kleine Ausgabe," containing fifty *Märchen*. This first issue of the smaller edition was exactly reproduced by the Insel-Verlag at Leipzig in 1911, and affords a means of comparison of many of the stories in the first edition of 1812–15 with the revised forms adopted by the brothers in subsequent editions. This smaller edition was printed ten times during the life of Wilhelm, and two of the stories in the edition of 1825 were later replaced by others; these were No. 39, "Die treuen Thiere," and No. 44, "Die drei Brüder," for which "Die klugen Leute" and "Schneeweisschen und Rosenroth" were substituted.

It is not my purpose to trace the history of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* further or to mention the publications called forth by the centenary of the publication of the first volume of the first edition in 1912. Some of these have already been alluded to. The reproduction of the first edition by Panzer, and of the smaller edition of 1825 by the Insel-Verlag are the only ones of importance for the text. The *Jubiläums-Auflage* (the thirty-third edition of the "Grosse Ausgabe"), prepared by R. Steig, has already been mentioned as containing Herman Grimm's valuable introduction. I shall mention only one other edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* called forth by the centenary. It is the *Jubiläums-Ausgabe herausgegeben von Friedrich von der Leyen. Verlegt bei Eugen Diederichs*, Jena, 1912, two volumes. The distinguishing feature of this edition is the attempt to arrange the stories in a chronological order. The Grimms apparently printed the stories as they collected them, in no particular order. The result is that all classes of *Märchen* from sources of different dates are mingled together. Dr. von der Leyen believes that although the matter of the *Märchen* reaches back to primitive times and to the childhood of the race, the story is the work of an individual artist. His creation, however, returns in time to the people from whose beliefs it was constructed, and is molded by them in the spirit of the age. Dr. von der Leyen thinks that it is possible to assign the stories in the Grimm collection to specific periods in the history of the German people and of their literature. Hence his arrangement is a chronological one. He begins with a few brief stories which show in a peculiarly vivid manner, he thinks,

the connection of the *Märchen* with primitive beliefs: "Das Märchen von der Unke," "Rumpelstilzchen," "Das Todtenhemdchen," "Der singende Knochen," and the like. These short stories are followed by an especially long and copious (*reich*) *Märchen*, "Die zwei Brüder," which is accompanied by a related but less remarkable story of brothers, "Die Goldkinder." After this introductory class the editor says: "The first great literary period of the Germans is the time of their first great heroic age, the time of the migration of nations. We conceive as echoes of that period the stories which then appeared: 'Die Gänsemagd,' 'Jungfrau Maleen,' 'Von dem Machandelboom,' and 'König Drosselbart.'

"In the tenth century the German poetry (*Dichtung*) displayed a pleasure in exuberant and grotesque jokes, extravagances, stories of giants and dwarfs, and strong men, in lies and declamations and edifying discourses, and conversations, of which the minstrels were masters, those followers of the ancient mimes, who delighted the people in the declining Roman empire. To the class of these minstrel stories belong tales like those of 'Der gelernte Jäger' and 'Die goldene Gans,' 'Das Bürle,' 'Dat Erdmanneken,' 'Der starke Hans,' 'Das tapfere Schneiderlein,' 'Die Rübe,' 'Der wunderliche Spielmann,' 'Die drei Sprachen.' "

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[*To be continued*]

THE RHYTHMIC FORM OF THE GERMAN FOLK-SONGS

IV

THE STROPHE

In proceeding from the rubric "Chain" to that of "Strophe" I am passing over two intermediate music-rhythmic divisions, namely, the *Gebinde* and the *set*. Just a word in explanation of these terms and of why I do not consider them in special chapters.

When two chains of somewhat similar structure follow each other, and the pause at the end of the second chain is deep, deeper usually than that at the end of the first, the result is a rhythmic group which Saran calls a *Gesätz*[1] and which I have called, for want of a better word, a "set." This deep pause at the end of the set is usually marked in the text by the end of a sentence, and in the melody by a full melodic cadence. The *Gebinde* (I have shirked translating it) is simply a subdivision of certain complex sets which are so rare among the folk-songs as to justify our neglect of it for the present at least.

But in observing these ever-larger rhythmic groups it is easy to see that we are already encroaching on that most definite and yet most various of all groups, the strophe. With the chain we were already dealing with a group which functioned now and then as a two-row (rarely three-row) strophe. And with the set we have a group which, in its normal form, functions often as a four-row or five-row strophe.

It is for this reason that I shall stop here, arbitrarily, my consideration of these more or less *fixed* groups, as such, and proceed at once to the consideration of their various combinations in that more elastic group, the strophe. I am confident that the nature of the set will become clear during the analysis of the *longer* strophes—the only ones in which the set stands out as a distinct group.

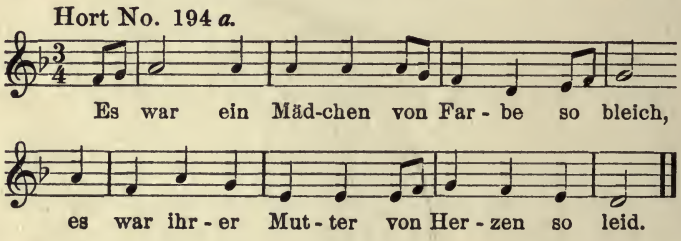
Probably the best way to class the strophes of the folk-songs is according to the *number of rows* they contain. A subclassing should be based on the *rhythmic structure* of the strophe, that is, on the

[1] See *Verslehre*, pp. 82, 152, 169, and 172.

arrangement or succession of its larger rhythmic groups—rows, chains, and sets. And as such arrangement is usually indicated by the *rhyme order*, we shall use the latter as the basis of our subclassing. It should be borne in mind in this connection that the kind of movement (trochaic, iambic, etc.) and the length of rows and chains are not to any extent factors in giving form to the strophe. In examining long series of songs having strophes built on one and the same general plan, I have found them using many different movements and row and chain lengths.

THE STROPHE OF TWO ROWS

The shortest folk-song strophe is of two rows. An example:



These two rows form a chain which is coterminal with the strophe. The melodic structure of the chain is *a-b* (that is, its two rows end respectively in an interrupted and a full cadence) though the rhyme order is *a a*.

It is a favorite strophe for long narrative songs where the subject-matter is of greater import than the melody, and was so used in olden and more modern times.[1]

If one looks through the printed collections of the folk-song texts with no melodies, one will get the notion that these strophes of two rows are much more numerous than they really are. For when we compare such two-row strophes with their melodies we find that the larger part of them are extended by means of repeats or by the interposing or subjoining of various refrains or refrain-like passages (often mere makeshifts to carry the wordless melody) to a melodic form which is longer. See, for instance, Hort No. 1198, which is extended to a strophe of three rows, No. 907 extended to four rows, No. 881*a* to five rows, and No. 982 to six rows.

[1]Further examples: Hort Nos. 577, 1194, 1196, 1199, 1200, etc.

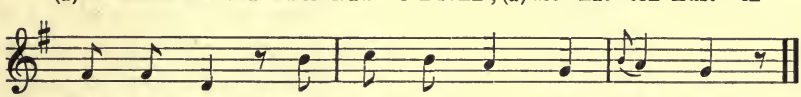
There is another reason why the two-row folk-song strophe seems to be more prevalent than it really is. The printers not infrequently set a whole *chain* (when it is a short one) to the line, instead of a *row* to the line, as is the usual way. The reason, or at least one reason for this mistake, is that in just these shortest strophes the rows are as a rule very long, so long indeed that they approach very close to, and sometimes really attain, the length of a short chain.[1] When this boundary is overstepped, the strophe is naturally not one of two rows, *a a* rhyme, but one of four rows, *x a x a* rhyme, no matter how the compositor has misrepresented it to the eye.

THE STROPHE OF THREE ROWS

An example:

Hort No. 50*a* (1st Mel.).

(*a*) Es war'n ein - mal zwei Bau - ern-söhn', (*á*) die hat - ten Lust in



Krieg zu gehn, (*b*) wol ins Sol - da - ten - le - ben.

Also this strophe is, like the two-row type, much used in long narrative songs. It consists almost invariably, as above, of one chain of the *a-á-b* type and has the corresponding rhyme order *a a b*.[2]

This strophe is met with somewhat more frequently than the one of two rows. But here also one must not estimate its frequency by consulting printed texts without melodies, for they are very often extended by means of repeats, etc., to longer melodic forms. For instance, the strophes of Hort No. 1439 are thus extended to a melodic form of four rows, No. 1193 to five rows, and No. 912*a* to six rows.

STROPHES OF FOUR ROWS

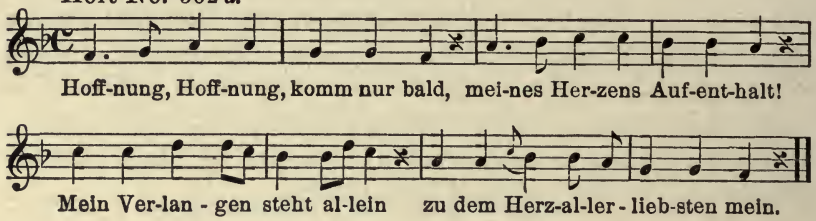
This is easily the most popular length of strophe in the German folk-songs. The rhyme order is quite regular and of two types only, (*a*) *a a b b* and (*b*) *x a x a* (or, rarely, *a b a b*).

[1] A rhythmic group in the folk-songs which has ten or at most eleven syllables is usually still a row. One of more syllables than that usually functions as a chain (cf. also *Modern Philology*, XIV, No. 2, pp. 71 ff.). The number of syllables is not the only criterion, but it is a good one.

[2] Further examples: Hort Nos. 58*a*, 60, 250, 1438, 1571, 1610, 1611, etc.

a) The *a a b b* type. There are about 100 songs of this form in Hort, or about a third as many as of the *x a x a* variety. An example:

Hort No. 562 *a.*


Hoff-nung, Hoff-nung, komm nur bald, mei-nes Her-zens Auf-ent-halt!
Mein Ver-lan - gen steht al-lein zu dem Herz-al-ler - lieb-sten mein.

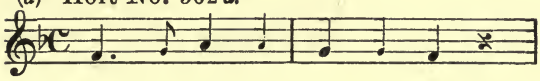
This strophe consists usually of one set—a pair of chains.

The *a a b b* rhyme order is not the one usually used in folk-songs. It is *in general* not the most desirable one, as is shown by the great predominance in the folk-songs of the sequence *x a x a*. But it would be daring to assert that in the large number of songs of the type under consideration we have an abnormal rhyme order, one that does not suit their melodies. It is more likely that in this strophe which, of all the different types, shows these rhyme pairs most regularly, we have some *unique condition* which demands just that sequence. And it is with this suspicion in mind that I have examined the text and melody of a great many songs, searching for that "unique condition." I believe I have found it *in the melody.*

I shall here endeavor to answer the question: Under what conditions do we have *a a b b* rhyme in the folk-songs? And my answer will bring us unavoidably into a consideration of melodic procedure.

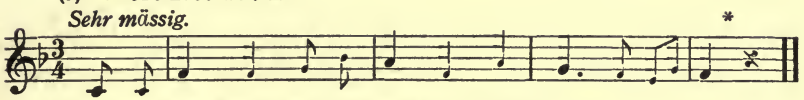
These simple melodies have a way of beginning on the tonic, or undamental tone, of the key in which they are sung, of proceeding usually to notes of a higher pitch, but of returning *sooner or later* in a cadential procedure to a sort of finishing-point on that same fundamental tone or a harmonically related one. The distance, however, between the beginning and the finishing fundamental tone varies. The "melodic curve" (*curva melodica, bogenförmige Tonhöhenlinie,* cf. Rietsch, *Liedweise,* p. 159) may have the length of (*a*) one phrase (row) or, as is more usual, (*b*) one period (chain), as in the following examples:

(*a*) Hort No. 562 *a*.



(*b*) Hort No. 190 *a*.

Sehr mässig.

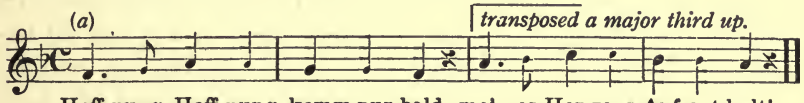


* The notes in larger type are the melodically important ones.

At the end of this curve there is always a decided pause.

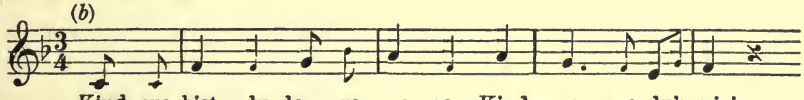
Following this completed curve and its accompanying pause is another division of the melody which, owing to the balancing or pairing tendency in song, assumes a form which is *similar to the preceding division*. This similarity is found in many degrees of completeness. It runs all the way from a more or less complete parallelism in note length or pitch, to a complete note-for-note identity of the two melodic divisions concerned. This parallelism will become clear if I continue the melodies cited above:

(*a*) *transposed a major third up.*



Hoff-nung, Hoff-nung, komm nur bald, mei-nes Her-zens Auf-ent-halt!

(*b*)



Kind, wo bist du denn ge - we - sen, Kind, sa - ge du's mir!

"Nach mei - ner Mut-ter Schwe-ster, wie we - he ist mir!"

Now these finishing points in the cadences of the two parallel passages, in both (*a*) and (*b*), are peculiarly attractive to rhyme syllables; and inasmuch as they are melodically *similar points* they attract *similar rhymes*. The result is, as we see in both the foregoing examples, an *a a* (*b b*, etc.) rhyme for such points. But in (*b*), the two-row curve, the rhyme syllables close *alternate* rows, the second and fourth, of the song. And inasmuch as the intervening rows do not rhyme, our rhyme order in such instances is *x a x a*.

As to the reason for these intervening rows not rhyming, I might add that the above-mentioned conditions which demand rhyme do not obtain at their termini. For these termini are at points in the *middle* of the curve, points which are not provided with a melodic cadence, and which are, in the two succeeding corresponding divisions, not *necessarily* provided with notes which are identical either in pitch or in length.[1] (Example (*b*) above is an exception in this respect.)

Thus we may, I believe, from the viewpoint of the melody, look upon that two-row group which has *a a* as its rhyme sequence, especially when it occurs at the beginning of the strophe, as simply the shrunken phase of a (more usual) four-row group of *x a x a* rhyme.[2]

I do not mean to assert that the melody and rhyme agreement outlined above will be found in *all* the examples. For here we are dealing with songs which were not made according to rule, but which have assumed these forms as the result of a sort of intuitive feeling for the fitness of things on the part of the folk-song makers. But I do contend that the above examples are typical of those *tendencies* in the melodies which foster on the one hand the *a a*, and on the other the *x a x a*, rhyme order.[3]

Strophes of this type, whose melodic frame is extended by means of repeats, etc., beyond the limits of four rows, are found in Horts No. 565 (extended to five rows), No. 775 (to six rows), and No. 517 (to eight rows).

I hope that the preceding paragraphs may throw a side light on the subject of the nature of the "rhyming couplet" which has been regarded as "a form of verse . . . . which . . . . is the nearest approaching to prose" and as a form which is "impossible" to sing.[4] Such estimates must of course be restricted, as was done by Scherer,

[1] Cf. Rietsch, *Liedweise*, pp. 75, 99, 156, 158 ff., etc.

[2] Here a question as to the genesis of these two rhyme orders is suggested: Did alternating rhyme develop from the rhyme pair, or vice versa? Or are their beginnings independent? Perhaps, if the melody form as such really does, as I suspect, determine the strophic form, the study of the evolution of this melody form may give us answers to these questions. I hope to be able to throw some light on this subject soon in a study which will have genetic considerations of the rhythm of song poetry as its central purpose.

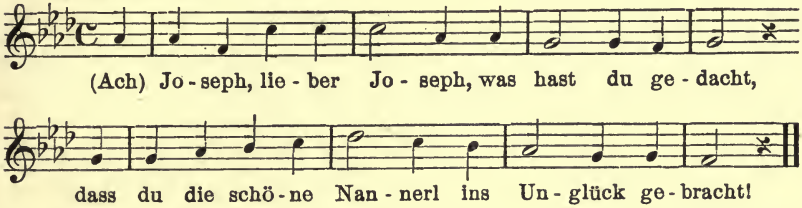
[3] Further examples of the *a a b b* strophes are: Hort Nos. 80 (1st Mel.), 109*a*, 180, 516, 528*a*, 529, 541, 557*a*, 565, 574*a* (2d Mel.), 585, 597*a*, 731*a*, 771*a*, 778, 783, 795, 873, 991, 1035, 1059, 1218, 1271, 1351, 1426, etc.

[4] W. Scherer, *A History of German Literature*, trans. by Mrs. F. C. Conybeare (New York: Scribner, 1908), I, 155 and 213.

to *continuous, non-strophic* rhyming couplets, and not be made to include also such groups in the *song strophe.* For we have found it in this latter environment both quite singable and far from prosaic.

b) The *x a x a* (*a b a b*) type. An example:

Hort No. 56 *a*.



This is by far *the most widely used type of strophe found in the folk-songs.* It is composed of two chains of the type *a-b.* The melody periods of the two chains are somewhat *similar* in trend, but are *very rarely identical.* This gives to such short melodies a needed variety. We shall see, however, that such four-row passages in the melodies of the *longer* strophes, especially when they occur at the beginning, appear usually as a two-row period which is *repeated* for the words of the second (two-row) chain; that is, the two successive periods are not simply similar, as here, but *identical,* note for note, the melodic variety being supplied in the following parts.

It is very probably this characteristic difference between the melodic procedure of this four-row type and of the longer types that is responsible for the great preponderance in the former of *x a x a* rhyme order and for the equally regular *a b a b* rhyme at the beginning of the strophes of seven, eight, and nine rows (see below, pp. 92, 96, and 100). For rhyme tends to appear, as we saw on p. 83 above, at those points in the melody which correspond closely, not only in rhythm, but also usually in pitch and harmonic aspect, with some preceding point. Hence when two successive two-row melody periods are identical (repeated) we have such corresponding points at the end of *each* of the four rows. In singing they come, of course, in alternation, *a b a b.* In the strophe under consideration, however, the corresponding points appear usually *only* at the end of each of the two *chains,* hence the *x a x a* rhyme.

Out of about 300 songs of this type I have found only 17 which have regularly throughout all their strophes the *a b a b* order. And

it is interesting to note that all of them are modern, nineteenth-century songs.[1]

I shall not go so far as to call any song which has an *a b a b* strophe an "art song"; but I will say that I am decidedly suspicious of the origin and nature of a song which has these odd rows, the first and third, rhymed *carefully and without exception.*

It is, however, not at all unusual to run across songs in which the *a b a b* order is a *sporadic* occurrence. An examination of almost any of the *x a x a* songs will disclose this condition.[2]

While the type under consideration is uncommonly uniform, song after song, that is, while it is unusually free from those variations due to refrains, etc., which beset the less stable strophes (those of 2, 3, 5, and 7 rows, for instance), still there are a few songs where the strophe is extended by such means to a form of greater length. Examples: Hort No. 511 extended to five rows, No. 73 to six rows, and No. 368 to eight rows.

We sometimes find a song which has *a a b b* in some strophes and *x a x a* in others, and even a mixture of the two orders in one and the same strophe. Such hybrid forms are probably the unsuccessful result of an attempt to fit an *a a b b* melody to an *x a x a* text, or vice versa. Examples: Hort Nos. 70*c*, 614, 628, 657, and 773.

It is a noteworthy fact that the four-row strophe of *a b b a* rhyme order, one which we meet with so often in the spoken lyrics of the "art poets," is entirely lacking (unless we take notice of the *one* example, Hort No. 820) in the songs of Hort. It seems all the more significant when we find, as I have, that this same rhyme sequence never occurs at the beginning of longer strophes, as it does in many of the songs of the old French trouvères and of their imitators, the minnesingers. I shall not try to explain this absence. I shall simply suggest that the melodic form which such a rhyme sequence presupposes is foreign to the German feeling for melodic form. If this surmise is correct, and if this feeling determines (as I am coming more and more to believe it does) the strophic form of the song-texts, then

[1] Here is the list: Hort Nos. 347, 353*b*, 354, 578, 608, 617, 628, 641*a*, 647, 649, 651, 699, 700, 712, 792*a*, 1168, and 1366.

[2] Of the long list of the songs using this type of strophe I shall give only the start: Hort Nos. 52*a*, 62*a*, 63*a*, 64*b*, 71*a*, 102*f*, 110*a*, 111, 112*a*, 135*b*, 137*a*, 171*b*, 174*c*, 175*d*, 190*a*, etc.

the reason for the absence of the embracing rhyme from the German folk-songs may not be hard to find.

STROPHES OF FIVE ROWS

They occur in three types: (*a*) *a a b x b*, (*b*) *x a b b a* (or *a b a a b*), subtype *a a b b a*, (*c*) *x a x a a* (or *a b a b b*).

a) The *a a b x b* type. An example:

Hort 1158.

Wol auf, wol auf an Bo - den-see, sunst findt man nin - dert
Freu-den meh, mit Tan - zen und mit Sprin - gen. Und
wel-cher gleich nit tan-zen will, der hör doch fröh - lich sin - gen.

This strophe is composed of two chains, *a-á-b* (sometimes *a-b-b́*) and *a-b*. Beyer[1] calls it mistakenly the "Alte Titurelstrophe." Saran[2] is right in speaking of it as the "Morolfstrophe." His interpretation of its chain aspect, however, differs from mine in that he gives the first chain two, and the second three, rows. I think a close examination of the example he gives and those which I give here from Hort will justify my interpretation.

The synthesis of melody and text is shown clearly in the melodic correspondence of the two final (rhyming) rows of each chain, that is, the third and fifth rows of the strophe.

This form of strophe was quite popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The following list includes such widely used

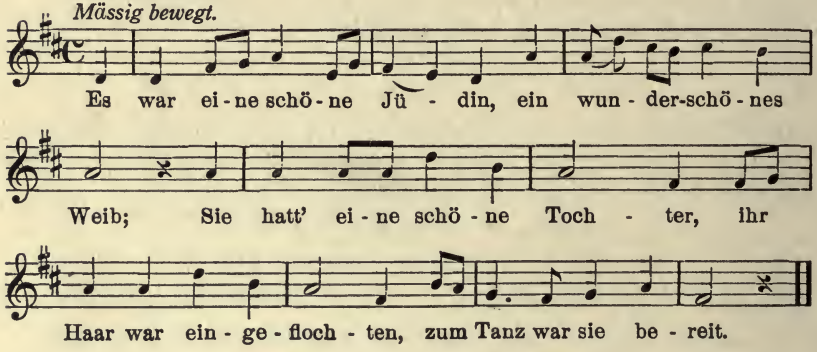
[1] *Deutsche Poetik* (Stuttgart, 1882), I, 609 and 648.

[2] *Deutsche Verslehre* (München, 1907), p. 294.

melodies as "Die Böhmerschlachtweise," "Der Stortebeckerton," "Der Lindenschmidston," and "Der Dorneckerton." Examples: Hort Nos. 143, 233, 246 (2d Mel.), 248, 305, 408*b*, 747, 839, 961, 1158, and 1307.

b) The *x a b b a* (or *a b a a b*) type. An example:

Hort No. 98 *a*.


Mässig bewegt.
Es war ei - ne schö - ne Jü - din, ein wun - der-schö - nes
Weib; Sie hatt' ei - ne schö - ne Toch - ter, ihr
Haar war ein - ge - floch - ten, zum Tanz war sie be - reit.

This popular type is that of Uhland's "Der gute Kamerad." It is composed of two chains of the forms *a-b* and *a-á-b*. It will be noticed that in both the rhyme sequences in which this strophe appears the second and fifth rows rhyme. This and the never-failing similarity of the corresponding parts of the melody (the second and fifth phrases) are the two distinguishing marks of this strophe. Another melodic resemblance is found between the third and fourth phrases, which correspond with the rows having *b b* (or *a a*) rhyme.

Examples are Hort Nos. 89*a*, 408*a*, 560*a*, 563, 654, 655, 663, 692, 718, 719, 862, 1162, 1372, and 1376.

A subtype of (*b*) has the same chain structure—*a-b*, *a-á-b*—but a variant rhyme order, namely, *a a b b a* (or *a a b b c*). We have here the same *melodic* characteristics as in the normal (*b*) type, excepting that corresponding with the first chain (*a a* rhyme) we have also in the melody two phrases which resemble each other usually rather more closely. Beyer[1] cites as an example of this

[1] *Deutsche Poetik*, I, 651.

form the cradle song Hort No. 1806, "Schlaf, Kindlein, Schlaf." It is also the form used in Hauff's "Morgenrot." Further examples: Hort Nos. 159, 814*a*, 975*a*, and 1014.

c) The *x a x a a* (or *a b a b b*) type. An example:

Hort No. 131 *a*.

Es ging ein Knab spa - zie - ren, spa - zie - ren durch den
Wald. Da be - geg - net ihm ein Mäd - chen, war
acht - zehn Jah - re alt, gar schön war sie ge - stalt.

Its two chains are of the form *a-b* and *a-b-b́*. I have found but three other mediocre examples (Hort Nos. 404, 647, and 1540) of this strophe.

I think it must be evident, from an examination of the above forms, that we have in the five-row strophe merely a widening out, by one row, of a four-row strophe. This extra row appears, in both melody and text, as a variation of an immediately preceding row which is one of the original four rows of the shorter strophe. Thus, in type (*a*) the extra row is added directly after, and is analogous to what would otherwise be the *first row* of an *x a x a* (or *a b a b*) strophe. In type (*b*) the addition comes after the *third row* of an originally *x a x a* strophe. In the subtype of (*b*) the addition seems to be to a strophe of the *a a b b* type, and it is inserted after the *third row*. And finally, type (*c*) represents the augmentation of an *x a x a* strophe, the extra row being added after the *fourth row*.

In order to bring this, through the medium of the eye, more clearly to the mind, I shall reproduce here a strophe of each of the four types. The extra row appears in italic type.

(*a*)

Wol auf, wol auf an Bodensee,
Sunst findt man nindert Freuden meh,
mit Tanzen und mit Springen.
Und welcher gleich nit tanzen will,
der hör doch fröhlich singen.

(*b*)

Es war eine schöne Jüdin,
ein wunderschönes Weib;
Sie hatt' eine schöne Tochter,
Ihr Haar war eingeflochten,
zum Tanz war sie bereit.

(*b*) subtype

Ich wünscht, es wäre Nacht,
mein Bettchen wär gemacht,
Wollt ich zu mei'm Schätzchen gehn,
Wollte vor dem Fenster stehn,
bis sie mir aufmacht.

(*c*)

Es ging ein Knab spazieren,
spazieren durch den Wald.
Da begegnet ihm ein Mädchen,
war achtzehn Jahre alt,
Gar schön war sie gestalt.

The origin, after this manner, of the five-row strophes becomes much clearer when we go back and take note of some of the four-row strophes themselves, those which have been extended, simply through the repetition of some one of their rows, into a form which is virtually the same as the five-row strophe which we are now discussing. Hort Nos. 511, 596, and 635, for instance, have four-row strophes which have through repetition become equivalent to type (*b*) of five rows. Hort Nos. 528*a*, 529, and 1193 have, by the same means, become equivalent to the subtype of (*b*). And the last row of the strophe in Hort Nos. 84*a*, 507, 717*a*, and 940 has been repeated as a sort of refrain, making the strophic form equivalent to (*c*) of these five-row strophes. Type (*a*) is the only one for which I have been unable to find an augmented four-row cognate.

Also these five-row strophes sometimes grow into a still longer form through repeats, etc. The strophes of Hort No. 507, for instance, have thus grown into a six-row form, and those of Hort No. 592 have grown to seven rows.

STROPHES OF SIX ROWS

They are of two general types: (*a*) those composed of *three* chains of *two* rows each, and (*b*) those of *two* chains of *three* rows each.

a) The three-chain types. The three chains are usually in the forms *a-b*, *a-á*, and *a-b* respectively. The first and third chains are very often quite similar in structure. The middle chain, however, is of a different type from the other two, this difference being indicated

by its *a-á* form as contrasted with the *a-b* form of the other chains. And that means that the two rows in question resemble each other in their meter and rhyme more than do the two rows of either of the other chains.

The melody reflects these similarities and dissimilarities in every detail. So the general aspect of a strophe of this sort is as follows: first we have a chain of two rows which comes melodically and textually to a firm chain pause. Then intervenes a *new element* in the form of row *a* of the second chain. This new element is repeated or restated as row *á* of that same chain. Then follows the third two-row chain, which is in character a restatement of the idea of the first chain—a sort of *da capo* chain with which the strophe closes. An example:

Hort No. 557*a*.

Das Lie - ben bringt gross Freud, es wis - ses al - le Leut;
Weiss mir ein schö - nes Schät-ze - lein, mit zwei schwarz-braunen
Äu - ge-lein, Die mir, die mir, die mir mein Herz er - freut.*

* Further examples are Hort Nos. 156*b* (2d Mel.), 167, 169*a*, 304, 336, 342, 363, 520, 544, 600*a*, 633, 703, 706*a*, 707, 764, 904, 1336, 1401, 1402, 1409, and 1463.

This same strophe, that is, one which has this same chain formation and melodic aspect, is found in quite a number of rhyme orders. The order *a a b b c c* is the most usual. Others are:

a a b b b b or *a a b b x b* } Examples: Hort Nos. 835 and 1338.
a a b b a a Examples: Hort Nos. 770 and 1219.
a b a a x b Examples: Hort Nos. 7*a* and 460*a*.
a b c c a b Examples: Hort Nos. 176 and 396*a*.
x a b b a a Example: Hort No. 732.

b) The two-chain type. This type is not nearly as widely used as is (*a*). Its two chains are of the type *a-á-b*, and the rhyme order is very uniformly *a a b c c b*. An example:

Hort No. 743*a* (2d Mel.).

Inns - bruck, ich muss dich las - sen, ich
fahr da - hin mein Stras - sen in frem - de Land da-
hin. Mein Freud ist mir ge - nom - men, die
ich nit weiss be - kom - men, wo ich in E - lend bin.*

* Further examples: Hort Nos. 252, 279, 295, 324*c*, 358*a*, 401, 650, 768, 836, 1148, and 1370.

Not infrequently does a six-row strophe expand, through the repeating of some part, to an eight-row structure, less often to one of seven rows. Examples of the former are: Hort Nos. 551, 595, and 1262.

STROPHES OF SEVEN ROWS

They appear in three types having the rhyme order (*a*) *a b a b c x c* (or *x a x a b x b*), (*b*) *a b a b c c x* (or *x a x a b b x*), and (*c*) *a b a b x c c* (or *x a x a x b b*). Each type consists of *three chains*, and in each type the first two of these chains (with a possible exception of those in some of the songs which I have grouped with those of the (*a*) type (see p. 93 below) are of the *a-b* form. Where the three types differ from one another is in their third chains.

Before speaking of this difference, however, I wish to call attention to the first part of all three types—this pair of two-row chains both of which are sung to *the same* (repeated) *melodic period* (cf. the examples below). This is the first time we have met with this repeated period (chain) as a regular occurrence at the beginning of the

song melody. But we shall now see that there is rarely a strophe of seven rows and longer which does not show this feature. Its importance also as a factor in giving form to the *text* is not to be underrated; for it is only in connection with such *repeated* chains that we have quite regularly the *a b a b* rhyme as opposed to the *x a x a* order, the equally regular occurrence where the two succeeding chains are not *identical* but only of *similar* trend (cf. also pp. 84 and 85 above).

I said above that these three types of the seven-row strophe differed structurally only in the last chain—the last three rows. I shall now try to make this difference clear through the comparison of an example of each type.

Type (*a*), an example:

Hort No. 742.
Aeolian mode.
Ich stund an ei - nem Mor - gen heim- lich an ei-nem Ort,
Do hätt ich mich ver - bor - gen, ich hört kläg-li - che Wort
Von ei - nem Fraü - lein hübsch und fein, das stund bei
sei - nem Buh - len, es musst ge - schie - den sein.*

* I reproduce this version of the melody without subscribing to or denying the correctness of its rather peculiar (tentative) note values and division into measures.

Examining the group represented by the last three rows of this example, we find that its *last two* rows are practically identical in melody with the first and fourth rows of the strophe respectively. That is, together they form a *da capo*, and the rows which they reiterate melodically are *a* and *b* of the first chain. This gives the rows an *a-b* effect *in their own chain.*

But what about the *first* row of this group, "Von einem Fräulein hübsch und fein"? *Melodically* it seems quite independent, a sort of

contrast passage. Its *text* seems only slightly more closely attached (as a kind of coda) to what goes before than (as an introduction) to what follows. Looking into the other six strophes of this same song we find the same uncertainty. In two of them this fifth row is attached, as in the first strophe, syntactically to the foregoing rows, and in four to the following. On examining other songs having this strophe I find the same conditions, an almost completely independent melody passage and a text row which is either quite independent or related in different strophes forward or backward. It is somewhat more frequently related forward. I shall therefore reckon this row as a part of the last three-row group, but I shall represent its (melodic and sometimes text-rhythmic) independence by the symbol *x*. This will give us *x-a-b* as the form of the final chain (?) of this strophe.

Type (*b*), an example:

Hort No. 922.

"Va - ter, ist denn nicht er-schaf-fen für mich ei - ne Männ-lich-keit?
Dass ich ganz al-lein muss schlafen in dem Bett der Ein-sam - keit?
Und in mei - nen jun - gen Jah - ren, mei - ne Haa - re
las - se schee-ren, die von Gold be - glän - zet sind?"

In the first row—"Und in meinen jungen Jahren"—of the last chain of this strophe we have a melodic procedure which is, as in type (*a*), different from that of the row which *precedes* it, but which is, in contrast to type (*a*), almost identical melodically with the row which *follows* it. This leaves the final row of the strophe as the only one which can show a *da capo* effect. It resembles the second (or fourth) row of the strophe. We have, then, *a-á-b* as the form of this chain.

Type (*c*), an example:

Hort No. 2001.

Was Gott tut, das ist wohl ge-tan, es bleibt gerecht sein Wil-le.
Wie er fängt mei-ne Sach-en an, so will ich hal-ten stil-le.
Er ist mein Gott, der in der Not mich wohl weiss zu er-
hal-ten, Drum lass ich ihn nur wal-ten.

The third chain here begins with a row—"Er ist mein Gott, der in der Not"—which is melodically independent of what goes before, and different from, though *not independent* of, what follows. The next row—"mich wohl weiss zu erhalten"—leads perceptibly toward a close, one which is realized in the next (very similar) row, the last one in the strophe. This last row, it will be noted, is very similar, melodically, also to the second (or fourth) row of the strophe—a *da capo* effect which is participated in, though in a less degree, by that very similar row which just precedes it. These features would determine the last chain as of the *a-b-b́* type.

We might, then, summarize the different characteristics of the final chain of each of the three seven-row strophic types as follows:

Strophic Type	Rhyme	Chain Form	Rows Having *da Capo*
(*a*)	*a x a*	*x-a-b*	Second and third
(*b*)	*a a x*	*a-á-b*	Third
(*c*)	*x a a*	*a-b-b́*	Second and third

Strophes of type (*a*) were much used in the songs of the sixteenth century, but rarely in modern times excepting in church hymns. Beyer (*Op. cit.*, I, 669) calls this the "Neue Titurelstrophe."[1]

[1] Further examples: Hort Nos. 86, 235, 251*a*, 390, 415, 446, 746, 804, and 919. And among the church hymns in Hort which use this strophe are Nos. 1920, 1952, 1987, and 2154.

Strophes of type (*b*) are, according to Beyer (*op. cit.*, I, 668), used widely in church hymns. He calls it, therefore, the "Kirchenlied-strophe."[1] The same author (*op. cit.*, I, 672) calls type (*c*) the "Pinzgauerstrophe."[2]

It is very easy to expand these seven-row forms to those of eight rows. Hort Nos. 748 and 1761 are good illustrations of how this takes place.

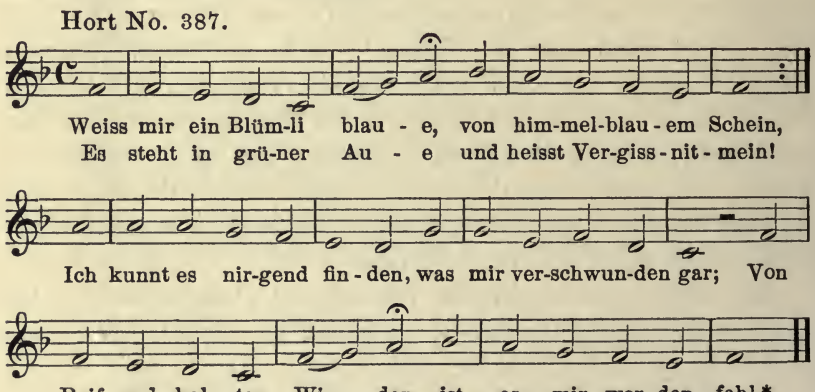
STROPHES OF EIGHT ROWS

This length of strophe is very widely used in the folk-songs. It ranks, in point of popularity, second only to the four-row length.

Among the varieties of strophes of this length there are two which predominate greatly, leaving all other forms as sporadic in their occurrence. I shall consider primarily these two types:

Type (*a*). The rhyme order is *a b a b c d c d* (or *a b a b x c x c* or *x a x a x b x b*). An example:

Hort No. 387.


Weiss mir ein Blüm-li blau - e, von him-mel-blau - em Schein,
Es steht in grü-ner Au - e und heisst Ver-giss - nit - mein!
Ich kunnt es nir-gend fin - den, was mir ver-schwun-den gar; Von
Reif und kal - ten Win - den ist es mir wor-den fahl.*

* For the slight changes from Böhme's version in this melody I am responsible.

This strophe is composed regularly of *four chains*, all of the *a-b* type. The first two chains group normally in a set, the *Aufgesang*. The last two are independent of each other.

Also the *melodic form*, that great help in determining the strophic build, deserves our attention. The first period—that part of the melody which corresponds to the first chain—is, as was the case in

[1] Further examples: Hort Nos. 299, 313, 805, 930, 933, 978, 1120, 1146, 1546, 1595, 1617, 1707, and a church hymn 2045.

[2] Further examples: Hort Nos. 389, 456, 693 (2d Mel.), 1761, and 2008.

the seven-row strophe, practically always *repeated* (instead of being simply *imitated*) for the use of the second chain. Hence the coincident phenomenon—*the great predominance*, in the first half of this strophe, *of the pure a b a b rhyme sequence* (cf. pp. 84 and 85, above). Corresponding with the third chain we have a melodic period which is *somewhat independent* of what precedes it. But with the fourth (final) chain we have a *reversion* in the melody to the type of the first period (or to the second period when first and second are not absolutely identical) in which the tune finds a fitting finish.

This *da capo* feature seems to be inherent in this strophe. It is present, in varying degrees of completeness, in the oldest as well as in the most modern songs. In the folk-songs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the reversion was less complete than in more modern times. The melodies of that period seldom show an exact identity in more than the *final bonds* of the first and fourth chains. In some few old songs, however, the *final rows* of those same chains, or even the *entire chains*, were melodically identical. See, for example, Hort Nos. 387 from the year 1580 (cited above) and 450*a* from 1549. But in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries the exact melodic identity of the second and fourth chains—a complete *da capo*—becomes the rule that has rare exceptions.

This variety of strophe is the one used in the "Nibelungenlied" (cf. Beyer, *op. cit.*, I, 601 ff.) and in the younger "Hildebrandslied" (cf. Beyer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 613 and Hort No. 22).

But when we say, as we may, that there are in Hort numerous examples of the "Nibelungenstrophe," we mean, of course, that such examples are, in their general rhythmic features, similar to the strophes of the "Nibelungenlied." In one point, however—the longer final row of the "Nibelungenstrophe"—the analogy of the folk-song strophe fails; for in only one song in Hort, namely No. 429*a*, do we have an eight-row strophe with this unique feature. I reproduce one strophe:

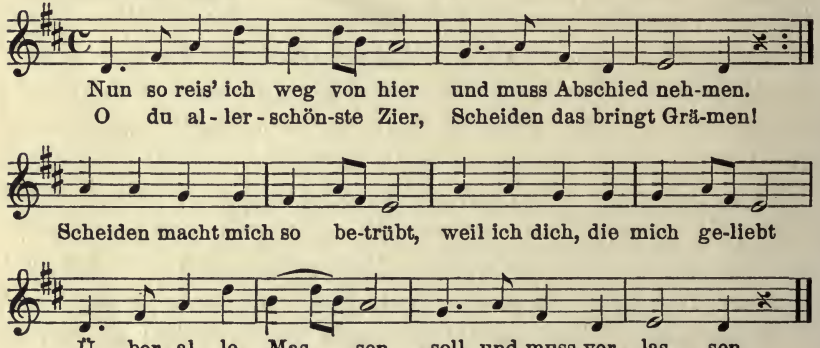
Die Brünnlein die da fliessen,
die soll man trinken,
Und wer ein steten Buhlen hat,
der soll ihm winken,
Ja winken mit den Augen

und treten auf ein Fuss;
Es ist ein harter Orden,
der séinen Bùhlen méiden mùss.

Böhme (cf. Hort II, 248) considers this as the only example of a strophe of this kind among the folk-songs. This is probably true, and it is all the more remarkable since the lengthening of the final row is not so rare in strophes of *other* lengths. See, for instance, Hort Nos. 276 (nine rows) and 433*a* (four rows).[1]

Type (*b*). The rhyme order is *a b a b c c x x* (or in place of *x x* we may have *a b, x b, b b,* or *d d*) or *x a x a b b x x* (or in the place of *x x* we may have *x a, a a,* or *c c*). An example:

Hort No. 791*a*.


Nun so reis' ich weg von hier und muss Abschied neh-men.
O du al-ler-schön-ste Zier, Scheiden das bringt Grä-men!
Scheiden macht mich so be-trübt, weil ich dich, die mich ge-liebt
Ü-ber al-le Mas-sen, soll und muss ver-las-sen.

This strophe is, in its *first and second chains* with their *a b a b* rhyme order, and in its *fourth chain* in spite of its manifold rhyme aspect, in all essential points like type (*a*). Each of these chains has, here as there, the form *a-b*. The *da capo* is in force here as there, and it is of the same sort—a repetition in the last (fourth) chain of the melody either of simply the fourth row of the strophe, or of the whole second chain, or, again, of the first and fourth rows of the strophe.

It is in the *third* chain with its *c c* (or *b b*) rhyme order where the difference, though not a radical one, between types (*a*) and (*b*)

[1] Further examples of this *a b a b c d c d* type: Hort Nos. 27, 29, 32, 256, 258, 262, 263, 270, 292, 298, 334, 344, 379, 388, 393*a*, 400, 430, 478*a*, 521, 587, 648, 667, 681, 696, 744, 745, 883, 1099, 1135, 1156, etc.

Examples of the variant rhyme sequence *a b a b x c x c* are Hort Nos. 310, 311, 427, 471, 476, 752, 833, 923, 1174, etc.

Examples of the sequence *x a x a x b x b* are Hort Nos. 85, 334, 369, 429*a*, 488, 489, 643, 1151, etc.

comes. This *c c* rhyme indicates the peculiarity that this third chain is composed of *two rows of similar rhythmic structure.* And this indication is strengthened when we examine the pertinent part of the (typical) melody in the example above and find that *also the notation of the two rows is identical.* These facts warrant our regarding this third chain as having the form *a-á* in contrast to the *a-b* form of the third chain in type (*a*).

That variant of the type (*b*) which shows the rather rare rhyme order *a b a b c c a b* is, by reason of its final *a b* rhyme, and in spite of its rarity,[1] the ideal one for melodies like these in which the *da capo* is complete. That is, such a rhyme order shows *perfect synthesis*, in this respect at least, of text and melody.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Wilhelm Ganzhorn used just this strophic form—which Beyer (*op. cit.*, I, 695) calls "Ganzhorns Volksstrophe"—in a beautiful song of which Beyer quotes one strophe. But what is more interesting is that that song has become a real folk-song, "sung in almost every village of the Neckar valley." It may be that its strophic form was one of the factors in its popularity.[2]

Rather remarkable is the almost complete absence, among the folk-songs of Hort, of eight-row strophes beginning with an *a a b b* rhyme sequence, one which has been used by "art poets" in the first part of many different varieties of eight-row strophes (cf. Beyer, *op. cit.*, I, 690 ff.). The few (modern) songs which show a tendency toward the sequence of which we are speaking are Hort Nos. 548 ("Ach, wie ists möglich dann"), 549, 637*a*, and 615. Cf. also No. 473 —a very commonplace song from the sixteenth century.

Examples of the eight-row strophes which have been expanded by repeats, etc., into longer ones are:

Hort Nos. 335 and 646, expanded to a strophe of nine rows.
Hort Nos. 571*a* and 610, expanded to a strophe of ten rows.
Hort No. 1317, expanded to a strophe of twelve rows.

[1] There seems to have been some difficulty in finding *three a b* rhyme combinations for the same strophe. I have found but three examples of this strophe in Hort (Nos. 1018, 1039, and 1320), and even here the difficulty was evaded; for in their strophes the last two rows are nothing but a *repetition of the text* of either the first and second or the third and fourth rows of the strophe.

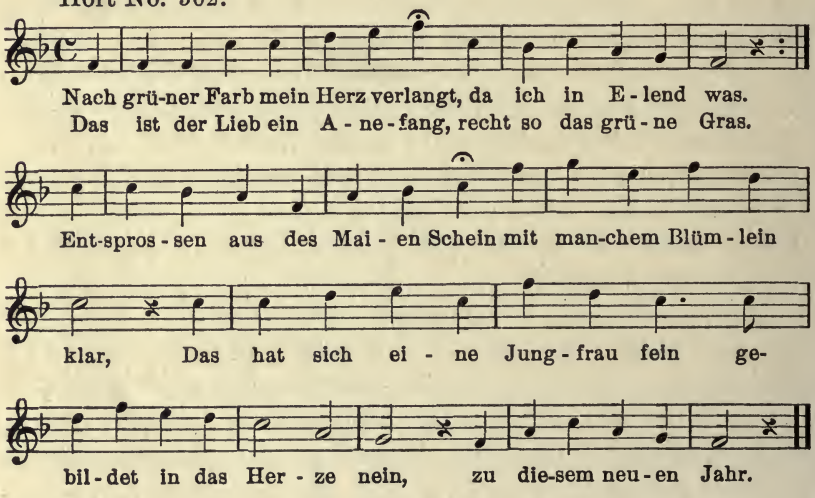
[2] Further examples of type (*b*) are Hort Nos. 154 (2d Mel.), 337, 426, 462, 463, 504, 509, 576, 609, 838*a*, 959*b*, and 1312.

STROPHES OF NINE ROWS

The nine-row strophes are simply amplifications of those of eight rows. And the amplification takes place without any alteration of the general aspect of the strophe. The extra row appears usually as the eighth (a restatement of the seventh) or the ninth (a restatement of the eighth) row. Hence we have two types: (*a*) rhyme order *a b a b c d c c d* (and variants) and (*b*) rhyme order *a b a b c d c d d* (and variants).

Type (*a*), *a b a b c d c c d.* An example:

Hort No. 502.


Nach grü-ner Farb mein Herz verlangt, da ich in E-lend was.
Das ist der Lieb ein A-ne-fang, recht so das grü-ne Gras.
Ent-spros-sen aus des Mai-en Schein mit man-chem Blüm-lein
klar, Das hat sich ei-ne Jung-frau fein ge-
bil-det in das Her-ze nein, zu die-sem neu-en Jahr.

Note in this example especially the two rows:

Das hat sich eine Jungfrau fein
gebildet in das Herze nein,

which are the first two rows of the fourth (a three-row) chain. The fact that the second of these rows is virtually a restatement of the first is attested by their identical meter and rhyme, and by their similar melodic aspect. The last row of the strophe (the third row of this chain) is easily recognizable as the melodical re-presentation of the second (or fourth) row. These facts give us *a-á-b* as the type of this last chain, and they make clear to us the source of the augmentation of this nine-row strophe from the eight-row frame.

But for those who wish still further proof of the source of this strophe in the one of eight rows, I might recommend the simple test of leaving out, in singing it, either the seventh or eighth row, and of noting how little such a procedure changes the aspect of the melody.

Most of the examples of this strophe in Hort are from the sixteenth century.[1]

Type (*b*) *a b a b c d c d d.* An example:

Hort No. 437.

Ein Maidlein zu dem Brunnen ging, und das war säu-ber - li - chen;
Be - geg-net ihm ein Jün - ge-ling, er grüsst sie züchtig - li - chen.
Sie setzt ihr Krüg-lein ne - ben sich und fragt ihn: wer er
wä - re. Er küsst's auf ihr - en ro - ten Mund: "Ihr
seid mir nit un - mä - re, tret he - re, tret he - re!"

By analyzing the last (three-row) chain of the example given above, in the same manner as we analyzed that in type (*a*), we find its form to be *a-b-b́*. That is, we find the eighth row to be restated in the ninth. Hence it is to this pair of rows that we trace the augmentation of this otherwise eight-row strophe.

The few examples of it which I have found in Hort are all among the "older" folk-songs.[2]

STILL LONGER STROPHES

Strophes longer than eight or nine rows are quite rare among the folk-songs. And even when we do find one, we see by analyzing it that its structure adds nothing new to the subject of strophic form. For the strophes of ten, eleven, twelve, etc., rows have their being

[1] Further examples: Hort Nos. 245, 257, 276, 297, 378, 399, 806, and 807.

[2] They are Hort Nos. 268, 811, 1287, and 1294.

simply through the constant repeating of those same melodic elements of which we have already spoken in detail. For these reasons I shall simply append a list of the few examples of such strophes in Hort as have come to my notice, and omit all discussion of them.

Strophes of *ten* rows: Hort Nos. 289, 346, 505, 844, 997, 1041, 1276, 1310, 1327, and 1445.
Strophes of *eleven* rows: Hort Nos. 151*b* and 1147.
Strophes of *twelve* rows: Hort Nos. 352*a*, 634, 1028, 1298, and 1462.
Strophes of *thirteen* rows: Hort No. 958.
Strophes of *fifteen* rows: Hort No. 78*b*.
Strophes of *sixteen* rows: Hort No. 988.

Most of these are artificial concoctions. Many are texts to long (instrumental?) dance tunes.

With the discussion of the strophe finished, we have come to the end of our consideration of rhythmic groups. There is no larger group in the folk-songs. Each successive strophe in a song is, in the *form* of its melody and text, simply a repetition, with only inconsiderable variations, of the foregoing strophe. And as to the number of strophes in the song, there is absolutely no rule.

I hope that the material of the foregoing pages may aid to a little clearer understanding of the real nature of the folk-song—that subsoil from which the overworked topsoil of modern lyric poetry and modern song draws, from time to time, new life for the bringing forth of its most beautiful flowers.

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DER ABLAUT VON GOT. *SPEIWAN*

Got. *speiwan* "speien" gilt als regelrechtes Verb der ersten Ablautsreihe. Vom Standpunkte des Gotischen und überhaupt des Germanischen aus ist gegen diese Auffassung kaum etwas einzuwenden. Es steht nichts im Wege, dem got. *speiwan* entsprechend für das Urgermanische ein Verbum *spīwan, spaiw, spiwum, spiwans* anzunehmen, wie dies z.B. FT (d. h. Falk und Torp, *Wortschatz der german. Spracheinheit* = Fick, *Vergl. Wtb.*[4], Band III), S. 513, tun.[1]

Schwierigkeiten ergeben sich erst, wenn man versucht, die Formen des germanischen Verbums mit denjenigen der verwandten Sprachen zu vermitteln. Z.B. wollen griech. *πτύω* u. lat. *spuo* nicht recht zu germ. *spīwan* stimmen. Wie also bildete dieses Verbum seine Formen im Indogermanischen? wie lautete vor allem der Präsensstamm im Indogerm.?

Die Frage ist verschieden beantwortet. Man vgl. die von Walde, *Lat. Et. Wtb.*[2] unter *spuo* verzeichnete Literatur; ausserdem namentlich E. Berneker, *IF.* X, 163; Feist, *Et. Wtb. d. Got. Spr.* unt. *speiwan;* W. Schulze, "Ai. *ṣṭhīv*," *KZ.* XLV, 95.

Mit Schulze kann ich mich völlig einverstanden erklären, wenn er eine Wurzelform **speiẹuā* in das Gebiet der Ablautphantastik verweist. Derartige nach blossen Schemen von Vokalreihen konstruierte Formen haben für die Sprachgeschichte wenig Wert. Für letztere kommt es vielmehr darauf an, die idg. Worte und Flexionsformen in derjenigen Gestalt wiederherzustellen, welche sie nach Ausweis der ältesten idg. Sprachen unmittelbar vor der Sprachtrennung hatten. Und zwar gilt es dabei der Individualität des einzelnen Falles möglichst Rechnung zu tragen. Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus ist mir fraglich, ob nicht auch Schulze dem heute herrschenden Schematismus noch zu sehr nachgegeben hat. "Die Wz.," sagt er, "mag etwa *sp(h)jāw* gelautet haben, mit den Tiefstufen *sp(h)īw* und *sp(h)jū*." Für das hier angenommene "*sp(h)jāw*"

[1] Weshalb das Präsens bei FT als **sp(j)u* und nicht als *spiwa* (westgerm. *spiwu*) angesetzt wird, ist mir unklar. Ein *j* begegnet im Germanischen beim Präsensstamme nur in anord. *spȳja*, ist aber hier anerkanntermassen sekundär, indem *spȳja* nachträglich aus der 2. 3. sg. *spȳr* = germ. 2. sg. *spīwis* erwachsen ist. Vgl. Noreen, *Altisl. Gramm.*[3], § 478 A. 3.

sehe ich keinen genügenden Anhalt. Es mag ja auf den ersten Blick scheinen, als werde eine solche Wurzelform durch lit. *spiáuju* und asl. *pljuja* gefordert. Aber bei näherer Erwägung erweist sich die scheinbare Stütze als unzuverlässig.

Lit. *spiáuju* erscheint in einer Kategorie mit mindestens einem Dutzend ähnlich gebildeter Verben, die man bei Kurschat, *Lit. Gr.*, § 1225, und vollständiger bei Leskien, *Der Ablaut der Wurzelsilben im Lit.*, (Leipzig, 1884), S. 143, aufgezählt findet. Es sind Verben, die z.T. nur in den baltischen Sprachen nachweisbar sind, z.T. aber auch im Slavischen begegnen.

Mit lit. *spiáuju, spióviau, spiáuti* = asl. *pljują, pljuti* erscheinen hier in einer Reihe Verben wie—

lit. *bliáuju, blióviau, bliáuti* "brüllen" = asl. *bljują, bljuvati* "vomere" (vgl. asl. *blěją, blějati* "blöken" = lat. *fleo, flēre* "weinen").

lett. *auju, awu* (*āwu*), *aut* "(Schuhe) anziehen" = asl. *ob-ują, ob-uti* "(Schuhe) anziehen," *iz-ują, iz-uti* "ausziehen." Vgl. lat. *ind-uo, ex-uo.*

lit. *káuju, kóviau, káuti* "schmieden" = asl. *kują* (u. *kovą*), *kovati* "hauen." Vgl. lat. *cūdere*, ahd. *houwan*, anord. *hǫggva.*

lit. *kráuju, króviau, kráuti* "häufen" = asl. *kryją, kryti* "bedecken."

lit. *máuju, móviau, máuti* "streifen" = asl. *myją, myti* "waschen."

lit. *pláuju, plóviau, pláuti* "spülen" = asl. *plują* (u. *plovą*), *pluti* "fliessen."

lit. *ráuju, róviau, ráuti* "ausraufen" = asl. *ryją, ryti* "graben."

Offenbar sind hier Verben verschiedener Herkumft nachträglich zu einer Verbalklasse verschmolzen. Den Grundstock bildeten anscheinend Verben, die im Präsensstamme ein *-eu-* oder *-ev-*, im allgemeinen Stamme ein *-ū-* hatten (vgl. bes. Leskien, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.*, V, 527 ff.; Vondrák, *Vergl. slav. Gramm.*, I, 98, 104 ff., 172; II, 209). Aber Präsensstamm und allgemeiner Stamm haben sich dann vielfach gegenseitig beeinflusst, während zugleich Mischung und Austausch mit andren Verbalklassen stattfand.

Der Wechsel von *-ev-* im Präsensstamm mit *-ū-* als Tiefstufe hat im Altindischen ein Seitenstück an Verben wie *áva-ti* "fördern," p.p. *ū-tá-* (vgl. das Subst. *ū-tí-* m. "Hülfe"); *bháva-ti* "werden," p.p. *bhū-tá-*; *páva-ti* "klären," p.p. *pū-tá-* u. ähnl. Nach dem

Vorbilde solcher Verba wurde anscheinend zu der Tiefstufe **spiū-* ein Präsensstamm **spiev(e)-* = lit. -sl. **spiov(e)-* geschaffen, der sich dann der *j*-Klasse anschloss.

Somit erhalten wir den tatsächlich vorliegenden Präs.-st. asl. *pljują* = lit. *spiáuju*. Der neue Präsensstamm wurde dann der Flexion des gesamten Verbums zugrunde gelegt und verdrängte die alte Tiefstufe, aber so, dass das *j* auf die dem Präsenssystem angehörigen Formen beschränkt blieb. Somit weist der zweite oder allgemeine Stamm nunmehr die Form asl. *plju-* = lit. *spiau-* auf. In der scheinbaren "Wz. *spiev*" des Litoslav. wird man also keine Altertümlichkeit sehen dürfen, sondern das Ergebnis einer Kette von Neubildungen.

So wenig wie auf das lit. Präsens *spiáuju* lässt sich eine Wz.-form *sp(h)iāv-* auf das lit. Präteritum *spióviau* stützen. Es mag sein, dass der lange Vokal bei einigen der Präterita auf *-óviau* aus der Ursprache stammt. Aber die Kategorie als ganzes, so wie sie vorliegt, der idg. Urzeit zuzuschreiben geht offenbar nicht an, und *spióviau* muss zu den Fällen gerechnet werden, die jungen Datums sind. Die Entwicklung mag sich etwa folgendermassen vollzogen haben.

Nachdem das *-ev-* der Verben, die wir als Grundstock dieser Klasse ansahen, im Lit. zu *-aw-* gewandelt war, schienen diese Verba im Präsens auf einer Stufe zu stehen mit der Klasse, wie sie im Lateinischen in *caveo, cāvī; faveo, fāvī; paveo, pāvī* vorliegt. Da lit. *a* auch für idg. altes *o* eintritt, war ferner auch die Grenze zwischen Verben dieser Art und solchen wie lat. *foveo, fōvī; moveo, mōvī; voveo, vōvī* beseitigt. Das heisst mit andren Worten: man kam dahin, bei diesen Verben überall diejenige Art der Präteritalbildung durchzuführen, wie sie sich im Germanischen in der 6. Ablautklasse findet.

Gerade bei dem Verbum *spīwan* aber liegt neben dem auf das Litauische beschränkten und hinsichtlich seiner Ursprünglichkeit von vornherein verdächtigen *spióviau* ein andres Präteritum, das besser begründeten Anspruch auf idg. Abkunft hat. Im *Çat. Brāhm.* i. 2, 3, 1 (vgl. Böhtl.-Roth, *Sanskr.-Wtb.* unt. *ṣṭhiv*) ist die 3. sg. Perf. *(abhi)-tiṣṭhēva* überliefert, die sich mit got. *(ga)-spaiw* (Joh. 9: 6) deckt. Es liegt kein Grund vor, die Altertümlichkeit dieser Formen zu bezweifeln. Die vermeintliche Wurzel *sphiāw-*

also, die sich mit ihnen schlecht verträgt, darf nunmehr wohl bei Seite bleiben.

Wie im Perfekt, so stimmen Altindisch und Germanisch im Präsensstamme genau überein. Dem got. *speiwan* entspricht aind. (3. sg.) *-ṣṭhīvati*. Der Akzent ist im Altind. hier so wenig, wie bei irgend einer andern Form der Wz. *ṣṭhīv* überliefert (vgl. Whitney, *Wurzeln der Sanskritsprache* [Leipzig, 1885], S. 181. In akzentuierten Texten kommen nur Formen vor, in welchen das Verb enklitisch ist). Aber es kann trotzdem keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass der Ton auf dem *ī* ruhte (in Einklang mit der von B.-R. im *Petersb. Sanskr.-Wtb.* angesetzten Betonung).

Eine Parallele hat dieser Präsensstamm an Formen wie aind. *jíva-ti* "er lebt" (lat. *vīvit*), *dív-ya-ti* "er spielt," *sív-ya-ti* "er näht." Man beachte dabei die Übereinstimmung in der Präsensbildung bei aind. *sīv-ya-ti* und got. *siu-ja-n* gegenüber dem ohne *j* gebildeten Präsensstamme von *ṣṭhīva-ti* und *spīwa-n*.

Dem betonten *-īv-* des Präsens entspricht bei aind. *ṣṭhīv-*, *dīv-*, und *sīv-* tiefstufiges *-yū-*, z.B. im Ptz. pass. *ṣṭhyū-ta-*, *dyū-tá-*, *syū-tá-*. Im Germanischen ist diese Wz.-form bei *spīwan* nicht mit Sicherheit nachzuweisen. Ihre Herkunft aus der idg. Ursprache aber wird verbürgt durch griech. *πτύω* und lat. *spuo*. Denn trotz des abweichenden Akzentes ist klar, dass *πτύω* und *spuo* auf Verallgemeinerung der alten Tiefstufe *spjū-* beruhen und nicht den alten Präsensstamm enthalten. (Lat. *spuo* zunächst aus **spjuo*, wie *her-i* = griech. *χθές* aus **hjes-i* und wohl auch *homo* neben griech. *χθών* aus **hjomo*).

Die Übereinstimmung zwischen Altindisch und Germanisch tritt dann aber gleich wieder hervor bei der tieftonigen (weil ursprünglich auf der Endung betonten) Stufe des Perfektstammes: aind. *ṣṭhiv-* (3. pl. Perf. *ni-tiṣṭhivuḥ*, siehe B.-R.) = germ. *spiw-* (got. 2. pl. Prt. *and-spiwuþ* Gal. 4:14; 3. pl. *bi-spiwun* Mark. 15:19). Wenn neben diesem *ṣṭhiv-* auch *ṣṭhīv-* als tieftonige Stufe begegnet (z.B. im Absolutiv *ni-ṣṭhīvya*), so darf man mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, dass hier ehemaliges *-iv-* auf Grund des Präsensstammes durch *-īv-* ersetzt ist. Die Übertragung brauchte nicht notwendig dem Altindischen zur Last zu fallen, sondern könnte schon in der idg. Ursprache vor sich gegangen sein.

Als Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung glaube ich hinstellen zu dürfen, dass den drei im Ablautsverhältnisse stehenden germanischen Stämmen *spīw-*, *spaiw-*, *spiw-* im Altindischen mit gleichem Ablaut und an gleicher Stelle des Formensystems die Stämme *ṣṭhīv-*, *ṣṭhēv-* (aus **ṣṭhaiv-*), *ṣṭhiv-* entsprechen. Es erübrigt nur noch, aus dieser Parallele die Folgerungen zu ziehen, die sich daraus für den Ablaut von germ. *spīwan* ergeben.

Mag *spīwan* lediglich vom Standpunkte des Germanischen aus als regelrechtes Verbum der ersten Ablautklasse erscheinen, so lehrt das Altindische, dass der Schein hier trügt. Denn das *ī* in *spīwan* geht nicht, wie bei den regelrechten Verben der ersten Ablautsreihe, auf idg. *ei*, sondern, wie aind. *ṣṭhīvati* beweist, auf idg. *ī* zurück. Somit repräsentiert *spīwan* einen Nebentypus der ersten Reihe mit germ. *ī* = idg. *ī*. Das Verhältnis ist genau dasselbe, wie bei der zweiten Reihe zwischen dem *ū* von *lūkan* "schliessen" und dem *iu* aus idg. *eu* der regelrechten Verba der zweiten Reihe (z.B. *giutan* "giessen"). Man hat die dem Typus *lūkan* angehörigen Verba als "Aoristpräsentia" bezeichnet. Aber der Name ist irreführend, und die ihm zugrunde liegende Anschauung, es handle sich hier im Germanischen um junge, aus andren Tempora abgeleitete Präsensstämme, trifft schwerlich das Richtige. Gerade das Verbum *spīwan* macht es wahrscheinlich, dass das Germanische in solchen Fällen uralte Typen der idg. Präsensbildung gewahrt hat. Sie sind in den meisten idg. Sprachen entweder der Normalform des Ablautes zum Opfer gefallen, oder haben als vereinzelte und scheinbar unwesentliche Abweichungen von der Norm bis jetzt nicht hinlängliche Beachtung bei den Grammatikern gefunden.

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DER TEUFEL BEI HEBBEL

Eine wie wichtige Rolle der Teufel in Hebbels Dichtungen spielt wird wohl schon anderen vor mir aufgefallen sein, wenn ich sonst keine ungewöhnliche Spürnase für den Höllenfürsten habe.[1] Der Teufel findet sich bei Hebbel wie in der Welt allenthalben. Wir können keine seiner Schriften vornehmen ohne häufig auf Teufel und Hölle zu stossen. Im Drama, in der Lyrik, in den Erzählungen und Novellen wie in den Reiseberichten, Tagebuchaufzeichnungen und Briefen stellt sich der Teufel auf Schritt und Tritt bei ihm ein. In Hebbels griechischem Drama *Gyges und sein Ring* kann ja vom Teufel und seiner Hölle nicht die Rede sein. Statt dessen hören wir aber von Erebos, Kronos, Styx, Lethe, Orkus, und den Erynnen.[2] In den judäischen Dramen sprechen die Charaktere zwar nicht vom christlichen Teufel, wohl aber von Dämonen und bösen Geistern. Hebbel wollte den Teufel im *Christus* auf die Bühne bringen und in der *Genoveva* grinst uns eine Teufelslarve im Spiegel an (Regieanweisung nach V. 2798). Der Teufel kommt bei Hebbel auch im Titel von zwei Gedichten vor: "Dem Teufel sein Recht im Drama" und "Der Dämon und der Genius." Unter diesen Gedichten finden sich ausserdem zwei Romanzen vom Teufel: *Die Teufelsbraut*, die der Orgelspieler in der Novelle *Zitterlein*, die dasselbe Motiv hat, ableiert und *Der Tanz*. Das Gedicht "Der Ring" hat ein Teufelsbündnis zum Motiv und Byrons Lucifer wird von Hebbel auch nicht stillschweigend übergangen. Die Novelle *Barbier Zitterlein* mit ihrem Motiv von der Teufelsbraut wollte Hebbel auch dramatisch etwa mit folgendem Thema: *Der Liebhaber, der sich für den Teufel hält* (*Tagebücher* I, 8, Nr. 28)[3] gestalten. Das Thema der Novelle *Schnook*

[1] Auf einige interessante Teufelsstellen bei Hebbel habe ich schon in meinem Buche, *Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit*, "Hesperia" Nr. 6, Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. S. 142, Anm. 3, hingewiesen. Herrn Prof. Dr. Hermann Collitz bin ich für hilfreiche Bemerkungen und Anregungen herzlichen Dank schuldig.

[2] Über die Teufelsidee bei den Griechen siehe J. A. Hild, *Etude sur les démons dans la littérature et la religion des Grecs*, 1881.

[3] Ich zitiere in diesem Aufsatz nach R. M. Werners historisch-kritischer Ausgabe von Hebbels Werken, Berlin, 1904–7. Bw. ist die Abkürzung für *Friedrich Hebbels Briefwechsel mit Freunden und berühmten Zeitgenossen . . . .* hrsg. von Felix Bamberg, 2 Bde., Berlin, 1890–92. Die Versangabe für *Die Nibelungen* ist nach Zeiss' Ausgabe (Bibliog. Institute).

lässt sich in den paar Worten, die Hebbel dem Titelhelden in den Mund legen wollte, ausdrücken: "Der Teufel ist's der die Ehen schliesst" (Bw. I, 31) und in der fragmentarischen Novelle *Die beiden Vagabunden*, mit ihren interessanten Situationen, spielt ja der Teufel die Hauptrolle. Hebbel wollte den Teufel auch noch in anderen Erzählungen zur Hauptfigur machen, wie aus Entwürfen die uns erhalten sind zu ersehen ist (Werke VIII, 355–56; vgl. auch *Tagebücher* I, 2–3, Nr. 5, 9, 10; *ibid.*, S. 42, Nr. 227). Unter diesen "Plänen und Stoffen" findet sich sogar ein "Tagebuch des Teufels" (Werke VIII, 355; vgl. auch *Tagebücher* I, 5, Nr. 10). Von der Grossmutter des Teufels spricht Hebbel in einem seiner Briefe (*Briefe* VII, 275, 14).

Es bedarf kaum der Erwähnung dass Hebbel in diesem Punkte seine Zeitgenossen und Vorgänger, sogar aus der romantischen Schule, bei weitem überflügelt. Es wird sich kaum ein deutscher Schriftsteller des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts finden, der Hebbel in seiner Vorliebe zum Teufel an die Seite gestellt werden könnte.[1] Auch seine Vorbilder in der Erzählungskunst, E. T. A. Hoffmann und Jean Paul, von denen er sich mehrere Teufelsgeschichten in seinem *Tagebuche* aufgezeichnet hat (*Tagebücher* I, 71, Nr. 381, I, 76, Nr. 415 u. I, 134–35, Nr. 623), hat Hebbel in dieser Beziehung weit hinter sich gelassen.[2] Da Hebbel für uns hauptsächlich als Dramatiker gilt, und die anderen Dichtungsarten uns nur in sofern von Bedeutung sind, als sie uns zur Erkenntnis seines Wesens verhelfen, werde ich hauptsächlich auf den Teufel in Hebbels Dramen eingehen, ohne aber die anderen Dichtungsarten ganz ausser Betracht zu lassen.

Als Hebbel als siebzehnjähriger Bursche sich auf dem Gebiete des Dramas versuchte, gestaltete er schon so ziemlich alle Charaktere zu Teufeln. *Mirandola* zeigt schon wie tief Hebbel sich mit dem

[1] Von den Dramen, wo der Teufel im Stoffe selbst gegeben ist, wie Goethes *Faust*, und die vielen anderen Faustdichtungen, Grabbes *Don Juan und Faust*, Arnims *Päpstin Johanna*, Immermanns *Merlin*, u. ä. m., ist freilich abgesehen. Auch ist es ganz natürlich dass der Titelheld in Zacharias Werners *Martin Luther* seinem Widersacher Satan nicht nur allerlei unschmeichelhaften Worte, sondern auch das Tintenfass an den Kopf wirft. Sonst ist die Redeweise im Schicksalsdrama mit Hyperbeln von Teufel und Hölle nicht in dem Masse wie bei Hebbel überladen. Bei Kleist zeigt sich nur der Dorfrichter Adam in seinem Lustspiel *Der zerbrochene Krug* mit dem Teufel auf vertrautem Fusse zu stehen.

[2] Erzählungen wie *Die Elixiere des Teufels* sind natürlich aus dem Grunde, der in vorgehender Anmerkung in bezug auf Dramen angeführt ist, ausgenommen.

Dämon im Menschen beschäftigen wird. Hier sind, wie eben gesagt, fast alle Charaktere Teufel. Gomatzinas Befürchtung, dass er seinem Freunde Mirandola seine Geliebte raubt und Teufel wird (1. Akt, 6. Sz.), verwirklicht sich allzusehr, und er wird auch Teufel (2. Akt, 4. u. 5. Szz.). Der Burggraf Gonsula, der dies Unheil aus Hass zur Familie des Mädchens angestiftet hat, ist erst recht ein Teufel (2. Akt, 5. Sz.; 3. Akt, 1. Sz.). Der betrogene Mirandola will, als er von der Untreue seines Freundes erfährt, aus freien Stücken ein Teufel werden, "und ein solcher, dass die Hölle selbst soll beben, wenn sie mich mit der Zeit empfängt" (Werke V, 29–30). Aber auch das Herz der betrogenen Flamina wird zum Wohnsitz des Teufels. "Das Wort ["O, nie sehe ich ihn wieder"] prägt sich mit Höllenspitzen in meine Seele" (2. Akt, 1. Sz.). In seinem nächsten Fragment *Der Vatermord* ist der treulose Geliebte ein Teufel und Fernando ist vom Spielteufel besessen.

Aber auch in seinen reiferen und vollendeten Dramen, mit Ausnahme des hellenischen Dramas *Gyges*, räumt Hebbel, wie schon bemerkt, dem Teufel einen sehr wichtigen Platz ein. In seiner Bevorzugung des Anormalen vor dem Allgemein-Gültigen, in seiner Neigung gerade das Niederdrückende in der menschlichen Natur wie im menschlichen Schicksal darzustellen bot ihm, wie es scheint, das dämonische Element in der Weltordnung reichlichen Stoff. Alle seine "problematischen Naturen" sind Dämonen, alle wecken sie den Dämon in sich. Für die Stillen, die sich bemühen jeder Versuchung aus dem Wege zu gehen, hat ja Hebbel gar kein Interesse.[1] Wenn auch der Dramatiker Hebbel den von ihm selbst gestellten strengen Anforderungen sonst nicht immer entspricht,[2] so stimmt doch in dieser Beziehung Theorie[3] und Praxis bei ihm überein, wie aus folgendem zu ersehen ist.

Judith.—Holofernes mit seinem "zyklopischen Grossmannsdünkel," wie Bulthaupt sich ausdrückt,[4] ist ein Teufel der Hoffart und hat ein Höllenlächeln (5. Akt). In Samajas Augen ist der Brudermörder Daniel vom Teufel besessen. Ein Dämon des

[1] Vgl. Hebbels Gedicht "Der Dämon und der Genius."

[2] Vgl. *Friedrich Hebbels Tagebücher*, hrsg. von Hermann Krumm, I, 144 Anm.

[3] Vgl. sein Gedicht "Dem Teufel sein Recht im Drama."

[4] *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*, III[9], 132.

Abgrunds hat seinen Mund, den Mund eines Stummgeborenen, entsiegelt, um die Menschen zu verlocken (3. Akt).

Genoveva.—Golo, ein "sexuell Verrückter," wie Bulthaupt ihn nennt,[1] ist, wie Faust, teilweise das Spielwerk Satans.[2] Mit seinem aufflammenden, hastigen Charakter handelt er der Genoveva gegenüber zwar aus menschlichen Gründen teuflisch (*Tagebücher* I, 319, Nr. 1475, 30–31). Des Himmels reinster Blick (Genoveva) entzündet in seiner Brust die Hölle (*ibid.*, S. 322, Z. 103). Aus seiner Brust, bekennt Golo, bricht hervor ein Verbrechen, das die Hölle selbst aufs neue entzünden könnte, wäre sie verlöscht (V. 1449–50). Er hetzt die Höllenhunde, mit denen man eine Unschuldige in Sünde und Verbrechen hetzen kann, auf Genoveva (V. 1710–11). Für Siegfried ist Golo ein Gespenst, das die Hölle ausschickt (V. 2359–60). Ein böser Geist spricht aus ihm, gesteht Golo selbst ein (V. 360). Der Teufel, sagt er, ist bei ihm (V. 1599). Er nennt sich selbst sogar Teufel (V. 3401). Genovevas Schicksal muss erfüllt werden, damit Golos Hölle ganz werde (*Tagebücher* I, 321, Nr. 1475, 88–89). Im fünften Akt treibt Golo jenen diabolischen Humor, der das Göttliche in der eigenen Brust zu vernichten eine Verzweiflungslust empfindet (*ibid.*, II, 102, Nr. 2304). Seine Reue am Ende bläst ins Höllenfeuer, statt es feig mit Tränen auszulöschen, selbst hinein (V. 3375–76). Das Tor der Hölle, weiss er wohl, steht ihm offen (V. 418). Die scheussliche Hexe Margaretha ist ein echtes Teufelsweib. Ihr Plan, meint Golo, ist satanisch (V. 1686). Der Teufel selbst, denkt er, ersinnt nichts besseres als sie (V. 1655). Der Teufel, sagt er von seiner Verbündeten, sieht scharf (V. 2434). Der Teufel is seinerseits Margarethens Verbündeter (V. 2522). Sie weiss so viel wie er (V. 2701). Sie wird während der Teufelsbeschwörung von der dämonischen Gewalt ergriffen (Regieanweisung vor V. 2797). Sie will den Satan, der sich ihren Leib zum Haus gewählt hat, aus sich vertreiben (V. 2801).

Der Diamant.—Der Jude Benjamin, der in den Besitz des Diamanten gekommen ist, steht im Solde des Teufels. Er ist beim Diebstahl der Taschenuhr, wie er selbst eingesteht, vom Teufel unterstüzt worden. Der Teufel habe ihm alle Türen angelweit geöffnet

[1] *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*, III[9], S. 143.

[2] R. M. Werner, *Hebbel: Ein Lebensbild*, S. 53.

(1. Akt, 4. Sz.), sagt er. Schlüter, der Gefängniswärter, den Benjamin bestochen hat, um seiner Haft zu entkommen, konnte dem Teufel von einem Juden, bekennt er vor Gericht, nicht widerstehen (5. Akt, 2. Sz.).

Maria Magdalena.—Leonhard ist ein Teufel. Er hat eine dämonische Macht über die schwache, mehr an das Gehorchen als an selbstständiges Handeln gewöhnte Klara ausgeübt, und sie hat ihm gegeben was man nur aus Liebe geben darf. Durch seine Weigerung Klara zu heiraten zeigt Leonhard dass er wirklich ein Teufel ist. Nur der Teufel tut das äusserst Böse, meint Klara mit bezug auf ihn (2. Akt, 5. Sz.). In den Augen des Sekretärs ist Leonhard eine Schlange, die Beelzebub, dessen Wohlgefallen sie erregt hat, in Menschenhaut gesteckt hat (*ibid.*). Klaras Vater, Anton, dessen Starrsinn sie zum Opfer fällt, ist ein harter, rauher Mensch, ein "borstiger Igel," wie ihn Leonhard nennt, der selbst vor dem Teufel Frieden hat (1. Akt, 5. Sz.). Die Frau des Kaufmanns Wolfram, die über ein Unglück jauchzt und jubelt, wird für einen Teufel oder eine Verrückte gehalten (2. Akt, 3. Sz.).

Ein Trauerspiel in Sizilien.—Der böse Gregorius wird von Anselmo Teufel gennant (V. 650).

Julia.—Die Räuber, seine früheren Genossen, die die Schuld für sein Zuspätkommen tragen, und daher für die ganze Tragödie verantwortlich sind, sind im Munde des Antonio Teufel (2. Akt, 2. Sz.; 3. Akt, 5. Sz. [zweimal]). Antonio, der eine teuflische Rache an dem vermeintlichen Feinde seines Vaters plant, ist auch in seinen eigenen Augen des Teufels (2. Akt, 2. Sz.). Der Aufrührer Grimaldi, denkt Tobaldi, ist von den sieben Teufeln besessen gewesen (1. Akt, 3. Sz.).

Herodes und Mariamne.—Herodes, denkt Mariamne, ist von einem Dämon besessen (V. 1829, 3095). Herodes selbst fürchtet den Dämon in sich (V. 1664). Mariamne ist in den Augen ihrer Schwägerin Salome ein Dämon aus der Hölle (V. 2662). Der Teufel versucht Mariamne und sie zückt den Dolch gegen sich (V. 2153). Ihr Eheleben, meint Mariamne, ist eine Hölle (V. 3005). In den Augen des Herodes ist Antonius, nach der Meinung der Mariamne, ein Dämon, dem die unschuldigste Frau nicht widerstehen kann (V. 1610–15).

Der Rubin.—Hier spielt der böse Geist, der die Prinzessin in einen Rubin verbannt hat, die wichtigste Rolle. Wenn er sich auch im Hintergrund der Handlung hält, gründet sich doch die Fabel auf ihn (V. 561–64).

Michel Angelo.—In diesem Drama sind die ungerechten Kritiker eines Künstlers, "der Schwarm der Neider" (V. 697), Teufel. Sie wollen das Böse, schaffen aber das Gute, meint der Papst. Die ungerechten Kritiker machen eben den Künstler (V. 697–708).

Agnes Bernauer.—Preising, der der Bernauerin rät ihre Ehe für eine sündige zu erklären, ist in den Augen dieses Engels von Augsburg der Teufel. "Hebe dich von mir, Versucher," ruft sie ihm entrüstet zu (5. Akt, 3. Sz.). In den Augen des Volkes ist Agnes eine Hexe und steht im Bunde mit dem Teufel (Stachus in 4. Akt, 2. Sz.). Albrecht verbindet sich mit dem Teufel, um sich an denen zu rächen die seine Frau in den Tod getrieben haben (5. Akt, 8. Sz.). Mit der Hölle über seinem Kopfe zieht er das Schwert gegen seinen eigenen Vater (5. Akt, 10. Sz.). Er befördert die Teufel, die unschuldiges Blut vergossen haben, zum Teufel in die Hölle (5. Akt, 9. Sz.).

Die Nibelungen.—In diesem Drama verkörpert Frigga das Dämonische und Hagen ist im Munde Kriemhildens ein Teufel des Neides, ein Dämon des Hasses (II, V. 1996, III, 2527). Er hat, nach der Meinung der Witwe Siegfrieds, ein Teufelslächeln (II, V. 2008) und der Höllengischt kocht in seinen Adern (III, V. 2526). Brunhild ist, nach Rumolt (II, V. 283) und Siegfried (II, V. 417), ein Teufelsweib, und hat, gemäss der Ansicht Kriemhildens, Teufelskünste im Sinne (III, V. 1112–13). Aber auch Kriemhild ist in den Augen Hagens (III, V. 2739) und Hildebrands (III, V. 2330, 2355) eine Teufelin und wird von Hildebrand zurück zur Hölle geschickt (III, V. 2743–44).

Demetrius.—Wer den Mord des Prinzen begangen und diese Tragödie heraufbeschworen hat ist, gemäss der Meinung der unglücklichen Mutter Marva, ein Teufel (V. 984).

Der Steinwurf.—Der Rabbi ist ein Bündner des Teufels. Er gelangte, meint Libussa, zur Allwissenheit durch des Teufels Gunst und um den Preis der Seligkeit (V. 382–83). Der Teufel selbst, glaubt das Volk, bewacht seine Schätze (V. 306–7). Der Trunkenbold

Wolf ist vom Teufel besessen. Die bösen Geister, sagt seine Schwester Anna, taten es ihm an, dass er das Spiel und den Wein liebt (V. 49–50). Sie will ihren Bruder vom Teufel losketten, dass er ihn nicht ganz umstrickt (V. 600–601). Sie ermahnt ihn an die Hölle zu denken (V. 593). Die Pforte der Hölle, meint die unglückliche Schwester, stehe ihm schon offen (V. 53–54). Aber auch die Libussa, in die der Rabbi von Prag verliebt ist, ist in den Augen Joels, des Ratgebers des Rabbis, eine Teufelin. Oft, so warnt er seinen Freund, wohnt der Teufel im schönsten Haus (V. 700).

Die Schauspielerin.—Eduard, der wahre Don Juan, wie sein Freund Edmund ihn nennt, hat nach dessen Meinung seinen Platz in der Hölle als Teufel doppelt und dreifach bezahlt (1. Sz.). Das Andenken an seine Geliebte Eugenia hat ihn, gesteht Eduard selbst, zum Teufel, zum Mörder seiner Frau gemacht (9. Sz.).

Die Charaktere in Hebbels Dramen wie Erzählungen scheinen sich, ebensowenig wie ihr Schöpfer, zu fürchten den Teufel an die Wand zu malen (vgl. u.a. Briefe I, 31, 15; 162, 18; 187, 6. II, 317, 7. III, 351, 2. V, 222, 8. VI, 72, 16. VII, 156, 25; 218, 23; 236, 32; 275, 14; 358, 11. VIII, 7, 4; 11, 22). Hebbel verschmächt ja die "blühende Diktion." Er will ja seine Menschen in den befangenen Ausdrücken ihres Standes sprechen lassen. Uns nimmt also nicht wunder wenn die Räuber in Sizilien, Golo, Anton, und Hagen den Teufel im Munde führen. Aber, wie Hebbel selber in den *Tagenbüchern* und *Briefen*,[1] schwören und fluchen auch Siegfried, Herzog Ernst, Demetrius, und König Christian sehr oft mit Teufel und Hölle, wie aus der folgenden Zusammenstellung leicht zu ersehen ist.

"Teufel": *Gen.*, V. 2030: Golo; *M. Magd.*, III, 3: Leonhard;[2] *A. Bern.*, IV, 12: Pappenheim; V, 10: Faruenhoven; *Vier Nat.:* Valentin. "Alle Teufel": *Gen.*, V. 3017: Hans; *Dem.*, V. 1777: Petrowitsch. "Zum Teufel": *Gen.*, V. 98, 3183: Golo; V. 918: Balthasar; *M. Magd.*, II, 1: Anton; *Siz.*, V. 30, 710: Ambrosio; *M. Ang.*, V. 351: Onuphrio; *A. Bern.*, II, 1: Torring; III, 6: Ernst;

[1] Siehe, u.a. *Tagebücher* I, 93, Nr. 513; I, 366, Nr. 1631 ("Hol' mich der Teufel"); II, 213, Nr. 2625; II, 360, Nr. 2982; Bw. I, 44.

[2] "Teufel! Teufel!"

Nib., II, V. 1715: Siegfried; *Schausp.*, Sz. 1: Eduard (zweimal); *Streuensee*, V. 8: König Christian. "Höll' und Teufel": *Gen.*, V. 3320: Hans; *Nib.*, II, V. 1142: Siegfried; II, V. 1507: Hagen. "Tod und Teufel": *Dem.*, V. 1196; Demetrius. "Hol' der Teufel": *Gen.*, V. 1064: Margaretha; *Diam.*, I, 3: Jakob; I, 4: Benjamin; II, 2: Pfeffer; III, 3: Kilian; *M. Magd.*, I, 5; II, 1: Anton; *Siz.*, V. 283: Ambrosio; *Nib.*, II, V. 2: Hagen; *Steinwurf*, V. 680; *Vier. Nat.:* Valentin. "Zur Hölle": *Gen.*, V. 52: Golo.

Wie erklärt sich Hebbels Vorliebe für den Teufel? Gewiss lassen sich seine starken, derben Ausdrücke zum Teil auf die nordische Schärfe seiner Natur zurückführen. Weshalb aber kommt der Teufel nicht ebenso oft in den Schriften seiner Landsleute vor? Man braucht ja nur auf seinen Zeitgenossen und Freund Klaus Groth hinzuweisen, um zu zeigen, dass es nicht etwa das meerumspülte Dithmarschen ist, das Teufelsfreunde zieht. Seine Jugendbildung mag vielleicht auch ihren Anteil an Hebbels Interesse am Teufel gehabt haben. Von seinem Vater und den weiblichen Hausbewohnern, die alle reich an Aberglauben waren, bekam er schon als dreijähriger Knabe Hexen- und Spukgeschichten zu hören. In der Schule, die er, wie er mit Ironie bemerkt, noch vor dem Einzug des Rationalismus in Wesselburen (Werke VIII, 106–7), bezog, hörte er oft von Tod und Teufel, so dass er, wie er uns erzählt, im sechsten Jahre an die wirklichen Hörner und Klauen des Teufels oder die Hippe des Todes glaubte (*ibid.*, S. 104, 20–21). Die Bibel, aus der er fast seine ganze Jugendbildung zog, wie er oft zugibt (*ibid.*, S. 400), und die er halb auswendig wusste (*Tagebücher* IV, 177, Nr. 5847, 17–18), und seine beiden Lehrer in der Erzählungskunst, E. T. A. Hoffmann und Jean Paul, waren auch nicht dazu angetan, den Teufel aus Hebbels Gedächtnis verschwinden zu lassen. Immerhin genügt diese Tatsache nicht den Unterschied zwischen Hebbel und anderen Schriftstellern, die dieselbe oder wenigstens eine ähnliche Erziehung genossen haben, zu erklären. Allerdings kommt im Drama noch seine Theorie von der Schauspielkunst hinzu. Der Anschauung Hebbels nach müssen nämlich die Charaktere im Drama die sittliche Idee verneinen. "Der wahre Dichter kann ebenso wenig das Böse aus dem Rahmen seines Dramas verweisen, als Gott es aus der Welt verweisen konnte," schreibt Hebbel an die Crelinger am 23. 1. 1844

(*Tagebücher* II, 365, Nr. 3003, 29–30).[1] Der Kern der Hebbelschen Weltauffassung, vor allem seines Dramas, ist eben der Dualismus. Diese seine Lebensphilosophie bringt Hebbel zum Ausdruck auch im *Moloch*. Das Negative ist ebenso nötig, wenngleich nicht ebenso viel wert, wie das Positive.[2] "Der Dualismus," sagt Hebbel auch anderswo, "geht durch alle uns're Anschauungen und Gedanken, durch jedes einzelne Moment unseres Seins hindurch, und er selbst ist uns're höchste, letzte Idee" (*ibid.* II, 79, Nr. 2197). Wiederum sagt er in seinem *Tagebuch*, "Das Drama hat es vor allem mit der Wiederbringung des Teufels zu tun" (*ibid.* IV, 117, Nr. 5607; vgl. auch *ibid.*, S. 56, Nr. 5449, u. *Briefe* VI, 72, 15–16). Alle diese Tatsachen, die zweifellos für Hebbels Neigung zum Teufel mitbestimmend sind, genügen immerhin noch nicht sein inneres Verhältnis zum Teufel, wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf ohne mich gegen den Geist des grössten deutschen Dramatikers des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zu versündigen, zu erklären. Man braucht nur seine *Tagebücher* aufzuschlagen, um sich zu vergewissern wie tief und anhaltend Hebbel sich mit dem Teufel während seines ganzen Lebens beschäftigt hat. Diese Tatsache lässt sich nur durch eine tiefe Geistesverwandschaft Hebbels zum Teufel erklären. Hebbel, dieser "Menschenfresser," dieses "Gehirnraubtier," wie ihn Emil Kuh in seiner *Biographie* so charakteristisch nennt, stand sehr stark unter dem Einflusse der höllischen Mächte. Hebbel selbst gesteht dass er dem Teufel ebenso verpflichtet ist wie Gott:

> Viel hat's in mir geschafft:
> Von Gott den reinen Willen,
> Vom Teufel jede Kraft.
> —"Ein Geburtstag auf der Reise," V. 62–64.

"An der Wiege eines Genius," sagt Hebbel in seinem *Tagebuche*, "stehen Gott und Teufel und reichen sich die Hände" (IV, 44, Nr. 5341). In Stunden der Verzweiflung glaubt Hebbel sein Dichtertalent sei ausschliesslich eine Gabe des Teufels, zu gross um unterdrückt zu werden, zu klein um eine Existenz darauf zu gründen (*Tagebuch* I, 279, Nr. 1323; vgl. auch *ibid.*, S. 266, Nr. 1276).[3]

[1] Vgl. Hebbels Gedicht, "Dem Teufel sein Recht im Drama."

[2] Vgl. Die Rede des Papstes im *Michel Angelo* (V. 675 ff.).

[3] Siehe auch Werner, *Hebbel: Ein Lebensbild*, S. 106.

Die innigste Verwandschaft zwischen seinem Drama und seinem eigenen Leben hat Hebbel selbst betont. "Aber ich habe das Talent auf Kosten des Menschen genährt, und was in meinen Dramen als aufflammende Leidenschaft Leben und Gestalt erzeugt, das ist in meinem wirklichen Leben ein böses, unheilgebärendes Feuer, das mich selbst und meine Liebsten und Teuersten verzehrt" (*ibid.* II, 162, Nr. 2509). Er war nämlich selbst von den Krankheiten infiziert, die er in seinen Dramen schildert. Das Teuflische, das Hebbel so gerne malt, war in seiner eigenen Brust. Wie seine Helden, hatte auch er den Dämon in sich, wie er sich selbst und seinen Freunden gegenüber oft eingesteht (*Tagebuch* I, 72, Nr. 393; II, 60, Nr. 2098; *ibid.*, S. 61–62, Nr. 2099; *ibid.*, S. 281–82, Nr. 2808, 18–21; IV, 169, Nr. 5825, 24–27). Überhaupt ist nach Hebbels Anschauung ein Genius nicht glücklich zu preisen der den Dämon in sich nicht weckt.[1] Unter dem Einflusse Christinens konnte zwar Hebbel schliesslich die Dämone seines Innern zum Teil beschwören, aber nie ganz unterdrücken, wie sein Bruch mit Emil Kuh zur Genüge beweist. Aber nicht nur mit dem Dämon in sich hatte Hebbel sein ganzes Leben lang zu kämpfen, auch mit den äusseren Dämonen hat Hebbel von seiner frühesten Kindheit auf, und bis zu seinem letzten Atemzug ringen müssen. Seine Kindheit nennt er selbst eine Hölle,[2] und die Hölle hat um ihn herum geschlagen bis man ihn ins Grab getragen hat. Der Rheumatismus, ein Teufel der ihn schon in Kopenhagen an der Kehle hielt, hat ihn bis an sein Lebensende geplagt (*Tagebücher* IV, 299, Nr. 6138, *Briefe* VII, 358, 11). In seinem Gedicht, "Ein Geburtstag auf der Reise," spricht Hebbel von München als seinem Schlachtfelde

> Wo ich hier, stumm, doch bang,
> Mit jedem der Dämonen
> Auf Tod und Leben rang [V. 54–56].

Die Münchener Teufel aber waren wie Engel im Vergleich mit den Höllengeistern seiner Kindheit. In seiner autobiographischen Skizze, *Aufzeichnungen aus meinem Leben*, erzählt er uns selber: "Wie tief

[1] Vgl. Hebbels Gedicht, "Der Dämon und der Genius," V. 1–2.

[2] Vgl. Werner, *Hebbel: Ein Lebensbild*, S. 12. In der Krummschen Ausgabe der *Tagebücher* ist die Lesung I, 98 "Gifthölle." Werner (*Tagebücher* I, 163, Nr. 747) liest "Gifthülle."

sich die Ausgeburten derselben [jener ungeheuren Furcht vor Dämonen] mir eingeprägt haben, geht daraus hervor dass sie mit voller Gewalt in jeder ernsten Krankheit wieder kehren; so wie das fieberisch siedende Blut mir über's Gehirn läuft und das Bewusstsein ertränkt, stellen die ältesten Teufel, alle später geborenen vertreibend und entwaffnend, sich wieder ein um mich zu martern, und das beweis't ohne Zweifel am Besten, wie sie mich einst gemartert haben müssen" (Werke VIII, 100, 18–26). Diese ältesten Teufel haben Hebbel in seiner frühesten Kindheit "des Abends vor'm Eindämmern von Boden und von den Wänden herab schon Geschichter geschnitten" (*ibid.*, S. 102, 23–25). Er gesteht selbst die dumme Geschichte ein, wie er als Kind eines Tages einen alten Nussknacker, den er noch nie zuvor gesehen hatte, für den Teufel nahm, als dieser den Rachen öffnete und ihm seine grimmigen weissen Zähne zeigte (*ibid.*, S. 101, 28 ff.). Im ewigen Kampfe mit den inneren wie äusseren Dämonen befangen, wie sollte es da einen wundernehmen wenn Hebbel sie so oft im Munde führte und aufs Papier brachte?

Damit ist aber nicht gesagt dass Hebbel an die Existenz des Teufels geglaubt hat. Obgleich er den Glauben an einen persönlichen Teufel seinen Charakteren beilegt, folgt daraus noch immer nicht dass er ihn auch selbst geteilt hat. Wann er aber den Glauben an den Teufel, der ihm in seiner Kindheit, wie schon erwähnt, beigebracht worden ist, abgelegt hat, lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit feststellen. Sein Gedicht "Der Tanz" (1832) schliesst allerdings mit den Worten, "Verhöhnet nimmer der Geister Macht," und am 14. Juli 1837 wirft er im *Tagebuche* die Frage auf: "Das Anscheinend-Gute beziehen wir immer auf überirdische Zustände; warum nicht immer auch das Anscheinend-Böse" (*Tagebücher* I, 181, Nr. 806). Dass er selbst aber nicht mehr an überirdische Zustände, gute ebensowohl wie böse, glaubte beweist seine Aufzeichnung vom 13. April desselben Jahres: "Die Hölle ist längst ausgeblasen, und ihre letzten Flammen haben den Himmel ergriffen und verzehrt" (*Tagebücher* I, 153, Nr. 689).[1] Aber schon am 30. Januar desselben Jahres schreibt er an Elise Lensing wie folgt: "Schon das ist ein grosses Unglück, dass man nicht mehr an den Teufel, und noch weniger an

[1] Vgl. auch *Tagebuch* III, 312, Nr. 4441; *ibid.*, S. 418, Nr. 5010, und das Gedicht "Das Bild vom Mittelalter," V. 19–20.

seine Sippschafft glauben kan" (*Briefe* I, 162, 17–19). Hebbels Weltanschauung hatte weder für einen persönlichen Gott noch für einen persönlichen Teufel Raum. Er war ja nicht bloss kirchenfeindlich, sondern positiv atheistisch gesinnt.[1] Gott war für ihn das schaffende und bindende, der Teufel das vernichtende und lösende, Prinzip in der Natur (vgl. *Tagebücher* II, 281–82, Nr. 2808, 19–20). Jedenfalls gilt von Hebbel, was er in bezug auf Schiller sagt, dass viele seiner Ausdrücke auf "die allen eingeborene und anerzogene christliche und jüdische Mythologie" zurückzuführen sind (*Tagebücher* III, 234, Nr. 4154).

Wenn sich aber auch seine Auffassung des Teufels im Laufe der Zeit geändert hat, bleibt sich diesselbe in seinen Schriften immer gleich. Hier bringt er eben nicht seine Anschauungen zum Ausdruck, sondern die der Charaktere die er malt. Individuelle, persönliche Züge besitzt Hebbels Teufel deshalb nicht. In Stoffen und Charakteren wie in Ausdrücken ist es der Teufel der Volkssprache und des Volksglaubens, den wir bei Hebbel vorfinden. Schon am 1. Juli 1836 (*Tagebücher* I, 42, Nr. 227) nimmt er sich vor, in einem Roman, für den er sich den Stoff aufzeichnet, "alle höllischen und himmlischen Gewalten dem Volksglauben gemäss" hineinzuverwickeln. Später vermerkt er sich im *Tagebuche* die folgende Regel: "Wir Menschen sind des Grauens und der Ahnung nun einmal fähig; es ist dem Dichter daher gewiss erlaubt sich auch solcher Motive zu bedienen, die er nur diesen trüben Regionen abgewinnen kann. Aber, Zweierlei muss er beachten. Er darf hier, erstlich, weniger, wie jemals, in's rein Willkürliche verfallen, dann wird er abgeschmackt. Dies vermeidet er dadurch, dass er auf die Stimmen des Volkes und der Sage horcht, und nur aus denjenigen Elementen bildet, welche sie, die der Natur alles wirklich Schauerliche längst ablauschten, geheiligt haben" (*Tagebuch* I, 229, Nr. 1055). Dazu genügen Hebbel die Erinnerungen aus seiner Kindheit und etwa sonstige volksmässige Überlieferung in Verbindung mit der Bibel und der theologischen Literatur, die er fleissig las (*Tagebücher* IV, 177, Nr. 5847, 18–20). Dass Hebbel mehr vom Teufel wusste als andere Leute hat schon Campes Frau zu ihrem Manne bemerkt, als sie das Manuskript der *Genoveva* in die Hände bekam (*Tagebücher* II, 151–52, Nr. 2481).

[1] Siehe auch R. M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur d. 19. Jhs.*, S. 411.

Ein Beispiel literarischer Beeinflussung und einer philosophischen Durchgeistigung der Teufelsidee wird man nur im *Michel Angelo* (V. 675–92) finden. Der Teufel in diesem Drama sticht vom Teufel in den anderen Dramen sehr ab. Nur einiges in seinen *Tagebüchern* und vielleicht auch in seinen Gedichten[1] klingt an ihn an. Nur hier erhebt sich Hebbel über den Teufelsglauben des Volkes. Diese Auffassung vom Teufel, "der stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft" (*Faust*, V. 1336),[2] steht hoch über dem Volksglauben und berührt sich sehr eng mit der des Mephistopheles[3] in den spätesten und reifsten Partien von Goethes *Faust*, Erster Teil, namentlich aber im Prolog im Himmel:

> Des Menschen Tätigkeit kann allzu leicht erschlaffen,
> Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh',
> Drum geb' ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
> Der reizt und wirkt, und muss als Teufel schaffen [V. 340–43].

Zwar kennt auch der Volksglaube einen "dummen Teufel," aber nur insofern als man seine Freude daran hat wenn der Teufel einmal betrogen und um seine Beute gebracht wird. Der Teufel aber als "Schalk" bei Goethe und als "Tor" (*Michel Angelo*, V. 681) bei Hebbel ist dagegen ein notwendiges Glied einer auf das Gute berechnenden Weltordnung, in der der Teufel im Grunde genommen ein Diener des Herrn ist, und das Böse eine untergeordnete Stellung einimmt, während der Volksglaube zwei verschiedene Reiche anerkennt, die sich gegenseitig bekämpfen und vernichten wollen, und im ganzen genommen nicht über diesen Dualismus hinauskommt. Zwar ist der Dualismus der Kernpunkt der Weltanschauung Hebbels, wie schon früher bemerkt worden ist, aber sein Dualismus ist kein absoluter, sondern ein relativer. Schon früh kam Hebbel zu dur Überzeugung, dass das Böse in der Natur sich zu irgend einer Zeit ins Gute verwandeln muss, dass es nicht bleibt, was es ist (*Tagebücher*

[1] Vgl. die Stelle im Gedicht "Jedermann ins Album":
"Bist Du ein Schlimmer, so straft ärger die Hölle dich nicht" (V. 4).
Ein ähnlicher Gedanke ist *Gen.*, V. 2915–16, ausgedrückt.

[2] Diese Idee hatte vielleicht auch Irad im *Rubin*, als er sagt:
"Der böse Geist hat, ohne es zu ahnen,
Für seinen [Allahs] Plan gewirkt" (V. 1300–1301).

[3] Dass Hebbel sich mit der Natur des Mephistopheles beschäftigte beweist die Tatsache dass er ein Wort Franz von Baeders über das Böse mit Rücksicht auf Goethes Mephistopheles besprach; siehe Werner, *Hebbel: Ein Lebensbild*, S. 76.

I, 286, Nr. 1340; II, 205, Nr. 2616). Er glaubt fest an ein "Gemeinsames, Lösendes, und Versöhnendes hinter diesen (scheinbar) gespaltenen Zweiheiten" (*Tagebücher* II, 79, Nr. 2197). Seinen Dualismus erklärt Hebbel an einer anderen Stelle in seinem *Tagebuche* sehr treffend folgendermassen: "Ideal und Gegensatz heben sich nich gegenseitig auf, sondern bedingen sich gegenseitig; sie fallen nur in den ersten Stadien soweit auseinander, verlieren sich aber später ineinander auf höchst beunruhigende Weise" (*Tagebücher* II, 339, Nr. 2947). Das ist die einzige Versöhnung die Hebbel im Drama zulässt, die Versöhnung der Idee, aber nicht die des Individuums (vgl. u. a. *Tagebücher* II, 216–17, Nr. 2634).

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Caractères généraux des langues germaniques. By Meillet. Paris: Librairie Hachette et C^ie^, 1917. Pp. xvi+222.

When the distinguished author of a number of excellent works on the grammar of the Old Slavic, Armenian, Greek, and Old Persian languages presents us with a comprehensive discussion of the main currents in the development of the Germanic languages, philologists have good reason to look forward to the study of his book with eager anticipation. I, for one, commenced to read it with the most optimistic expectations and was inclined throughout to give respectful consideration to any and all theories advanced by a scholar of Meillet's splendid and well-deserved reputation. It is with a keen disappointment that I have to admit that the book, while at times brilliantly suggestive, is based upon an unsound hypothesis. On the other hand, I am glad to state that it has considerable merit: it displays a splendid store of well-organized knowledge and a masterful ability to organize the material; the style is of truly French lucidity, condensed, but withal almost conversational; and on the whole the book must be classed as one of the pioneer works in the tracing of tendencies in the growth of languages ("les tendances qui dirigent le développement, les principes actifs du changement").

Meillet adopts Feist's unproved and improbable hypothesis of the non-Indo-European origin of the Germanic people[1] and believes with him that the ancestors of the Germanic group originally spoke some unknown language, became Indo-Germanized by an invasion from the east, and accepted the language of their conquerors, retaining, however, their original habits of articulation: "Les matériaux avec lesquels est fait le germanique sont indo-européens; le plan de la langue est nouveau." It is the avowed purpose of Meillet's book to characterize "les innovations qui ont donné au group germanique un aspect spécial."

Now Feist's arguments, to be sure, are far from convincing; but neither have the representatives of the Baltic-home theory proved their case completely, though, in my opinion, they are much closer to it. There is no escape from the fact that at present any decision concerning the origin of the Indo-Europeans must be one of faith rather than of scientific proof. However, this need not be any impediment to Meillet's accepting Feist's view tentatively, as it were, as a working hypothesis, being temporarily satisfied with it if it "works out" in a pragmatic sense of the phrase—that is, if it offers

[1] Of Feist's various works on the subject, he mentions only *Indogermanen und Germanen* (Halle, 1913); he disregards entirely the investigations of contrary-minded scholars like Much, Hirt, Kossinna, Braungart.

acceptable explanations of hitherto obscure phenomena, and if it does not lead to insoluble contradictions. There can be no doubt of the justification of such a method in a book like Meillet's. All that can be demanded is this—that the *facts* be stated correctly and without any biased preference, and that the verdict of these facts be unflinchingly accepted by the investigator. How does Meillet meet these requirements?

The introduction, which keeps carefully aloof from all geographical theories concerning the home of the "Aryans," attempts to show on theoretical grounds that Germanic cannot be any direct continuation of Indo-European speech because its radical changes betray a lack of that stability which is characteristic of uniform races (p. 20). This theory as such might be debatable; but its application to Meillet's contention is precluded by the fact that the Germanic languages (notwithstanding the author's frequent assertions to that effect) are by no means farther removed from the parent-tongue than any contemporaneous Indo-European language; on the contrary, *in their tendencies of development* they are closer to it than any other, as I have attempted to show in a number of articles (especially *AJPh*, XXXIII, 195; *MPh*, XI, 71; *IF*, XXXIII, 377). It is interesting, by the way, that even Meillet makes this statement concerning the further growth of the Germanic languages after they had once deviated from the Indo-European: "Les lignes de ce développement présentent, on le verra, une remarquable continuité dans l'ensemble."

The concrete proof for the author's contention we must naturally expect to find chiefly in the chapter on phonology. As a matter of fact, the discussion of the Germanic sound-shift is by far the most important foundation of his hypothesis, and it is here that we begin to understand the affinity between Meillet's and Feist's views. Our author returns to a phonetically interesting explanation of the Armenian consonant shift (*p*>*ph*, *b*>*p*, etc.), given by him as early as 1903, in his *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique* (pp. 6 f.): In a prehistoric Armenian pronunciation, IE *b*, *d*, *g* were imperfectly voiced; the vocal vibrations set in after the oral articulation had started. This led to their change into Arm. *p*, *t*, *k*, which, however, were not "pure tenues" as in Romance and Slavic languages, but *sourdes faibles*—voiceless lenes, apparently, as in South German. In the present book this theory is resuscitated on a broader scale. According to Meillet, the French articulation of *p*, *t*, *k*, with glottal occlusion, is the normal one in human speech. The Armenian articulation, with open glottis, is due to an ethnic substructure of pre-Indo-European Georgians. In principle, the same condition is claimed for the Germanic languages: In primitive Indo-European, *p*, *t*, *k* were pronounced with glottal stop ("by implosion"), while the vocal vibrations of *b*, *d*, *g* were exactly synchronized with the corresponding oral occlusion. This is the case in French and (according to Meillet) elsewhere in Romance and Slavic tongues. But the pre-Indo-European population south of the Baltic had the thoroughly abnormal way

of pronouncing *p, t, k* with the glottis open, and *b, d, g* with imperfectly synchronized vibrations, and they retained that habit when they adopted the Indo-European language (p. 40): "On conclura de là que la mutation consonantique est due au maintien de leurs habitudes d'articulation par les populations qui ont reçu et adopté le dialecte indo-européen appelé a devenir le germanique"). In the case of *p, t, k* this led to aspiration; aspirated tenues are articulated with less tension of the oral organs than pure tenues and therefore they became spirants in Germanic (p. 35: "Les occlusives sourdes aspirées sont en général plus faiblement articulées que les non aspirées correspondantes; elles perdent donc aisément leur occlusion); taking this as the starting-point, we may easily imagine the rest of Meillet's description of the consonant shift; he considers the French type of stopped consonants "le plus stable, le plus durable," while the Germanic type tends to constant changes (p. 43: "le type articulatoire une fois posé en germanique commun s'est constamment reproduit en haut allemand, et il s'agit d'un développement continu").

Surely this is an attractive theory, but unfortunately it is flatly contradicted by dry facts such as these:

1. Glottal-stop *p, t, k* (implosive stops) are by no means "normal." Until recently it was even doubted whether they were very common in French; cf., e.g., Jespersen, *Lehrbuch*, p. 107, and *Grundfragen*, p. 124; Kirste, *Die konstitutionellen Verschiedenheiten der Verschlusslaute im Idg.;* Evans, *The Spelling Experimenter*, II, 20; Sweet, *Primer*[3], p. 59, etc.). If the open glottis had anything to do with *Lautverschiebung*, this would be one of the most common sound-changes in existence.

2. Aspirated tenues are, generally speaking, pronounced with rather more than less muscle tension than pure tenues. Exceptions are granted, but they are so rare that they do not affect the case.

3. It is generally stated by phoneticians (e.g., Sievers, *Grundzüge*, p. 141; Sweet, *loc. cit.*) that the very languages that Meillet quotes as a parallel to Germanic, namely, Armenian and Georgian, happen to be two of the very few that articulate *p, t, k* with glottal stop. "Die Verbreitung dieser Laute scheint gering zu sein. Bisher habe ich sie mit Sicherheit selbst nur im Armenischen . . . . und Georgischen beobachten können" (Sievers, *loc. cit.*). Meillet himself admits, *Armenisches Elementarbuch* (1913), p. 11: "Man besitzt kein Mittel, die Aussprache von arm. *p, t, k* und *b, d, g* näher zu bestimmen"; and it matters little if he adds (without any argument): "es waren aber gewiss keine Verschlusslaute der romanischen oder slavischen Typen." This is characteristic of the weakness of the foundation upon which Meillet builds his structure of a non-Indo-European, pre-Germanic language.

4. There is no shadow of an argument that the IE articulations were as Meillet describes them. Even if they could be proved to have been thus, his phonetic deductions would be assailable; but all he offers is a plain assertion.

These objections pertain to the general principle of Meillet's contention. But in details, too, his deductions are contaminated by a number of regrettable misstatements from which I will quote only a few of the most typical:

On p. 45 he claims that intervocalic consonants possess the inherent tendency of approaching the vowel type more or less; voiceless consonants become voiced, occlusives become spirants. This is (partly) true for Romance, but untrue for Germanic; the two instances given by Meillet do not prove his point: in Danish **giutan>gyde* we have merely a change from fortis to lenis, and the OHG change from *-p-, -t-* to *ff, zz* is not an approach to the vowel type, but a strengthening of articulation (cf. *JEGPh*, XVI, 1 ff.). Closely connected with this misunderstanding is Meillet's statement that IE *bh, dh, gh* (having "une action glottale spéciale du type sonore, dont la nature n'est pas exactement connue") became in Germanic *b, d, g*, undergoing a secondary change to *b̆, d̆, γ* in intervocalic position. This view, aside from making the development of High German dialects entirely unintelligible (cf. writer, *JEGPh*, XVI, 11 ff.), slightly thwarts Meillet's representation of Verner's law, in which, by the way, I missed with regret any allusion to Gauthiot's explanation of this sound change in *Mém. soc. ling.*, XI, 193, the best that has ever been given—a curious omission in a book which is inscribed: "A la mémoire de mes anciens élèves germanistes—morts pour leur pays—Achille Burgun, Robert Gauthiot."—On p. 45 Meillet establishes a third consonant shift in South German on the ground of aspirated stops in *Korn, Tochter;* but *kh* in *Korn* is a retention of the general West-Germanic aspirate (in part, even a back-development from Upper German *kχ*), and *t* in *Tochter* is not an aspirate in South German pronunciation. Danish *b, d, g*, are not only "moins complètement sonores que les sonores romanes et slaves," but are entirely voiceless. The North German stops have not, since Germanic times, developed into any resemblance to the French stops; they have virtually retained the Germanic type of the "intermediate period" (the time between the two sound-shifts) and are as sharply distinct as ever from the corresponding French sounds. From the agreement of Goth. *atta* with Lat. and Gr. *atta*, Meillet concludes that geminates were not affected by the first sound-shift, for "les occlusives sourdes géminées, fortes par nature, se prononçaient sans doute (!) avec fermeture de la glotte dès le moment de l'implosion," while *tt* in composition (Goth. **wait-þu, *wait-tu>waist*) shows a different treatment—a far-fetched and altogether erroneous argument for his theory.

It is most distasteful to me to dwell on these details, but they are more than mere oversights (such as the Gc. preterit forms **geba, *gebi*, with *e* instead of *a*, p. 46; Goth. *dauþus*, p. 53, for the adjective *dauþs;* the assertions that Gc. γ^w *always* changes to *w*, and that Gc. *p-* became *pf- everywhere* in OHG, etc.); the points that I had to criticize belong to the very substance of Meillet's theory, which stands and falls with them.

There is little to be said concerning Meillet's treatment of the vowels. From the point of view of linguistic tendencies it might not have been amiss to point out the characteristic meaning of the fact that IE *ā* was strengthened to *ō>uo>ū* in German, while *ŏ* was weakened to *ă*, Slavic showing the opposite development. It is in keeping with Meillet's views that he attributes to IE a purely melodic accent, which did not exert any influence whatever on vowel quality and quantity. We have here a striking instance of Meillet's prejudice. According to him, whatever is found in Germanic cannot be Indo-European; now, in Germanic the accent influences the vowels to a great extent; consequently Meillet believes that it cannot have been thus in IE. Under these circumstances we cannot expect from him any explanation of the problem of *Ablaut;* it would have been inconsistent for him to admit that contrasts like *ĕ:ŏ:O, ē:ō:ə* could have been caused by the accent. Throughout the chapter on phonology we are confronted again and again with the author's (semiconscious or unconscious?) effort to depict the Germanic languages as a deterioration of IE speech. The reader feels himself carried back to the times when Schleicher used to bewail the degradation of great and noble Gothic *habaidedum* to short and ugly English *had.*

The chapter on morphology shows the same tendency. Nevertheless Meillet's discussion of the Germanic verb is instructive and in some ways admirable; indeed, it is the best part of the book. Meillet aptly characterizes the Germanic verbal system as an entirely new structure brought about chiefly by two factors: the growing preponderance of *Ablaut* and the substitution of the element of tense for the element of aspect. The stress that he lays on the preservation of aorist forms in the Gc. preterit is especially interesting. He says on p. 145: "Etant donné que l'aoriste thématique s'est maintenu jusqu'en germanique commun, des aoristes athématiques ont pu se conserver aussi. Une flexion got. *bitum, bituþ, bitun,* peut se rattacher aussi bien à l'aoriste athématique védique *bhēt* 'il a fendu', participe *bhidán,* qu'à un ancien parfait sans redoublement. Et un mélange de parfaits et d'aoristes athématiques au pluriel expliquerait le sens de prétérit pris en règle générale par le parfait en germanique." (I believe that Meillet with perfect safety could have gone a step farther, asserting that the Germanic strong preterit is essentially an aorist, combined with a few modified perfect forms. I stated this view in 1913 in a paper read before the Modern Language Association and briefly outlined it in my *Sounds and History of the German Language* [1916], pp. 153 ff; the publication of an article on this problem, written nearly three years ago, has been delayed by the war.)

The rest of the book is rather indifferent. It contains a very brief, noncommittal discussion of Germanic declension, word order, and vocabulary. Strangely, no word is said about the development of gender, although this plays such an important part in the consolidation of the Germanic (especially German) declensional classes. In the chapter on vocabulary I was glad not to find any reference to Feist's erroneous statement (*PBB,* XXXVII, 112 ff.)

that the Germanic language contained an extremely large number (about one-third) of non-Indo-European words. If true, this would considerably strengthen Meillet's theory; does his silence indicate a recognition of the fallacy of Feist's claim?

In conclusion, the author repeats his assertion that the Germanic languages are fundamentally different from Indo-European. Especially in English, he says, hardly any trace of the IE type has remained: "A l'indo-européen, l'anglais est lié par une continuité historique; mais il n'a presque rien gardé du fonds indo-européen." Meillet is right; the difference is enormous; so is the difference between the acorn and the oak, the source and the delta of a mighty river. But essentially they are the same. The most important differences between Indo-European and Germanic are not deviations, but natural developments. The nucleus of practically every one of them can be found in the parent-tongue. It has not degenerated, but grown as a tree grows, reflecting in its changes the character and history of the most immediate descendants from the prehistoric Indo-European race.

Meillet has not carried his point. The failure of his arguments lends indirect support to the opposite view.

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CORNEILLE'S CONCEPTION OF CHARACTER AND THE *CORTEGIANO*

In the opening scene of *Cyrano de Bergerac*, Rostand makes a Parisian bourgeois say to his son:

> Et penser que c'est dans une salle pareille
> Qu'on joua du Rotrou, mon fils.

And the son retorts:

> Et du Corneille.

Think of it: *le grand Corneille* on the plebeian boards of the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1640! The remark, intended of course for the modern bourgeois, warns us once more against viewing the past through the wrong perspective. For Corneille was played in just such places and was immensely popular. Among countless others, witness Boileau's testimony:

> Tout Paris pour Chimène a les yeux de Rodrigue.

The fact is that during the thirties of the seventeenth century the Parisian public, ever on the alert, had become enamored of the courtly type. Without doubt, this was due in part to the influence of Spain. The legend of the advice given by M. de Chalon to the young Corneille is well known: "Vous trouverez dans les Espagnols des sujets qui, traités dans notre goût par des mains comme les vôtres, produiront de grands effets"[1]—as if such advice had been needed. But still more was it due to the influence of Italy. I need

[1] Beauchamps, *Recherches sur les théâtres de France*, II, 157.

only to mention the Hôtel de Rambouillet and the fact that in Italy, the *Cortegiano* type, first formulated by Castiglione in 1528, was of long and honored standing. Madame de Sévigné wrote[1] to her daughter: "Et l'italien, l'oubliez-vous? J'en lis toujours un peu pour entretenir noblesse."[2]

In treating Corneille's conception of character, my object is to show how close it is to the Italian *Cortegiano* type, and furthermore to point out what were the possible points of contact. The most effective way of bringing the matter forward is first to review what the critics have had to say on Corneille's treatment of character. This, then, will constitute the first division of this paper.

I

It is a commonplace to state that Corneille is the dramatist of the will. All French critics agree on this essential fact. For instance, Lanson, *Histoire*, 429:[3] "Il a et il exprime une nature plus rude et plus forte, qui a longtemps été la nature française, une nature intellectuelle et volontaire, consciente et active. . . . Il a peint des femmes toujours viriles, parceque toujours elles agissent par volonté, par intelligence, plutôt que par instinct ou par sentiment." And in his *Corneille*, 94,[4] Lanson says: "Ce misérable *Œdipe*, où Corneille a surabondamment prouvé combien toute la poésie tragique des Grecs échappait à son intelligence, n'est qu'une protestation de la volonté contre la fatalité. . . . Sur cette idée se fait la distinction des caractères de la tragédie de Corneille." And Lanson then proceeds to classify the characters as: "les généreux,

[1] Letter of June 7, 1671.

[2] Under the date of June 13, 1637, Chapelain writes to Balzac: "J'apprens aussy avec plaisir que le *Cid* ait fait en vous l'effet qu'en tout nostre monde. La matière, les beaux sentimens que l'Espagnol luy avoit donnés, et les ornemens qu'a adjousté[s] nostre poëte françois, ont mérité l'applaudissement *du peuple et de la Cour* qui n'estoient point encore accoustumés à telles délicatesses. . . . En *Italie*, il eust passé pour barbare et il n'y a point d'*Académie* qui ne l'eust banni des confins de sa jurisdiction." It is clear that Chapelain is here speaking "en docte"; cf. the *Épître* to *La Suivante* (privilège, January 21, 1637), where Corneille says: "puisque nous faisons des poëmes pour être représentés, notre premier but doit être de plaire à *la cour et au public*, et d'attirer un grand monde à leurs représentations. Il faut, s'il se peut, y ajouter les règles, afin de ne déplaire aux *savants*, et recevoir un applaudissement universel; mais surtout gagnons la voix publique." Cf. also Ogier, preface to *Tyr et Sidon*, 1628: "*Les doctes*, à la censure desquels nous déférons," etc.

[3] Third ed.

[4] *Grands écrivains français*, 4th ed., 1913.

les scélérats, les faibles": Rodrigue, Polyeucte; Cléopâtre, Attila; Félix, Cinna—the last of whom he aptly calls, "âme de chambellan dans un emploi de Brutus." Or take Lemaître (Julleville, IV, 273): "Cet orgueil, cet héroïsme content de soi, ces pétardes de la volonté, cette emphase, cette redondance, rempliront tout le théâtre de Corneille et, en général, toute la tragédie française jusqu'en 1650. . . . L'étonnant Alidor de *la Place Royale* est le frère aîné des Pulchérie ou des Camille (*Othon*)." Thus Lemaître finds the same principle in the "ironie et dédain" of the early plays of our author; compare:

quand j'aime, je veux
Que de ma volonté dépendent tous mes vœux. [*la Place Royale*, vs. 207.]

But no critic has emphasized the point more than Brunetière, who in his *Histoire de la litt. franç. classique*, II, 190, says: "On a dit à ce propos, et personne avec plus d'exagération que V. de Laprade, que le principe du théâtre cornélien serait le triomphe du devoir sur la passion. Si cela n'est déjà qu'à moitié vrai du *Cid*, rien ne l'est moins d'*Horace*,—où je ne pense pas que le 'devoir' d'Horace fût d'égorger sa sœur Camille;—ni de *Polyeucte*, dont le 'devoir' serait de triompher de sa passion de martyre; et rien n'est plus faux de *Cinna* même, de *Théodore*, de *Rodogune*, d'*Héraclius*, de *Nicomède*, où nous ne voyons plus en lutte les unes contre les autres que des passions, des ambitions, des jalousies, des haines, des vengeances. Ce qui est plus vrai, ce qui l'est même absolument, et ce qu'il faut dire, c'est que le théâtre de Corneille est la glorification ou l'apothéose de la volonté."[1]

Without being casuistical—and discussions of the will readily lend themselves to this fault—every attentive reader will admit that to state the problem thus is to state a half-truth. For example, Alidor in *la Place Royale*, who is strong-willed, is only that, whereas Rodrigue in the *Cid*, and especially Polyeucte, are equally wilful, but something more besides. And it is this additional factor that counts in our author's greater works. A reference to this second element is to be found in Lanson's "une nature *intellectuelle* et volontaire, *consciente* et active," or less clearly in Brunetière's

[1] It might be added that Faguet, *Dix-septième siècle*, 10 ff., treats Corneille again from the point of view of passion and duty: "le goût de l'aventureux et du brillant devient chez les héros de Corneille la passion du devoir." This is true if we mean by "passion" that which is consciously willed.

further statement that: "cela veut dire que dans l'extraordinaire et dans le romanesque l'instinct de Corneille préfère ce qui est noble à ce qui est bas, ce qui exalte l'âme à ce qui la déprime, et généralement enfin ce qui fait les héros à ce qui fait les monstres," though predominantly his view is that "la volonté est le seul ressort de l'action" (194). In fact, having granted Brunetière his point, and it is obvious that both critics value the energetic side of Corneille as a national asset,[1] Lanson proceeds to say: "Les troubles de la volonté sont souvent des incertitudes de l'esprit qui ne voit pas le vrai; ses égarements sont des erreurs de l'esprit, qui croit voir et voit mal. La pire bassesse est de n'avoir ni fermeté de volonté ni clarté de connaissance. La perfection héroïque est d'avoir la connaissance claire et la volonté ferme: quand l'âme voit le bien et marche au bien sans une défaillance"[2] (*Corneille*, 96).

Thus it will become clear that the two elements which govern the dramatic system of Corneille are: (1) a clear or rational concept of an ideal, often typified by his characters as their *souverain bien;* (2) the enlistment of the will in the service of this ideal. The poet's characters react, not to their attachment to an individual, but to the more or less perfection of which they believe that individual capable. Chimène loves Rodrigue, not for himself, but because of his heroism, and to be worthy of his heroism she herself must be heroic;[3] the struggle in the *Cid* is not single, it is double: a struggle on the one hand in the characters themselves between love and duty, and on the other a struggle to make the two ideals agree. The play closes with the significant words addressed to Rodrigue:

> Pour vaincre un point d'honneur *qui combat contre toi,*
> Laisse faire le temps, ta vaillance et ton roi.[4]

[1] See especially the admirable last page of Lanson's *Corneille.*

[2] Or this passage in the *Histoire* (429): "Rien de plus caractéristique que sa théorie de l'amour. . . . L'amour est le désir du bien, donc réglé sur la connaissance du bien. Une idée de la raison, donc, va gouverner l'amour. Ce que l'on aime, on l'aime pour la perfection qu'on y voit: d'où, quand cette perfection est réelle, la bonté de l'amour, *vertu* et non *faiblesse.*

[3] Cf.
> Tu n'as fait le devoir que d'un homme de bien;
> Mais aussi, le faisant, tu m'as appris le mien. [*Cid*, vs. 911.]

Note the difference with *Las Mocedades*, II, vs. 290, on which the passage is based:
> Yo confieso, aunque la sienta,
> Que en dar venganza á tu afrenta
> Como caballero hiciste.

[4] In the Spanish play the idea of honor is imposed from without; in the *Cid* it springs from within, from the consciousness in the characters of their own dignity. "Certes," says Martinenche, *La comedia espagnole*, 208, "il arrive parfois dans *le Cid* qu'on regrette l'éclat pittoresque de Guillen dans de trop abstraites traductions." "Traductions" is hardly the right word!

Or take *Rodogune:* two characters are bound by brotherly affection, yet they love the same person, Rodogune, who, in turn, loves the younger, but can marry only when their mother is slain. The situation—*romanesque* in the extreme—is an impasse, which can be solved only through the use of the improbable; yet this enables the poet to multiply motives and again to point the lesson of the heroic.[1] What is there left, in *Nicomède,* for Attale to do, when he once realizes the lofty serenity of his unshakable brother, than to admire from afar his

> vertu dans son plus haut éclat;
> Pour la voir seule agir contre notre injustice,
> Sans la préoccuper par ce faible service?

No wonder Corneille was forced to admit in the preface to *Héraclius:* "le sujet d'une belle tragédie doit n'être pas vraisemblable," and that Chapelain—*en bon critique*—dwelt on the necessity of verisimilitude in the *Sentiments sur le Cid.*[2]

Two questions at once suggest themselves. The first is: To what extent is Corneille's ideal of character that of his own age? And the second is: To what influences is he indebted for its formulation? A third (which, however, I shall have to leave unanswered) might be: How did this ideal affect his attitude toward the doctrine of the unities?

The elementary facts as to the poet's environment are well enough known. Corneille was a Norman, and Normandy—as far as such observations hold—is the home of the rationalist.[3] Calvin and Malherbe were both from the north, and while Calvin resembles Corneille in being a casuist (see Brunetière, *op. cit.,* p. 196), Malherbe is even closer to him in substituting reason for sentiment in poetry. Moreover, Corneille received his early training at the Jesuit Academy at Rouen, from 1615 to 1622; indeed, he won two prizes there for excellence in Latin verse, and, as Lanson (*Histoire,* 423) points out, the Jesuits were later the defenders of the free will against the

[1] See Faguet, *Dix-septième siècle,* 1894, pp. 9 ff.: "Du *sujet extraordinaire,* qui était une loi dramatique de son temps (!), il a fait le *sujet héroïque.*"

[2] See Colbert Searles, *University of Minnesota Studies,* III, 27 ff.

[3] Thus Gaston Paris, *Poésie du moyen âge,* II, 66: "Voilà bien la poésie du 'pays de sapience.' Il faut noter ce caractère positif et quelque peu sec qui se mêle à toutes les productions littéraires des Normands, comme la tendance pratique la plus nette se mêle aux expéditions les plus hardies de ces 'coureurs héroïques d'aventures profitables (Taine).'"

Jansenists. Add to this the fact that the poet was trained for the bar, and the logical, positivistic side of our author is explained.

But Lanson (*Corneille*, 166 ff.) goes a step farther, and after rejecting Brunetière's reproach of unreality and inhumanity in the dramas, he says: "Tout ce que le théâtre cornélien perd du côté de la couleur historique, il le regagne en intense actualité. Il nous offre une fidèle et saisissante peinture de cette France de Richelieu, de cette classe aristocratique qui inaugurait la monarchie absolue et la vie de société. . . . Jamais la politique et son alliée l'intrigue n'ont eu plus de jeu, n'ont plus occupé les esprits." And further: "Tous les grands hommes de l'époque, ou presque tous, sont des hommes de volonté." I would not underestimate the value of Lanson's contention, especially since he qualifies the above statement by adding (p. 170): "Sa tragédie n'est jamais un reportage, c'est évident. Mais la vie contemporaine l'enveloppe, l'assiège, le pénètre: elle dépose en lui mille impressions qui se retrouvent lorsqu'il aborde un sujet, qui, à son insu, dirigent son choix. . . . Il pense le passé dans les formes et conditions du présent [What poet doesn't?]." Clearly Nisard's statement: "Après Corneille il restait à la tragédie à se rapprocher de la vie," is too absolute.[1] One has but to read his plays to realize that the poet had in him the traits of the salon-frequenter, the politician, the *frondeur*. The interesting thing is the particular type of life he reflects, and how he reflects it. His early plays reveal his sympathy with the *précieux* classes; why should not his later?

Examining his work from this point of view, we find that Eraste in *Mélite*—the first of his plays—says (vs. 13):

> Son œil agit sur moi d'une vertu si forte:
> Qu'il ranime soudain mon espérance morte,
> Combat des déplaisirs de mon cœur irrité,
> Et soutient mon amour contre sa cruauté.

Cf. *Horace*, vs. 577:

> Que les pleurs d'une amante ont de puissants discours,
> Et qu'un bel œil est fort avec un tel secours!

or *Polyeucte*, vs. 87:

> Sur mes pareils, Néarque, un bel œil est bien fort:
> Tel craint de le fâcher qui ne craint pas la mort.

[1] Quoted by Faguet in his *Propos de théâtre*, I, 90.

The Infanta in the *Cid* is assuredly a kind of Julie d'Angennes toying with love:

> L'amour est un tyran qui n'épargne personne:
> Ce jeune cavalier,[1] cet amant que je donne
> Je l'aime. [*Cid*, vs. 81.]

or

> Mais si jusques au jour de l'accommodement
> Je fais mon prisonnier de ce parfait amant,
> Et que j'empêche ainsi l'effet de son courage,
> Ton esprit amoureux n'aura-t-il point d'ombrage? [*Cid*, vs. 495.]—

lines which reflect as much the tricks of the *ruelle* as the influence of the *Astrée*. It is unnecessary to multiply the instances.[2]

As for politics and *raisons d'état*, they appear from the very beginning; e.g., in the king's rôle in *Clitandre*. But compare more especially the following:

> Mais on doit ce respect au pouvoir absolu,
> De n'examiner rien quand un roi l'a voulu. [*Cid*, vs. 163.]

> Horace, ne crois pas que le peuple stupide
> Soit le maître absolu d'un renom bien solide:
> Sa voix tumultueuse assez souvent fait bruit;
> Mais un moment l'élève, un moment le détruit;
> . . . . . .
> C'est aux rois, c'est aux grands, c'est aux esprits bien faits,
> A voir la vertu pleine en ses moindres effets;
> C'est d'eux seuls qu'on reçoit la véritable gloire;
> Eux seuls des vrais héros assurent la mémoire.
> Vis toujours en Horace, et toujours auprès d'eux
> Ton nom demeurera grand, illustre, fameux.
> [*Horace*, vs. 1711.]

The calculated flattery of these lines is, of course, obvious. Why Corneille should wheedle the "court" in this particular play will be seen later. At present let us note how close to Balzac's *Le Romain* (edition of 1644, pp. 2 ff.) his conception of the character is: "Il [the

[1] The first edition of the *Cid* reads *chevalier*.

[2] See, however, *Rodogune*, vs. 151:

> Un grand cœur cède un trône et le cède avec gloire;
> Cet effort de vertu couronne sa mémoire;
> Mais lorqu'un digne objet a pu nous enflammer,
> Qui le cède est un lâche, et ne *sait* pas *aimer;*

and *Nicomède*, vs. 432:

> Pour garder votre cœur je n'ai pas où le mettre;

vs. 735:

> Comme elle a de l'amour elle aura du caprice.

Roman]," says Balzac, "estime plus vn jour employé à la *Vertu*, qu'vne longue vie delicieuse; vn moment de Gloire qu'un siecle de Volupté: Il mesure le temps par les succez, & non pas par la durée." And again: "Rome estoit la boutique; où les dons du Ciel estoient mis en œuure, & où s'acheuoient les biens naturels. . . . Elle a sceu mesler, comme il faut, l'art auecque l'auenture; la conduite auecque la fureur; la qualité diuine de l'intelligence, dans les actions brutales de la partie irascible. . . . La principale piece de la vaillance ne dépend point des organes du corps, & n'est pas vne priuation de raison, & vn simple regorgement de bile, ainsi que le *Peuple* se figure."

Obviously, Madame de Rambouillet—to whom Balzac is writing—Balzac himself, Corneille, La Calprenède,[1] the Scudérys, *e tutti quanti*, are of the same literary family. Mairet and Du Ryer in the drama,[2] and Desmarets in the novel,[3] had shown the possibilities of Roman history, and Corneille followed suit. But it is especially in the later plays that the political interest is strong and that the maxim "l'histoire est un cours de politique expérimentale" dominates the poet's mind. Thus *Nicomède* treats the question of "alliances," *Sertorius* that of civil war, *Pompée* the "raison d'état," *Othon* and *Pulchérie* the election of an emperor.[4] In all these as in *Cinna* and *Rodogune* feminine intrigue holds the boards, and we get such maxims as:

> La fourbe n'est le jeu que de petites âmes. [*Nicomède*, vs. 1255.]
>
> Un véritable roi n'est ni mari ni père;
> Il regarde son trône, et rien de plus. Régnez. [*Ibid.*, vs. 1320.]

or what Brunetière (209) calls "le naïf étalage de son machiavélisme."

[1] Cf. Boileau, *Les Héros de Roman*, ed. by Professor T. F. Crane (especially the valuable introduction) (Boston, 1902); and Victor Cousin, *La Société française au XVII siècle, d'après le Grand Cyrus de Mlle de Scudéry*. Madame de Sévigné wrote (IX, 315): "Pour moi . . . je trouvais qu'un jeune homme devenait généreux et brave en voyant mes héros, et qu'une fille devenait honnête et sage en lisant Cléopâtre." Bourciez, Julleville, *Histoire*, IV, 97: "Ces dissertations sur les Romains, dédiées à la marquise de Rambouillet, qui font les délices des hôtes sérieux de la chambre bleue et ont contribué à créer l'atmosphère de grandeur morale où s'est mue la pensée de Corneille."

[2] On Mairet see Dannheisser, *Studien zu Jean de Mairet's Leben und Werken* (Ludwigshafen, 1888) and *Roman. Forschungen*, V (1890). Du Ryer's first tragedy, *Lucrece*, was published in 1638, though it was probably acted as early as 1636; see H. C. Lancaster, *Pierre du Ryer Dramatist* (Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1913).

[3] Desmarets' *Ariane* appeared in 1632; see R. Gebhardt, *Jean Desmaretz* (Erlangen diss., 1912), and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[4] Cf. Jules Levallois, *Corneille inconnu*, 1876, and the lines he quotes from *Pompée* on p. 247.

Tous les crimes d'État qu'on fait pour la couronne,
Le ciel nous en absout alors qu'il nous la donne.
[*Cinna*, vs. 1609.]

And lastly, as for the drama in particular, Rotrou's *Laure persécutée*, I, 10, contains the vigorous line:

Je veux ce que je veux, parce que je le veux.

This play was performed in 1638—that is, after the *Cid*—but three years earlier, in *l'Innocente Infidélité*, Rotrou had written:

Jamais des grands dangers un grand cœur ne s'étonne,
Et qui n'ose commettre un crime qui couronne
Observe à ses dépens une lâche vertu;

—this in spite of Lanson's just observation (*Histoire*, 438) that Rotrou learned from Corneille "à dégager les études d'âmes et de passions."[1] Lancaster in his admirable study of Du Ryer[2] has pointed out that Du Ryer's *Cleomedon* (1633), the subject of which is taken from the fourth part of the *Astrée*, contains the lines so Cornelian in character:

Qui conserue un Sceptre est digne de l'auoir,

and

Qui vante ses ayeux ne vante rien de soy,

which lead the hero to exclaim:

Que ne dompterois-ie animé de la sorte!

the same kind of bluster used by Rodrigue (*Cid*, V, 1) under similar circumstances:

Est-il quelque ennemi qu'à présent je ne dompte? . . .
Pour combattre une main de la sorte animée.[3]

Again, however, the relationship is mutual, and Du Ryer's *Scévole* (1644)—his best-known play—is in many ways a counterpart and to some extent a copy of *Cinna*.

These are only the more obvious connections. A thorough search by some doctoral candidate would probably reveal others. But, in any case, it is clear that Corneille expresses in his plays the tenets of his age, as far as we can judge them from extant literary documents.

[1] See now Georg Wendt, *Pierre Corneille und Jean Rotrou* (Leipzig, 1910).
[2] *Op. cit.*, 72.
[3] Lancaster, p. 73.

On the other hand, as against the view of Lanson, let us not forget that the early plays—the comedies—are proportionately *more* real than the tragedies;[1] and, above all, that in ideas as well as dramatic form Corneille is primarily a leader and not a follower. With justifiable pride he says in his *examen* (first published in 1660) to *Mélite:* "La nouveauté de ce genre de comédie, dont il n'y a point d'exemple en aucune langue, et le style naïf qui faisait une peinture de la conversation des honnêtes gens, furent sans doute cause de ce bonheur surprenant, qui fit tant de bruit." The *Cid* is another case in point; so are *Polyeucte, Andromède,* not to mention *Nicomède, Héraclius,* and *Horace.* Corneille's leadership here is manifest. Thanks to Lanson's study in his *Hommes et livres* (p. 132), his indebtedness to Descartes is now practically eliminated: "Le philosophe et le poète tragique ont travaillé sur le même modèle," says Lanson, for the *Traité des passions,* which did not appear until 1649, could hardly have influenced the poet.[2] Even Balzac's essays on *Le Romain* and *La Gloire,* which were known before their publication,[3] are counterparts rather than sources of the poet's works. In the latter essay Balzac says: "On a aymé l'Honneur, lors qu'on aymoit les choses honnestes. Ciceron avoit composé vn Traité de la Gloire & Brutus vn autre de la Vertu. . . . L'vne et l'autre ne sont considerées auiourd'huy que comme des Biens de Theatre, qui ne subsistent qu'en *apparence*"; so that the stage was treating these (romantic) themes when Balzac wrote. Thus, what characterizes Corneille especially, and distinguishes him from his contemporaries, is not so much *grandeur* as a specific and systematic working out of this idea, beginning with *Horace* or even with the *Cid.* This gives his tragedies their stamp and his characters their quality. And this is why the quarrel of the *Cid* is so significant. In the preface to *Silvanire,* Mairet had emphasized two points: (1) the subject of tragedy must be known and consequently grounded in history, and (2) the law of verisimilitude must be observed—and he adduced the example of the Italians and the ancients. The first principle Corneille accepts, at the second he hedges. And for this failure he is criticized by

[1] See especially Lanson, *Corneille,* 51 ff.

[2] Cf. Faguet, *op. cit.,* p. 91.

[3] See Racan's "Ode à Monsieur de Balzac" in the *Recueil des plus beaux vers,* published by Toussainct du Bray in 1630, p. 183.

Chapelain. As time went on, and Corneille felt surer of himself, his opposition to what was to be the keynote one might say of all later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century drama grew more and more insistent. In *Héraclius*, as we saw, he defies those who follow Aristotle narrowly. In *Polyeucte*—that idealist dear to Corneille's heart—unable to justify the character according to the accepted canons of pity and fear, he seeks to do so through Minturno[1] with reference to admiration, and perhaps also through Castelvetro's favorite idea of the *ingegno in trovare*[2] and the admiration which the public, always on Corneille's side, accords the poet. As for *Nicomède*, he frankly says: "La tendresse et les passions qui doivent être l'âme des tragédies, n'ont aucune part en celle-ci; la grandeur y règne seule, et regarde son malheur d'un œil si dédaigneux qu'il n'en saurait arracher une plainte." And it may be doubted whether this "grandeur d'âme" is equaled in any of the other plays of our author or in those of his contemporaries.

Shall we, then, attribute Corneille's formulation of character mainly to his genius? And say that his concept of the heroic, except for a certain inevitable background in life, is largely his own making. Or was there some definite model which he could have followed but which has not been pointed out? The question is easier to ask than to answer. But in view of the following facts I can at least offer a suggestion.

Corneille's attachment to the court—as opposed to "les doctes" —I noted above.[3] In the *Excuse à Ariste* he expressly says: "mon vers charma la cour." In the *examen* to *Mélite* (see above), he

[1] Corneille mentions Minturno in the *examen* to the play; cf. also *Discours*, I, 15.

[2] Indeed, what may be a guiding principle for Corneille's inventiveness in his later dramas, beginning with *Polyeucte* (see the *examen*), is the statement of Castelvetro, *Poetica d' Aristotele Vulgarizzata*, 1570, p. 40 recto: "il poeta nell' historia certa & conosciuta particolarmente nō dura fatica niuna ne essercita lo' *ngegno in trovare* cosa niuna essendogli porto & posto dauāti il tutto dal corso delle cose mōdane. Il che nō auiene nell'historia incerta & sconosciuta cōuenendo al poeta aguzzare lo'ntelletto & sottigliare in trouare o il tutto, o la maggior parte delle cose & quindi viene cōmendato & ammirato Virgilio che habbia fatto cosi" (cf. 2d ed., p. 67). In the *examen* of *Rodogune* Corneille says that the court always showed a preference for *Cinna* or the *Cid*, while he himself prefered *Rodogune*, and he adds: "peut-être y entre-t-il un peu d'amour-propre, en ce que cette tragédie me semble être un peu plus à moi que celles qui l'ont précédée, à cause des incidents surprenants qui sont purement de mon invention, et n'avaient jamais été vus au théâtre." See, also, the preface to *Othon*, where he declares that he has written no play in which he has been more faithful to the source and yet has shown *plus d'invention*. On the whole question, see H. B. Charlton, *Castelvetro's Theory of Poetry* (Manchester University Press, 1913), and the article of Searles cited below.

[3] Pp. 2 and 7.

repeats that this play "me fit connaître à la cour." In the *Premier Discours* he explains his violation of verisimilitude by the authority of history and the pleasure of the audience "déjà tous persuadés." Moreover, Chapelain, for all his opposition, admits that the court was charmed by certain *délicatesses* in the *Cid*.[1] But the most striking testimony of a contemporary to Corneille's achievement in this respect are the words of Balzac in the Letter on *Cinna:* "Si cettui [Cinna] a plus de *vertu* que n'a cru Sénèque, c'est pour être tombé entre vos mains . . . l'empereur le fit consul, et vous l'avez fait *honnête homme.*" The last remark is, I think, significant. More than once the poet has been reproached for his *orgueil*, which appears, not only in himself, but in his characters. And Lanson (*Corneille*, 196), voicing Brunetière, likens his conception of *vertu* to the Italian *virtù*. Certainly its essentially un-Christian character is apparent; to the younger Horace's boast:

> Le sort qui de l'honneur nous ouvre la barrière
> Offre à notre constance une illustre matière. [*Horace*, vs. 431.]

Curiace replies:

> Mais votre fermeté tient un peu du barbare:
> Peu, même des grands cœurs, tireraient vanité
> D'aller par ce chemin à l'immortalité. [Vs. 456.]

It is, as Curiace adds, *une vertu âpre*, the full meaning of which we appreciate when we compare Bossuet's statement, evidently aimed at Corneille, in his *Maximes et réflexions sur la comédie* (ed. Calvet, 592): "Les païens, dont la vertu était imparfaite, grossière, mondaine, superficielle, pouvaient l'insinuer par le théâtre; mais il n'a ni l'autorité, ni la dignité, ni l'efficace qu'il faut pour inspirer des vertus convenables à des chrétiens: Dieu renvoie les rois à sa loi pour y apprendre leurs devoirs."

If then the ideal upheld by our poet is pagan and yet Italian in form, its prototype is perhaps closer at hand than one would suspect. At least, the foregoing remarks, especially Balzac's reference to Cinna as an *honnête homme*,[2] offer a clue. And this brings us to the second and main part of our study: the *Cortegiano* as a source of Corneille's ideas.

[1] See above, p. 2, note 2.

[2] See Petit de Julleville's comment on the letter of Balzac in his *Théâtre choisi de Corneille* (Hachette, 1904), p. 371.

II

When in 1640 Corneille read his *Horace* to a select company at the house of Boisrobert, among those present was Nicolas Faret, an intimate of Boisrobert's, who had obtained for him the post of secretary to Henri de Lorraine. Faret was a frequenter of Conrart's circle and a member of the newly formed Academy. His name has suffered unjustly from the fact that it was made to rhyme with *cabaret*—a slander against which Faret defended himself in vain since Boileau repeats the rhyme in the well-known lines of the *Art poétique:*

> Ainsi tel autrefois, qu'on vit avec Faret
> Charbonner de ses vers les murs d'un cabaret.[1]

At any rate, Corneille knew le sieur Faret, and it is more than probable that he also knew his treatise, first published in 1630, on the *Honeste Homme ou l'art de plaire à la cour.* Others have dealt with this work,[2] and I do not wish to repeat here needlessly. At the same time, several questions connected with it must be noted.

In the first place, Faret's work is in large part a much abbreviated paraphrase of the famous treatise of Castiglione: *Il Cortegiano.* Of the latter work Chapelain at one time possessed four Italian editions and one Spanish translation (cf. Searles, ed., *Catalogue de tous les livres de feu M. Chapelain,*[3] p. 30). To the first French translation (1537) by Jacques Colin d'Auxerre, secretary of Francis I,[4] there had succeeded in 1580 a new translation by Gabriel Chappuis, entitled: *Le Parfait Courtisan en deux langues.*[5] And Toldo[6] has traced the influence of the Italian work on the treatises of Nicolas Pasquier, De Refuge, the anonymous *Courtisan françois* of 1612, the

[1] Cf. also, Saint-Amant's poem "Les Cabarets," dedicated to Faret, in Livet's edition of *Les Œuvres de Saint-Amant* (Paris, 1855), pp. 138 ff.; and for the rhyme itself, see "La Vigne," p. 170.

[2] On Faret, see Edouard Droz, *Revue d'hist. litt.*, 1906, pp. 87 ff.; N. M. Bernardin, *Hommes et mœurs au dix-septième siècle* (Paris, 1900), and the works mentioned below. Besides the *Honeste Homme*, on the sources and influence of which we still lack a thorough-going study, Faret published in 1623 (*chez Toussaint du Bray*) a treatise *Des vertus nécessaires à un prince pour bien gouverner ses sujets*, and a collection of *Lettres nouvelles des meilleurs auteurs de ce temps*, 1627. He also wrote an ode to Richelieu, whose life he planned to write. According to Bernardin, the *achevé d'imprimer* of the *Honeste Homme* is dated Thursday, November 14, 1630; on this see also the article of Droz, cited above. Bernardin gives interesting details on the esteem which Faret enjoyed at the court.

[3] Publications of Leland Stanford Junior University, 1912.

[4] A revision of this was made by Mellin de Saint Gelais in 1538 (Lyon); 1549 (Paris).

[5] Lyon, 1580; Paris, 1585. Another translation appeared in Paris in 1690, entitled *Le Parfait Courtisan et la Dame de Cour.* Opdycke, *Book of the Courtier* (New York, 1903), lists nine editions of Colin and five of Chappuis, in the sixteenth century.

[6] Herrig's *Archiv*, CIV, CV (1900): *Le courtisan dans la littérature française et ses rapports avec l'œuvre de Castiglione.*

Juvenal françois of Jacques le Gorlier, and the *Aristippe* of Balzac[1] —all of which antedate the paraphrase of Faret. With so timely a subject—I repeat that the date was 1630—it is not surprising that Faret's work was very popular: it was translated into Italian and Spanish,[2] and as early as 1632 into English (cf. Crane, *La Société française au 17^e siècle*, 2d ed., p. 328). Chapelain seems to have had an edition of 1639, and a Lyon edition of 1661 is in the library of Cornell University. It goes without saying that Corneille, like so many of his contemporaries, may have had access to the Italian original, although I can adduce no positive evidence to this effect.

In the second place, the unknown author of the *Deffense du Cid* (1638)—one of the documents in the famous quarrel—says: "Nous voyons mesme par les places publiques des affiches qui publient l'honneste Homme ou la Morale de la Cour, celuy qui donne tiltre à sa science de la Morale de la Cour sçait bien que les vertus de la morale ne changent pas de nature en la personne des Courtisans . . . mais il cognoist la vanité commune qui pousse chacun à vouloir estre Courtisan, il les attire par l'amorce de ce ti[l]tre à venir prendre ses instructions."[3] On the basis of this passage it has been argued that the author of the *Deffense* is no other than Faret himself. This is open to doubt; but even so the defender of Corneille is plainly a partisan of the court and defends his author with the neo-Platonic argument that "the flame of Poetry springs from a certain riches of the mind which surpasses all reflexion and which originating in the soul shares in some way in the divine since it comes immediately from the image which is within us."[4]

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[To be continued]

[1] Balzac's work was not published until 1658; according to Searles, Chapelain had a French edition of 1657 (?) and an Italian translation, published in Paris in 1668. But Balzac lays the scene of his *Aristippe* in 1618, and claims that it called forth the praise of Richelieu, who himself was the author of *Instructions et maximes que je me suis données pour me conduire à la cour*, preserved in manuscript form; see Toldo, *Archiv*, CIV, 119.

[2] Bernardin, p. 64, knows eleven editions of Faret's book: 1630, 1631 (in 12), 1634 (in 4), 1636 (in 4), 1639 (in 8), 1640, 1656, 1660, 1664, 1671, and 1681. The Spanish translation was made by Ambrosio de Salazar, Spanish interpreter to the King; it appeared in 1634 and was republished in 1656 and 1660; on this see the interesting essay of Morel-Fatio, *Ambrosio de Salazar et l'étude de l'Espagnol en France sous Louis XIII* (Paris, 1900), especially pp. 203–14.

[3] Armand Gasté, *La Querelle du Cid* (Paris, 1898), p. 122.

[4] Cf. Faret's own preface to the *Œuvres de Saint-Amant* (modern edition by Livet, Paris, 1855), p. 8: "Elle [la poésie] a je ne sçay quels rayons de divinité qui doivent reluire partout, et, lorsque ce feu manque de l' animer, elle n'a plus de force qui la puisse rehausser au dessus des choses les plus vulgaires."

LE GÉNÉRAL HUGO ET L'ARC DE TRIOMPHE DE L'ÉTOILE À PARIS[1]

(À PROPOS DES *VOIX INTÉRIEURES*)

En 1836, sous Louis-Philippe, l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile à Paris fut enfin achevé. Il avait été commencé sous Napoléon, après le 18 février 1806, pour commémorer la bataille d'Austerlitz et la gloire de la Grande Armée. La première pierre en fut posée le 15 août 1806, jour anniversaire de la naissance de l'Empereur.[2]

1814 arriva. Qu'allaient faire les Bourbons des monuments inachevés de Napoléon? On enleva l'échafaudage de l'Arc de Triomphe; rien de plus. En octobre 1823, Louis XVIII cependant décréta que l'Arc de Triomphe serait achevé, mais qu'il commémorerait les souvenirs de la guerre d'Espagne qui venait de finir.[3] Aussitôt après son avénement au trône, Louis-Philippe décréta que l'Arc de Triomphe serait rendu à sa destination première, c'est à dire consacré à la gloire des armées de la République et de l'Empire. Blouet, succédant à Huyot en 1832, termina le monument pour les fêtes de juillet 1836.

Sur les murs des petites arcades se trouvent quatre bas-reliefs allégoriques qui représentent les Victoires des Armées du Nord, de l'Est, du Sud, et de l'Ouest. Au dessous des bas-reliefs sont inscrits les noms des grandes batailles de la République et de l'Empire.

Après les noms de nos victoires devaient nécessairement figurer ceux de nos généraux en chef et maréchaux, lieutenants généraux, commandants d'aile ou de corps d'armée; généraux de division, etc., qui s'y sont distingués. Dans le nombre se trouvent inscrits quelques généraux de brigade et quelques colonels. Le nombre de ces noms, qu'on se trouvait dans la nécessité de réduire en raison de l'espace disponible, s'élève à 652.[4] Parmi les généraux

[1] Nous nous sommes servi pour ce travail, en outre des études connues de Biré, *Victor Hugo avant 1830;* Barbou, *Victor Hugo et son Temps*, et Dufay, *Victor Hugo à vingt ans*, spécialement de: *Mémoires du Général Hugo*, Paris, 1823, 3 vols.; Jules D. Thierry, *Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile à Paris*, Paris, 1845; Duchesne, *Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile à Paris*, Paris, 1908; Boursin et Challamel, *Dictionnaire de la Révolution française*, Paris, 1893; Robinet, *Dictionnaire historique et bibliographique de la Révolution et de l'Empire, 1789–1815*, Paris, 2 vols. sans date.

[2] Le 1er architecte fut Chalgrin qui décida que les faces du monument seraient ornées de trophées. Il mourut en 1811 et Goust, son élève, continua son œuvre.

[3] Goust fut encore chargé des travaux jusqu'en 1830. Après cette date il fut remplacé par Huyot.

[4] *Le Grand Dictionnaire Larousse* dit que les noms inscrits sur l'Arc de Triomphe sont au nombre de 386. Il se trompe.

on trouve quelques soldats étrangers qui ont combattu dans nos rangs et qui se sont associés à nos gloires nationales [Thierry, p. 27].

M. Thierry ajoute que c'est "sous la direction et sur la proposition de M. l'architecte Blouet qu'ont été commencés et terminés les travaux de sculpture statuaire, *et les inscriptions*" (nous employons l'italique).

Duchesne (p. 31), d'accord avec Thierry, donne pour le nombre des généraux 652. Tous les deux citent les noms de ces généraux. Parmi ces noms ne figure pas celui du général Léopold-Sigisbert Hugo.

Pourquoi? C'est une question que le fils du général ne manque pas de se poser et même de poser à haute voix et à plusieurs reprises.

En 1837 il dédie les *Voix Intérieures* (le premier ouvrage publié par Victor Hugo après l'achèvement de l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile) à son père:

A Joseph-Léopold-Sigisbert Comte Hugo, Lieutenant Général des Armées du Roi.
Né en 1774,[1] Volontaire 1791, Colonel 1803, Général de Brigade 1809, Gouverneur de Provinces 1810, Lieutenant Général 1825.
Mort 1828.
Non inscrit sur l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile.
Son fils respectueux
V. H.

Dans la Préface il explique:

Quant à la dédicace placée en tête de ce volume l'auteur pense n'avoir pas besoin de dire combien est calme et religieux le sentiment qui l'a dictée. On le comprendra en présence de ces deux monuments, le trophée de l'Étoile, le tombeau de son père, l'un national, l'autre domestique, tous deux sacrés. . . . Il signale une omission et, en attendant qu'elle soit réparée où elle doit l'être, il la répare ici autant qu'il est en lui. . . . Personne ne s'étonnera non plus de le voir faire ce qu'il a fait. . . . La France a le droit d'oublier, la famille a le droit de se souvenir.

On sent combien, sous ses paroles, il y a d'orgueil froissé qu'il essaye de recouvrir de calme et de sérénité.

Dans ce même volume des *Voix Intérieures*, il écrit un poème l'"Arc de Triomphe" daté 2 février 1837, et qui se termine ainsi:

Je ne regrette rien devant ton mur sublime
Que Phidias absent et mon père oublié.

Ici encore Victor Hugo se montre blessé dans son amour filial, mais il ne *réclame* pas.

De fait, il était allé plus loin dans un fragment de poème paru il n'y a pas longtemps (1909) dans l'*Édition monumentale*, "Historique des *Voix Intérieures*," p. 483. Dans son "vers indigné"

[1] Victor Hugo se trompe, comme il sera prouvé plus bas.

il reprochait à Louis-Philippe d'avoir oublié le père sur l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, alors qu'il était l'ami du fils:

Sur ce bloc triomphal où revit tout l'empire,
Où l'histoire dictait ce qu'il fallait écrire . . .
Vous avez oublié, sire, un nom militaire
Celui que je soutiens et que portait mon père! . . .
Or celui dont le nom manque à vos architraves,
C'était un vieux soldat, brave entre les plus braves. . . .
Dans la guerre étrangère et la guerre civile,
En Vendée, en Espagne, à Naple, à Thionville,
Le fifre et le tambour, la bombe et le canon
Ont laissé des échos que réveille son nom.
Pourtant sur votre mur il est oublié, sire!
Et vous avez eu tort et je dois vous le dire,
Car le poète pur, de la foule éloigné,
Qui vous aborde ici de son vers indigné,
Sire! et qui vous souhaite un long règne prospère,
N'est pas de ceux qu'on flatte en oubliant le père.

29 mars 1837.

Certainement le roi se montrait très aimable envers le chef de l'école romantique s'il en faut croire ce que dit Barbou (*Victor Hugo et son Temps*, chapitre: "Louis-Philippe reconduisant V. Hugo," p. 224), et Victor Hugo lui-même dans *Choses Vues* (chapitre, "Louis-Philippe").

Pourquoi Victor Hugo n'a-t-il pas publié ces vers dans les *Voix Intérieures?* Il répond lui-même à cette question par deux notes publiées en 1909, avec les vers cités ci-dessus, dans l'Édition nationale. La première est du 29 mars 1837, jour même de la composition des vers. La voici:

Tandisque Louis-Philippe sera périodiquement attaqué par l'assassinat, je ne publierai pas ces vers.

La seconde note est de dix-sept ans après, quand il publiait *les Châtiments* et qu'il ne craignait pas de montrer sa colère immense contre les gens au pouvoir. Mais Louis-Philippe était mort et le poète aurait cru manquer de générosité en faisant imprimer ses reproches.

Après 17 ans je relis ces vers à Jersey. Je ne les publierai pas. La résolution est la même, les motifs ont changé. Louis-Philippe est dans la tombe. Je suis dans l'exil. Les proscrits n'ont rien à jeter aux morts. Quand je serai hors de ce monde, ces vers étant vrais et justes, on en fera ce qu'on voudra.

V. H.

MARINE TERRACE
24 mai, 1854.

S'il renonce à publier les vers, ce n'est pas, on le voit, qu'il ait cessé de croire à la justice de sa revendication. Il retourne à ce sujet en 1863. Nous allons y revenir; mais auparavant plaçons ici une courte parenthèse.

Dans *Choses Vues*, chapitre intitulé "Funérailles de Napoléon, 1840," il décrit la translation du corps de Napoléon à Paris. Puis il ajoute, quelques mois après le retour de l'Empereur aux Invalides:

> Aujourd'hui, 8 mai, je suis retourné aux Invalides pour voir La Chapelle de Saint-Jérôme où l'Empereur est provisoirement. Toute trace de la cérémonie du 15 décembre a disparu de l'Esplanade. . . . Tout autour de la cour, au dessous de la corniche des toits sont encore collés, derniers vestiges des funérailles, les longues bandes minces de toile noire sur lesquelles ont été peints en lettres d'or, trois par trois, les noms des généraux de la Révolution et de l'Empire. Le vent commence pourtant à les arracher ça et là. Sur l'une de ces bandes dont la pointe détachée flottait à l'air, j'ai lu ces trois noms—Sauret—Chambure—Hug. . . . La fin du troisième nom avait été déchirée et emportée par le vent. Était-ce Hugo ou Huguet?

Sauret et Chambure se trouvent inscrits sur l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile. On n'y trouve pas le nom de Huguet. Victor Hugo s'était-il trompé et avait-il lu le nom de Sahuguet?

Il faut rappeler d'abord que tous les noms des généraux de la Révolution ne se trouvent pas sur l'Arc de Triomphe. Comme le dit Thierry dans une phrase déjà citée, leur nombre était "réduit en raison de l'espace disponible."

Qui donc a fait le choix? Louis-Philippe était-il responsable, comme le prétend Victor Hugo?

Il serait aisé peut-être de trouver dans les archives de la Ville de Paris le nom de celui qui fut chargé de choisir les généraux dont l'Arc de Triomphe devait perpétuer le souvenir; mais il nous a été impossible même d'essayer de les consulter. Nous savons par Jules Thierry que "M. l'architecte Blouet a dirigé tous les travaux de sculpture statuaire, et les inscriptions"; mais cela ne peut signifier qu'on lui ait abandonné le choix des noms à inscrire: sa science de l'architecture, si grande qu'elle pût être, ne garantissait pas suffisamment sa connaissance des faits historiques et des illustrations militaires de la République et de l'Empire. D'autre part, il est tout aussi improbable que Louis-Philippe s'en soit occupé: on ne se figure guère un roi de France se livrant à semblable travail et un Bourbon-Orléans scrutinant et comparant, pour en soupeser la

gloire, les noms des généraux révolutionnaires et bonapartistes. Il faut chercher ailleurs.

Au fond V. Hugo pense bien, comme nous, que Louis-Philippe n'est pas personnellement responsable de la manière dont les Bourbons ont agi envers son père puisqu'il suggère lui-même une autre explication—qui d'ailleurs ne nous paraît pas plausible.

En 1863, dans *Victor Hugo Raconté par un Témoin de sa Vie* (éd. définitive, Vol. I, pp. 156–57), Victor Hugo essaye de montrer la Restauration plutôt que Louis-Philippe frappant son père en le mettant hors d'activité après Thionville, et il en donne cette raison:

> On en voulait au Général Hugo d'avoir été si incommode aux alliés et d'avoir arrêté si longtemps les Hessois devant Thionville. Avoir refusé de rendre à l'étranger une forteresse française, c'était alors une trahison. . . . En septembre 1815 la Restauration se crut assez forte pour punir ceux qui avaient résisté à l'invasion des Alliés pour chasser Napoléon de la France et rendre ce pays aux Bourbons: le général Hugo fut destitué de son commandment et mis hors d'activité.

Cette accusation, sauf le fait que le général est mis hors d'activité, est tout à fait fausse comme nous allons le voir dans l'étude de la carrière militaire du général Hugo d'après ses *Mémoires*. Ainsi que le dit Dufay (p. 17):

> Sauf au commandement actif il n'avait pas trop à en vouloir aux Bourbons, et son Bonapartisme est pour le moins douteux. Une lettre du général Hugo, de Thionville, le 18 avril 1814, à M. le comte Roger de Damas, gouverneur pour le roi à Nancy, atteste la loyauté du général Hugo aux Bourbons: "Nous avons été fidèles et loyaux sous l'Empereur; le serment qui nous enchaîne au roi Louis XVIII est la garantie que nous le serons également sous lui."

Ce n'est donc pas la défense courageuse de Thionville qui est cause de la mise en non-activité du général, et comme nous le verrons, ce n'est pas non plus cette défense qui a fait omettre son nom sur l'Arc de Triomphe.

Les noms des généraux ont dû être choisis ou exclus selon certains principes: d'après le décret de Louis-Philippe on a choisi les chefs de l'armée de la République et de l'Empire (voir plus haut). Nous trouvons, en effet, les noms de généraux et même de quelques colonels (deux parmi ceux examinés par nous, p. 28) de la République et de l'Empire inscrits. Le père de Victor Hugo était-il l'un ou l'autre? Donnons-nous la peine d'examiner la chose de plus près; et pour cela livrons-nous à un rapide examen des *Mémoires*.

Joseph-Léopold-Sigisbert Hugo[1] entra au service de la France en octobre 1788. Au commencement de la Révolution il se trouvait attaché à l'État-Major général de l'armée en qualité de fourrier-marqueur. Il quitta l'État-Major général en mai 1793, en qualité d'adjudant-major-capitaine, pour se rendre en Vendée avec son bataillon qui avait pour chef Muscar, un de ses amis. Celui-ci lui confia souvent des commandements d'expédition, et enfin le promut au grade d'adjudant général, chef de brigade. Tous les deux devaient partir avec l'expédition d'Irlande en 1797. Mais ils apprirent qu'elle devait être commandée par un certain Humbert que Muscar détestait. Alors ils donnèrent leur démission qui fut acceptée. Hugo resta en activité comme adjudant-major de deuxième bataillon. Après cela, il fut deux ans en garnison à Paris comme rapporteur du 1er Conseil de guerre permanent de la 17^{e} division militaire (devenue depuis, la 1ère). Puis, il reprit ses fonctions d'adjudant-major et fut pendant un mois adjoint à l'Adjudant Général Mutilé, employé dans la 4^{e} division militaire.

En 1799, le général Lahorie, qu'il connaissait depuis longtemps, lui demanda s'il n'aimerait pas faire la campagne du Rhin. Il y consentit et partit pour Bâle ou il fit la connaissance du général en chef Moreau. En 1800, il se trouvait sur l'Iser où Moreau le fit chef de bataillon sur le champ de bataille. Hugo accompagna Lahorie aux conférences qui se tinrent à Munich pour la suspension des hostilités. Il y eut un armistice, pendant lequel eut lieu le Congrès de Lunéville, 1800–1801, entre la France et l'Autriche. Hugo fut chargé de s'y rendre. Joseph Bonaparte était plénipotentiaire à Lunéville et c'est là que Hugo fit sa connaissance. Moreau passant par là demanda de voir Hugo et lui promit de le récompenser à la fin de la campagne par une demi-brigade et une gratification qui le mît à son aise. Joseph tint à le garder, et il lui promit de lui faire lui-même autant de bien qu'il aurait pu en attendre du général. L'armistice fut rompue; le 3 décembre 1800 Moreau se couvrit de gloire à la bataille de Hohenlinden qui força les Allemands à accepter les conditions de paix du Congrès de Lunéville, 1801.

[1] Né 15 novembre 1773 à Nancy de Joseph Hugo, maître menuisier, et de Marguerite Michaud, gouvernante d'enfant (*Archives de Nancy* par Aug. Lepage, tome IV, pp. 17 et 18; cité par Biré, *V. H. avant 1830*, p. 23). V. Hugo se trompe dans la dédicace à son père des *Voix Intérieures*. Il y donne la date 1774.

Comme Hugo attribue son manque d'avancement dans l'armée française à l'hostilité qui existait entre le 1er Consul et Moreau, nous devons étudier le commencement de ces hostilités tel que le décrit Hugo dans ses *Mémoires* (Vol. I, p. 91).

On était sur l'Iser. Toutes les divisions exécutaient leurs mouvements, à l'exception de celle du général Leclerc, beau-frère de Bonaparte. Le général Guyot rendit compte de cela à Moreau, Lahorie étant présent. Celui-ci déclara à haute voix que Leclerc devait marcher. Moreau approuva et Guyot se rendit près de Leclerc, lui raconta toute la conversation et lui transmit l'ordre de Moreau. Leclerc marcha mais avec humeur, et après la bataille demanda un congé pour se rendre aux eaux. Moreau pénétra ses motifs et lui demanda de n'en rien faire. Leclerc fit solliciter par sa femme le congé qu'il désirait et qui lui parvint quelques jours après. Allant droit à Paris, il raconta tout à Bonaparte et peignit Lahorie comme un ambitieux. Bonaparte n'oublia jamais l'insulte faite à Leclerc ni la fâcheuse impression que celui-ci lui donna de Lahorie. Alors Moreau ayant demandé que Lahorie passât général de division, Bonaparte refusa. Moreau insista mais en vain. Tel est, selon Hugo, le commencement de la brouille entre Moreau, Lahorie et le Premier Consul.

Le déplaisir de Bonaparte atteignit même les officiers qui avaient eu la confiance particulière de Moreau. Comme Hugo non seulement jouissait de cette confiance mais que, de plus on le regardait comme l'adjoint de Lahorie, il se trouva doublement en défaveur. Il quitta Lunéville avec le même grade qu'à son arrivée et entra dans la 20e demi-brigade comme chef de bataillon.

On l'envoya à Besançon en 1801, vers la fin de l'année. Là encore Hugo se fait mal voir de Bonaparte. Voici l'histoire telle qu'il la raconte dans ses *Mémoires* (Vol. I, p. 96):

A Besançon, il se faisait un trafic scandaleux. Des congés gratuitement accordés par ordre ministériel étaient vendus de 300 francs jusqu'à 1200 frs. Hugo était l'ami du chef de brigade indélicat et il lui conseilla d'arrêter cette vente infâme. Le chef de brigade n'en fit rien mais se refroidit à l'égard de Hugo. L'orage éclata; le coupable fut traduit devant un conseil de guerre et condamné. Dans sa colère contre Hugo, qu'il croyait l'instigateur de son procès,

il publia des *Mémoires* pleins d'injures contre son ci-devant ami. L'opinion publique était pour Hugo qui publia une petite feuille dans laquelle il prouvait par des faits que ces injures n'étaient fondées ni sur la vérité ni même sur des apparences de vérité. Mais il en souffrit quand même. Le gouvernement se servit de ces calomnies comme prétextes pour écarter un homme qu'il jugeait être un des partisans de Moreau.[1] On ne priva point Hugo de son emploi mais on ne le fit participer à aucune faveur.

Enfin une troisième chose survint qui, selon les *Mémoires* de Hugo (Vol. I, p. 101), aigrit encore davantage Napoléon contre lui. Lors de la conspiration (vraie ou fausse) contre le Premier Consul en 1802 on présenta des adresses contre Moreau où celui-ci était traité d'une manière outrageante. Et cela pour faire plaisir à Napoléon. On voulut faire signer Hugo, mais il refusa: "Je ne me refusai point à féliciter le 1er Consul d'avoir échappé à une conspiration; mais je refusai ma signature à un écrit qui donnait à mon bienfaiteur plus d'une épithète odieuse. Ce refus ne fut pas ignoré du 1er Consul" (Vol. I, p. 101).

Hugo fut envoyé à Marseille en 1804. Il était convaincu qu'il n'avait aucun espoir d'avancement et il envoya sa femme supplier Joseph Bonaparte de l'arracher de la 20e demi-brigade. Pendant l'absence de Mme Hugo, il s'embarqua pour la Corse et quelques jours plus tard alla à l'île d'Elbe où Mme Hugo le rejoignit. Elle n'avait rien obtenu. De là, il alla à l'armée de l'Italie, 8e corps de la Grande Armée, sous les ordres du Maréchal Masséna (1806). Il se trouva à la bataille de Caldiero (18 Brumaire, 1806), au succès de laquelle il contribua certainement. Là, dans l'obscurité, un général qu'il ne pouvait distinguer le questionna. Satisfait de ses résponses, il lui dit, "Bien, mon ami, vous serez colonel et officier de la Légion d'honneur." Il fut trois fois cité au rapport. Mais il ne fut pas nommé colonel. "Je savais que je n'aurais rien à prétendre tant que je ne me signalerais pas sous les ordres directs et sous les yeux mêmes de Napoléon," dit-il dans les *Mémoires* (Vol. I, p. 120). Il assista au passage du Tagliamento en 1806, lorsque l'armée allait

[1] Certainement Napoléon a montré son mécontentement à ceux qui sont restés fidèles à Moreau. *La Grande Encyclopédie* raconte ainsi le cas du général Dessolle: "il tomba, pour avoir montré son attachement à Moreau, son ancien chef, dans la disgrâce de Bonaparte qui, devenu Empereur, l'éloigna systématiquement des grands commandements. Il servit obscurément en Espagne de 1808 à 1812."

vers Naples afin de conquérir ce royaume pour Joseph Bonaparte. A Rome, Hugo vit celui-ci et en fut bien accueilli. Il sollicita une place dans la garde française de Joseph; celui-ci l'y avait lui-même encouragé. Pourtant le général Saligny vint lui dire: "Le roi a pour vous beaucoup d'attachement et d'estime mais par des motifs qui ne vous sont point personnels il n'a pu vous admettre dans sa garde. Quand il en sera le maître il ne vous oubliera point" (*Mémoires*, Vol. I, p. 122).

Hugo donna sa démission. Il était à ce moment major dans l'armée française. Nous voyons donc qu'*il n'est pas Colonel quand il quitta l'armée de Napoléon—la Grande Armée.*

Puis il reçut de M. le comte Mathieu Dumas, ministre de la guerre, une invitation pressante de passer au service de Joseph. "Sa majesté," m'écrivait le ministre, "a des vues particulières sur vous, et veut vous donner très incessament des preuves de sa confiance et de son estime" (*Mémoires*, Vol. I, p. 123). Hugo entra au service de Joseph en 1806, comme major. Il organisa un régiment pour aller contre Fradiavolo, le plus fameux "partisan" de l'Europe, qu'il réussit à prendre après beaucoup de peine.

Puis on le retrouve prenant part en qualité de major de Royal-Corse à une expédition dans la Pouille. En janvier 1808, Hugo fut chargé personellement d'une autre expédition, aux sources de l'Ofanto. Six semaines après il reçut le brevet de Colonel de Royal-Corse et devint commandant d'Avellino.

Nommé maréchal du palais de S. M. il devint Commandeur de l'Ordre Royal. A ce moment-là Joseph fut appelé par Napoléon à régner sur l'Espagne et sur les Indes. Un mois après son départ il écrivit au colonel Hugo lui proposant d'aller le rejoindre. Hugo quitta Avellino pour se porter vers l'Espagne. Il partit avec regret. On pleurait en le voyant partir. "Sans le tendre sentiment de reconnaissance qui m'attachait au roi Joseph, *pour qui seul j'avais quitté le service de ma patrie* (nous employons l'italique), je n'aurais point quitté mes chers compagnons d'armes" (Vol. I, p. 186).

Hugo arriva en Espagne à la fin de juillet 1808. Il se trouvait à Burgos le 6 août 1808. Joseph n'ayant pu se maintenir à Madrid vint à Burgos, puis eut son quartier général à Vittoria où le colonel Hugo avait des fonctions à la cour. Il devait accompagner le roi.

En novembre de cette même année, Napoléon, avec la Grande Armée,[1] vint à l'aide de Joseph, et Hugo le vit pour la première fois. Il dit dans ses *Mémoires:* "Je voulus mieux voir l'homme extraordinaire qui, depuis si longtemps, fixait l'attention du monde entier; et pour cela, je me plaçai dans le grand salon (il y avait soirée chez Joseph en l'honneur de l'Empereur) parmi les officiers généraux et supérieurs de sa jeune garde; mais la manière brusque dont il les questionna, et l'œil sévère qu'il porta sur *mon uniforme étranger* (*celui de Royal-Corse*) me déterminèrent à me retirer sous peu, et je ne disparus pas sans plaisir à ses yeux trop souvent portés sur moi" (Vol. II, p. 18). Ici Hugo veut montrer que Napoléon ne regardait pas d'un œil amical ceux qui quittaient son armée. Le 2 décembre 1808 Napoléon arriva devant Madrid, attaqua la ville le 3, et y entra le 4. Le colonel Hugo fut plusieurs fois chargé par le roi Joseph de messages auprès de l'Empereur.

C'est à cette date, le 6 décembre 1808, que fut créé le régiment appelé Royal-Étranger dont le commandement fut offert par Joseph à Hugo.[2] Avec ce régiment le colonel Hugo eut l'ordre de marcher sur la province d'Avila pour y ramener l'ordre. Le 14 janvier 1809 il arriva à Avila. En juin sa mission était remplie, l'Empecinado, du reste, ayant quitté cette province pour les provinces voisines.

En juillet 1809 commença la retraite de l'armée française du Portugal où elle avait été battue par les Alliés (les Anglais surtout, sous Wellington). Avila étant sur la ligne de défense se trouva isolé et fit une résistance vigoureuse. Par Avila les deux parties de l'armée française pouvaient communiquer; d'où l'importance de cette place qui tint bon quoique Hugo n'ait eu que des soldats étrangers pour la défendre. Les Anglais se virent forcés à la retraite.

Hugo en récompense reçut de Joseph un million de réaux en cédules hypothécaires,[3] et—voici ce qui nous intéresse—*le grade de*

[1] Il faut se rappeler que Napoléon a toujours eu une partie de sa Grande Armée en Espagne. Cette armeé était française et sous les ordres de l'Empereur. Joseph aussi, sous ses ordres, avait une petite armée qui n'était pas française mais étrangère.

[2] Le Royal-Étranger était formé de prisonniers étrangers qui étaient devenus soldats de Joseph.

[3] *Mémoires*, Vol. II, p. 156, note. Il dit: "Ce million en cédules hypothécaires n'ayant jamais pu être placé, resta et fut pris dans mon portefeuille à la bataille de Vittoria. Mes acquisitions en Espagne furent faites de mes propres deniers." Dufay dans son *V. Hugo à vingt ans* cite plusieurs lettres où le poète parle à son père des démarches faites pour recouvrer une partie au moins de la valeur de ces cédules hypothécaires; mais ces démarches restèrent sans résultat. Dufay ajoute: "le général était riche en cédules hypothécaires du roi Joseph, moins que des châteaux en Espagne" (p. 34).

maréchal de camp. Ce grade équivalait à celui de général de brigade.[1] C'est donc depuis ce jour-là qu'il eut droit à ce titre (dont son fils fait si grand cas) de général. C'était le 20 août 1809. Il était major-dome du palais depuis le mois de janvier. Un peu plus tard, il fut nommé inspecteur général de tous les corps formés et à former, et aussi Commandeur de l'Ordre Royal d'Espagne, dignité qui valait 30,000 réaux de rentes. Il était toujours à Avila et il y resta assiégé, lorsqu'en novembre 1809 eut lieu la grande bataille d'Ocaña entre les Français et les Alliés.

Napoléon mit alors la province d'Avila sous les ordres du maréchal duc d'Elchingen, et nomma le général Tilly gouverneur. Cela revenait à déplacer le général Hugo que Joseph envoya dans les provinces de Ségovie et de Soria (avril et mai 1810) comme gouverneur. Dans l'été de 1810, le général Hugo fut envoyé, comme gouverneur encore, dans la province de Guadalaxara. Là, il retrouvait son ancien ennemi l'Empecinado. Il guerroya contre lui jusqu'en 1811 sans résultat définitif. Le 27 septembre 1810, le roi Joseph l'ayant rencontré à Brihuega, lui avait offert au choix le titre de comte de Cifuentes ou comte de Siguenza, en récompense de ces campagnes. Il choisit celui de Comte de Siguenza.

Quelques mois plus tard, à cause de blessures qui l'inquiétaient beaucoup, il alla à Madrid où il devint chef d'état-major et puis commandant de la capitale des Espagnes.

Cependant le prestige de Napoléon s'affaiblissait. En Espagne le 12 août 1812, le roi Joseph se vit forcé de quitter Madrid pour quelque temps. Il l'abandonna définitivement le 27 mai 1813, emmenant à sa suite, sous les ordres de Hugo, un convoi de 300 voitures "où s'entassaient les ministres du roi, les conseillers d'État, les corps diplomatiques, les familles distinguées, etc." La fameuse bataille de Vittoria, le 21 juin 1813, priva définitivement Joseph de son royaume. Il rentra en France avec toute sa suite, et on se sépara pour toujours.

Voilà le "général Hugo" de retour en France. Qu'allait-il faire? Après le départ du roi Joseph chacun des généraux qui se

[1] Boursin et Challamel: *Dictionnaire de la Révolution française:* "Sous l'Ancien Régime les grades militaires étaient: officiers,—sous-lieutenant, lieutenant, colonel, adjudant général, maréchal de camp, lieutenant général, maréchal de France. En 1793 on supprima les maréchaux de camp et on remplaça le titre de colonel par celui de chef de brigade. Les lieutenants généraux changèrent leur titre pour celui de généraux et furent distingués par le titre de généraux de brigade et généraux de division."

trouvaient dans la même position que Hugo, c'est à dire qui n'appartenaient pas à l'armée française, reçut du ministre espagnol l'autorisation soit de quitter la vie militaire soit de rentrer dans l'armée française. Hugo sollicita du service dans l'armée de France où il fut réintégré avec le grade de major, fin de 1813.[1]

Et, rentré dans l'armée française, c'est comme *major* (ou commandant) que Hugo reçut le 9 janvier 1814, l'ordre de se rendre a Thionville, où il organisa la défense qui dura jusqu'au 14 avril 1814; ce jour-là, le commandant Hugo apprit par des dépêches l'abdication de Napoléon. L'Empereur avait dit à Hugo à Thionville en 1814, qu'il le félicitait de sa conduite toute française et qu'il lui donnerait des preuves de sa satisfaction, mais les événements ne lui permirent pas de donner suite à sa promesse. Et le général Hugo ajoute dans ses *Mémoires* (Vol. III, pp. 181–82) qu' "il serait sorti général espagnol (ou major français) de la lutte nationale si l'extrême justice de sa majesté le roi Louis XVIII n'eût, en partie, réparé les torts de la fortune envers lui." Hugo avait commandé cette place, il l'avait défendue—

mais il n'avait qu'une commission de M. le Maréchal, duc de Valmy. Il n'avait point été confirmé dans son grade de général en France, quoique officier général depuis le 20 août 1809; et l'on assure que quand, le 12 septembre 1815, on lui envoya un successeur, la division (militaire) de la guerre qui fit le rapport ignorait qu'il y eût un général à Thionville. . . . Au reste, le roi Louis XVIII n'a pas voulu qu'une action aussi honorable que la défense de cette place appartînt à un général étranger à son service et il a confirmé Hugo dans son grade de général à dater du 11 septembre 1813, époque où il était retourné en France.[2]

Napoléon revint en France en 1815.

Le général Hugo n'avait rien demandé à Napoléon; oublié par ce prince pendant la campagne de 1814, le général, rappelé par lui au service de la France, et qui ne devait son grade qu'à la demande du major-général des armées françaises . . . se retrouvait sans brevet, sans lettre de service pour la France, enfin dans la même position qu'à l'époque de la bataille de Vittoria (21 juin 1813), c'est à dire général *espagnol*, et aide-de-camp du prince Joseph

[1] "Je venais d'être nommé à ce grade en 1806 quand je passai au service de Naples; mais je ne le sus que bien longtemps après—c'est pourquoi j'acceptai alors le grade de chef de bataillon que j'avais depuis longtemps en France" (*Mémoires*, Vol. III, p. 180, note).

[2] Dufay, p. 15: "Tout en le mettant en demi-solde et loin de lui tenir rigueur, le roi lui avait auparavant accordé la croix de chevalier de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis (1er nov. 1814) et le grade de maréchal de camp des armées francaises (21 nov. 1814) pour prendre rang à la date de sa rentrée en France (11 sept. 1813). Quelques mois plus tard, le général était, ainsi qu'un de ses frères le Colonel Louis J. Hugo, promu par la même ordonnance au grade d'officier de la Légion d'Honneur."

Bonaparte; encore, pour remplir ce dernier emploi, lui eût-il fallu du ministère français des lettres de service qu'il ne reçut jamais.[1]

Le 31 mars 1815, Hugo accepta de nouveau la défense de Thionville, qu'il quitta définitivement le 13 novembre de la même année, pour se retirer à Blois, où il écrivit ses *Mémoires* qui parurent le 4 octobre 1823, imprimés chez Ladvocat, Paris.[2]

Le 29 mai 1825, Charles X conféra au général Hugo le titre de lieutenant-général. Le 5 juin, le *Moniteur* annonçait: "M. le maréchal de camp Hugo vient d'être nommé Lieutenant-Général."[3]

Une attaque d'apoplexie l'enleva dans la nuit du 29 au 30 janvier 1828. Il avait été général *espagnol* sous Joseph Bonaparte. Il est devenu général *royaliste* sous la Restauration. Il n'a jamais été général de l'Empire.

Reste cependant une possibilité. Thierry dit (*op. cit.*, p. 7), "Parmi les généraux on trouve quelques soldats étrangers qui ont combattu dans nos rangs et qui se sont associés à nos gloires nationales." On pourrait donc dire: même si le général Hugo n'était pas général (ou colonel) de la République et de l'Empire, mais général de l'armée espagnole, il aurait pu avoir le droit de figurer à côté de ces étrangers.

Nous avons examiné ce point aussi. Avec les moyens à notre disposition il ne nous a pas été possible de retracer la carrière militaire de ces 652 généraux. Nous en avons 452, plus de deux tiers. Mais nos résultats même ainsi limités nous paraissent assez convaincants. Pour ces recherches nous nous sommes servi de Boursin et Challamel, Robinet, *Grande Encyclopédie*, et *Grand Dictionnaire Universel Larousse*.

Parmi ces généraux, il y a en effet plusieurs étrangers, et il semblerait à première vue qu'ils devraient avoir moins de droit de figurer sur l'Arc de Triomphe que le général Hugo. Leur cas est cependant différent du sien car, si Hugo, Français, avait obtenu son grade supérieur hors de France, eux, au contraire, étrangers, ont tous

[1] "Blocus et Défense de Thionville, Dierck et Rodermack en 1815." *Mémoires du Général Hugo*, Vol. III, p. 388. Note de cette même page: "Les nominations et les confirmations faites en 1814 par le général Dupont, ministre de la guerre de S. M. Louis XVIII, étaient en 1815 nulles aux yeux du ministre de Napoléon."

[2] Dufay cite une lettre de V. Hugo à l'éditeur des *Mémoires*, le priant de lui communiquer les feuilles "à mesure qu'elles sortent de presse." Sa femme désire les lire avant tout le monde et "désir de femme est un feu qui dévore."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

obtenu leurs grades supérieurs *sous Napoléon*, en combattant pour la France *sous le drapeau français*. Prenons comme example le cas du général Dumonceaux (Jean-Baptiste), un Belge. A la tête d'un bataillon de Belges, il combattit avec les Français. En 1794 il fut nommé général de brigade et combattit sous Pichegru dans la fameuse campagne de Hollande qui se termina par la conquête de ce pays et la fondation de la République Batave. Nommé lieutenant général par cette République il devint commandant en chef des armées de son pays en 1805. La Hollande ayant été érigée en royaume pour Louis Bonaparte, Dumonceau devint commandant en chef des armées de ce prince. En 1807 il fut nommé Maréchal de Hollande. Napoléon le fit comte de l'Empire (impossible de trouver la date). Dumonceau était général de brigade sous Napoléon, et c'est dans la Grande Armée qu'il a obtenu son grade de général.

Voici maintenant qui nous rapproche plus du cas de Hugo et qui prouve, en outre que les Français qui se plaçaient sous les ordres de Joseph savaient à n'en pas douter, qu'ils perdaient leur rang d'officier français. Le général Lamarque (Jean-Maximin, comte Lamarque) devint général de brigade dans l'armée du Rhin en 1805, à Austerlitz, où il fut remarqué par l'Empereur qui l'envoya à l'armée chargée de conquérir le royaume de Naples. Lamarque y alla sous les armes françaises et s'empara de Gaëte; mais "il refusa le poste d'aide-de-camp de Joseph Bonaparte, roi de Naples, *pour conserver sa qualité de Français*" (Robinet). Il est à remarquer d'ailleurs, que même si Lamarque avait décidé de se mettre sous les ordres de Joseph à Naples, il avait été *général de brigade* sous Napoléon.

Maintenant, sur ces 452 généraux nous en avons cependant trouvé sept qui ont eu la même carrière militaire que Hugo sous Joseph Bonaparte à Naples ou en Espagne, ou sous Louis Bonaparte en Hollande. Ce sont: Lafon de Blaniac, Dedon-DuClos, Dumas, Compredon, Guye, Cavaignac, Caulaincourt. Leur cas est-il tout à fait le même que celui de Hugo?

Il résulte d'un examen minutieux de leur carrière[1] que ces sept officiers étaient colonels ou généraux avant de quitter l'armée de

[1] Le tableau de la carrière militaire de ces sept généraux n'est pas reproduit ici faute de place. On trouverait cette compilation et d'autres documents concernant notre publication à la bibliothèque de Smith Collège, département des manuscrits.

Napoléon et tous sont rentrés en France comme généraux dans cette même armée. Quant à Lafon de Blaniac, s'il a pris sa retraite dès son retour en France, il n'en avait pas moins été général sous Napoléon.

Nous avons trouvé cependant un cas qui pourrait être mis à côté de celui du général Hugo. C'est celui du général Jamin (Jean-Baptiste-Auguste-Marie). Voici sa carrière telle que la donne la *Grande Encyclopédie:*

> Jamin devint chef d'escadron en 1802 et servit en Italie comme aide-de-camp de Masséna en 1805 et 1806. Colonel au service du roi Joseph à partir de cette dernière année, il fut élevé au grade de maréchal de camp en 1810 et, en 1811, fut nommé marquis de Bermuy. A la bataille de Vittoria (21 juin 1813), il commanda avec honneur les débris de la garde royale d'Espagne. Pendant la campagne de France, il devint *major* des grenadiers à cheval de la garde impériale (16 mars 1814). C'est comme *major* qu'il prit part à la bataille de Waterloo où il mourut, 18 juin 1815. [Signé A. Débidour.]

Robinet n'est pas d'accord avec la *Grande Encyclopédie.* Il dit de Jamin:

> C'est en qualité de *général de brigade* qu'il fit les dernières campagnes de l'Empire. Il prit une part glorieuse à la bataille de Waterloo-Mont-Saint-Jean; il tomba héroïquement le 8 juin 1815.

Le *Grand Dictionnaire Universel Larousse* (article non signé) est plutôt d'accord avec la *Grande Encyclopédie:*

> A la malheureuse bataille de Vittoria, Jamin se conduisit avec une bravoure qui l'a fait placer au rang de nos meilleurs généraux de cavalerie. De retour en France, il fit la campagne de 1814, fut nommé *major* des grenadiers à cheval de la garde impériale, continua à servir sous la Restauration, rentra dans la garde impériale après le retour de Napoléon de l'Île d'Elbe et trouva la mort sur le champ de bataille de Waterloo.

Voilà mes trois autorités: entre elles, et surtout entre Robinet et la *Grande Encyclopédie* nous n'avons aucune raison péremptoire de décider. Il nous semble cependant que l'on serait en droit d'admettre que le titre de major des grenadiers de la garde impériale est un rang au moins équivalant au rang de général ordinaire, puisque Jamin, qui était un si excellent soldat, de général est devenu major des grenadiers de la garde impériale. Mais même si Jamin n'avait eu vraiment que le titre de major sous Napoléon, ce serait un cas exceptionnel et la réclamation de Victor Hugo ne devrait pas avoir pour

effet de faire ajouter le nom du *général royaliste* Hugo sur l'Arc de Triomphe, mais de faire rayer celui du *major impérial* Jamin.

Récapitulons:

Léopold-Sigisbert-Hugo n'était que major quand il quitta l'armée de Napoléon. C'est comme major qu'il entra dans l'armée de Joseph Bonaparte, *roi de Naples*. Il fut nommé alors colonel de Royal-Corse;[1] suivit le frère de Napoléon en Espagne, et là devint colonel de Royal-Étranger,[2] puis maréchal de camp (c'est à dire général de brigade) du même régiment. Il portait toujours l'uniforme étranger. Il devint gouverneur de trois provinces espagnoles (Avila, Ségovie, Guadalaxara) toujours sous Joseph et à la tête de régiments non français. Plus tard, il servit d'aide-de-camp du roi Joseph. Jamais Napoléon ne l'a reconnu comme maréchal de camp, autrement dit général de brigade; lorsqu'il revint en France (1813), il fut envoyé à Thionville comme simple major. Après sa première défense de Thionville (1814), Louis XVIII lui donna le titre de général français avec effet rétroactif, c'est à dire, *à dater du 11 septembre 1813, époque où il était rentré en France.*

Or, l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile à Paris porte les noms des *généraux* de la Révolution et de l'Empire; nous n'avons trouvé que deux *colonels* dans les 452 que nous avons vérifiés. Dès lors, puisque Hugo ne réussit jamais à se faire reconnaître un grade plus élevé que celui de *major* dans l'armée de Napoléon, il n'avait pas droit à être inscrit sur l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile et la réclamation de Victor Hugo n'est pas justifiée. Le fait qu'il ait fini par être reconnu général français sous Louis XVIII ne change rien à la question puisqu'il était alors général *royaliste.*

Et quant au cas du major *impérial* Jamin, il est plus que douteux que ce soit un cas identique. Et même s'il l'était, cela prouverait non pas qu'une injustice avait été commise à l'égard du général Hugo, mais qu'une faveur avait été faite à un autre.

ANNA ADÈLE CHENOT

SMITH COLLEGE

[1] Ce régiment était formé de prisonniers de toutes nationalités et portait un uniforme étranger.

[2] Régiment analogue à celui de Royal-Corse à Naples.

THE REDUPLICATION OF CONSONANTS IN VULGAR LATIN

It is a well-known fact that several Latin words sometimes appear with a single consonant, sometimes with a double one. Among the most typical instances are *cīpus* and *cippus*, *cūpa* and *cuppa*, *pūpa* and *puppa*, *mūcus* and *muccus*. The reduplicated forms seem to have been much more numerous in Vulgar Latin, judging from what we find in Romance, where Fr. *bette*, *étoupe*, *chapon*, etc., point to VL *betta*, *stuppa*, *cappo* for *bēta*, *stūpa*, *cāpo*.

In his *Handbuch zur lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (pp. 290 ff.) Sommer devotes a few pages to the study of this very curious phenomenon. He gives up the task of distributing the examples into categories. He says that the conditions on which the phenomenon depends are unknown, though he believes in some influence of the accent. The cases of reduplication, he thinks, had been capriciously multiplied. They would rest, in the final analysis, on a shifting in the division of syllables.

The problem has thus never been seriously attacked, and the explanations have been necessarily of a provisional character. The purpose of this article is to try to make a classification of the cases of reduplication, and by a closer consideration of them to throw some light on the phenomenon.

Schulze (*Lateinische Eigennamen*, p. 520) has already pointed out the great number of *gentilicia* and *cognomina* which appear with double consonants, as: *Allius*, *Arrius*, *Attius*, *Babbius*, *Lappus*, *Cottus*, *Cattus*, *Ninno*, *Occus*, etc. Sommer also mentions *Varro*, *Gracchus*, *Agrippa*, *Mummius*, etc. Some of these names are derived from children's words, as *Attius*, *Babbius*, *Ninno*, *Mummius;* some are abbreviations or alterations as *Varro* (*vārus*) *Gracchus* (<*gracilis* "slender"). The process seems to be Indo-European, judging (1) from Greek names, as Στράττις for Στράτιππος, Κλεόμμις for Κλεομένης, Μεννέας for Μενεκράτης, Φιλλέας for Φιλόξενος, etc., and (2) more still from Teutonic short-names such as *Sicco* (*Siegfried*), *Itta*,

(*Itaberga*), *Okko, Ukko, Juppo, Sotto, Otto, Batto*, etc.—names which survive, for instance, in the Belgian village-names: *Sichem, Itegem, Okkerzeel, Uccle, Jupille, Sottegem, Ottignies, Bettegem*, etc.

Along with these proper names in Latin should be mentioned a great many epithets eminently susceptible of being applied to people, often with some depreciation or irony. From *vārus* "curved" is derived *Varro*, well known as the cognomen of the celebrated grammarian. The glossaries mention *vorri* "edaces," while *cūppes* in Plautus is a "lickery tongue," a "greedy man," both being familiar formations from *voro* and *cupio; lippus* "blear-eyed" is for *leipos* (cf. Gr. λίπος "fat"); *mattus* "humid," "intoxicated" is for *mātus; suppus* "lying on the back, indolent" is a variation of *supīnus; bruttus* (It. *brutto*, Fr. *brute*) has replaced *brūtus* "brute," "senseless"; *glutto* "glutton" (It. *ghiottone*, Fr. *glouton*) for *gluto* is akin to *glutus* "abyss," *gula* "mouth"; *cloppus* "halt" is said to be a corruption of χωλόπους, while an usurer was humorously called *succo* "a sucker," from *sūcus*.

It will be observed that all these appellatives are familiar and ironical. The process of abbreviation used with proper names very naturally also applies here, since *vorrus, cūppes, mattus, suppus* very clearly are shortened forms of *vorax, cupidus, madidus, supinus*. Of an eminently appellative character also are the "Lallwörter," or baby-words. They are nearly the same in all languages, and at times are introduced from the nursery language into the regular speech.

Among them may be mentioned in Latin:

ATTA "father" (hence the gentilice *Attius*).

PAPPUS "old man," and by metaphor "beard of thistle."

BABBUS "father" (Sard. *babbu*, It. *babbo*).

AMMA "mother" (hence *Ammius*), surviving in Sp., Port. *ama* and in the diminutive *amita* "aunt" (O.Fr. *ante*); *amma* in Latin was also by irony an "owl."

MAMMA "mother" (It. *mamma*, Fr. *maman*, etc.), properly "breast"; meaning preserved in the diminutive *mammilla*.

ANNA "old woman," beside *ānus* (hence the gentilice *Annaeus, Annius*), is found in the name of the goddess; *Anna Perenna* (Varro *Sat. Men.* Frag. 506. Buech.).

ACCA in *Acca Larentia* "mother of the Lares" is an old "Lallwort"; cf. Skr. *akkā* "mother," Gr. Ἄκκω (Demeter).

NANNA, NONNA "old woman" (It. *nonna* "grandmother," Fr. *nonne* "nun," Sp. *nana* "housewife").

*NINNUS "child," apophonic variation of the preceding word (Sp. *niño* "child," It. *ninnolo* "toy").

PUTTUS "boy," beside *pūtus*, is akin to Lat. *puer*, Skr. *putra*. It has undergone the same reduplication as the older familiar appellatives, hence O.It. *putta* "boy," *putta* "lass," Fr. *pute, putain* "prostitute."

PUPPA "little girl," "doll" (Fr. *poupée* "doll," *poupon* "baby," O.It. *poppina* "pupil," "eye"), beside *pūpus, pūpa* "baby"; *puppa* also meant "teat" (It. *poppa* "breast"), and is an onomatopoea.

*(PITTUS) *PITTITUS, *PITTINUS, *PITTICUS "small" (Mil. *pitin*, Sard. *piticu*, Fr. *petit*, etc.).

*PICCUS, *PICCINUS, *PICCOCCUS, *PICCULUS "small" (Calabr. *picca* "little bit," Rum. *piciu* "child," It. *piccolo* "small," Sard. *piccinu, picciocu* "small").

MICCUS "small" (Rum. *mic* "little," Calabr. *miccu* "small") is a variation of *piccus* under the influence of *mica* and Gr. *μικρός*.

The suffixes -ITTUS, -ATTUS, -OTTUS, and -ICCUS, -ACCUS, -OCCUS are found first in proper names of women: *Julitta, Livitta, Galitta, Suavitta, Caritta, Bonitta* or *Bonica, Carica* (Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*, pp. 184, 185). Irrespective of their origins, we may consider them thus as endings for affectionate appellatives.

Besides these "Lallwörter" a great many "Schallwörter" (onomatopoeas) show the same reduplication. We find it, for instance, in a long series of familiar words referring to parts or functions of the body, such as:

BUCCA "swollen cheeks," "mouth" (It. *bocca*, Fr. *bouche* "mouth," Pr. *bocco* "lip").

*BICCUS "beak" (Sard. *biccu*, It. *becco*), diminutive variation of *bucca* under the influence of a Celtic word.

MUCCUS for MŪCUS "mucus," *muccare* "to wipe one's nose" (Sard. *muccu*, It. *moccio, mocciolo, moccicone* "snotty child," Fr. *moucher*, etc.).

*MURRUS "snout" (Sard. *murru*, Sp. *morro* "protruding lip").

GUTTUR "throat," doubtfully related to Eng. *cud* by Ehrlich (Walde, p. 870), appears to be a mere onomatopoea: *guttus* "jar with narrow opening" seems to be connected with *guttur* and suggests the same impression of strangling or choking.

GLUTTIRE "to swallow" is akin to *glūto* "glutton" (cf. *supra*), but it has been felt as an onomatopoea.

MUTTIRE "to mutter," *muttum* "mutter, word" (Fr. *mot*) is also suggestive of a dull noise.

*TITTA "teat," sometimes held to be Teutonic, is an imitative word like *puppa* "teat" (cf. *supra*).

*CINNUM "wink," *cinnare* "to wink" (It. *cenno*, Sp. *ceño*) is hardly the same word as Gr. *κίκιννος* "lock of hair." It appears to be an imitative word with the childlike ending *-innus* of *pisinnus*, *pitinnus* "small," *pipinna* "parva mentula," etc.

*POTTA "thick lip" (Fr. dial. *potte* "lip," It. *potta* "cunnus").

*PATTA "paw" refers to a thick, flat foot (Fr. *patte* "paw," *pataud* "dog with large paws," *patauger* "to dabble," *patouiller* "to muddle," etc.).

PUPPIS, "stern of a ship" is mentioned here because, according to Walde (p. 623), it is a familiar derivation from *pu-* "back," "behind," cf. Skr. *puta-* "buttock," "rump."

A series of words of this kind referring to blowing, swelling, and inconsistency, all have *ff* as the characteristic sound:

*LOFFA "wind," "fart" (It. *loffia*, Cat. *llufa* "fart," "whore," It. *loffio* "slack").

*BAFFA "paunch" (Piem. *bafra* "full belly," Fr. *bafre* "gluttony," Engad. *baffa* "flitch of bacon").

*BAFFIARE "to jeer" (properly "to swell the cheeks in mockery") (Prov. *bafa* "mockery," Abbruz. *abbafa* "to mock").

*BEFFARE "to mock" (It. *beffa* "mockery," Sp. *befo* "lower lip of a horse").

*BIFFARE "to make a quick movement" (Fr. *biffer* "to wipe off," *se rebiffer* "to bristle up").

*BUFFARE "to blow with full cheeks" (It. *buffo* "blast of wind," *buffare* "to play the buffoon," *buffa* "drollery").

*MUFFARE "to swell one's cheeks," "to mock" (Sp. *mofa* "mockery, disdain," Engad. *mofla* "swollen cheeks," It. *camuffare* "to muffle up").

*EX-BRUFFARE "to gulp," "to gush forth" refers like *biffare* to quick movements (Fr. *s'esbrouffer*).

*CIOFFUS, CIAFFUS "stout," "swollen," "silly" (O.It. *ciofo* "mean individual," Istr. *ciubo* "stout man").

More directly imitative are:

*RUSSARE "to snore" (It. *russare*).

*PISSIARE "to urinate" (It. *pisciare*, Fr. *pisser*, It. *pisciarello* "light wine").

SCUPPIRE "to spit" (Sp. *escupir*).

*CRACCARE "to spit noisily" (Fr. *cracher*, It. *scharacchiare*).

*CECCARE "to stammer" (Sic. *kekku* "stutterer," Bellun. *kekiñar* "to stammer").

*CIOCCARE "to suck" (It. *cioccare*).

*HUCCARE "to shout" (Prov. *ucar*, Fr. *hucher*).

*HIPPARE "to sob" (Sp. *hipar*); cf. *hippitare*, *CGlL*, V, 601, 18.

*LAPPARE "to lick" (Fr. *laper*, *lamper*). Perhaps Teutonic.

PAPPARE "to eat" (It. *pappare*, Wall. "pap," "soup"), a children's word comparable with Germ. *pappen*. Cf. *puppa* "teat."

*CIOCCIARE "to suck" (It. *ciocciare*, Fr. *sucer*, dial. *chucher*, Sp. *chuchar*).

*CIARRARE "to chat" (Prov. *charrar*, Norm. *charer*, Prov. *charade*, It. *ciarlare*, Sp. *charlar*, contaminated with *parabolare*).

BLATTIRE "to babble" (Pauli, *KZ*, XVIII, 3), rhyming with *muttire* "to mutter."

*BATTARE and BATARE "to gape" (Walde, p. 81).

*CATILLARE "to tickle" (Fr. *chatouiller*, Prov. *gatilhar*, contaminated with *cattus* "cat").

*PRILLARE, PIRLARE "to be thrilling," "to whirl," etc. (It. *prillare*, Friul. *pirrarse* "to be impatient," Port. *pilrete* "dwarf," O.It. *brillare dalla gioia* "to be thrilling," "radiant with joy").

The movements of lips, which we have seen to be so expressive of mockery in *buffare*, *baffare*, *muffa*, etc., are also suggestive of thickness and rotundity and therefore are used for clods, lumps, etc. Beside **potta* "thick lip" and **patta* "thick, flat foot," for instance,

existed **motta* and **matta* for clods of earth, of milk, etc. Cf. Franc-Comtois *motte* "clod of butter," Sp. *mota* "knot in a cloth," Lomb. *motta* "thick lip" (=*potta*), Fr. *motte* "clod of earth" (Eng. *moat*), while *matta* gives Fr. *matte* "junket," *maton* "pancake," Sic. *matta* "group," etc. **ciotta* and **ciatta* have the same meaning (Rum. *ciot* "knotty excrescency," It. *ciottolo* "pebble," Fr. *sot* "silly," Lomb. *ciat* "toad," *ciot* "child," etc.). **bottia* "hump," "bump," perhaps akin to *botulus*, *botellus*, "bowel" is rhyming with *motta*, etc. (Fr. *bosse*, It. *bozza* "bump," Rum. *bot* "clod"). One has finally: **muttus* "blunted" (Engad. *muot* "hornless," Lyon. *moto* "to cut off the branches of a tree."

The relation between **motta* and a thick lip is emphasized, not only by the fact that **motta* "clod" means "thick lip" in Northern Italy, but by the existence for **murrum* "snout" of both the meaning "protruding lip" (Sp. *morro*) and "pebble, rock" (Sp. *morro*, Piazz. *murra*). Other words referring to humps also show the reduplication, as *gibbus* and *gubbus*. According to Walde (p. 340), the word would be akin to Lett. *gibbis* "hump-backed." The *bb* is thus perhaps old. In *bulla* "bubble" *ll* seems to be Latin. Though the word may be old (cf. Lith. *bulis* "buttock," *burbulas* "bubble"), its onomatopoeic value was certainly quite clear to the minds of the Romans. As to *offa* "bit," "clod of meal," it is most likely for *odbha* (Cymr. *oddf* "hump," M.Ir. *odb* "bone").

The disagreeable impression made on our senses by rough, knotty, and thorny substances is rendered in all languages by syllables containing gutturals with *r*. We may thus reasonably register as onomatopoeas a series of words of obscure origin referring to rocks or points and exhibiting the reduplication so frequent in all Latin spontaneous creations:

*CRAPPA "piece of rock" (Engad. *crap*, Lomb. *crapa* "rock," Judic. *grapa* "skull").

*GREPPUM "rock" (It. *greppo* "protruding rock," Obwald. *grip* "cliff").

Both these are onomatopoeas comparable with Du. *krabben* "to scratch."

*ROCCA "rock" (It., Sard. *rocca*, Fr. *roche*).

*FROCCUS "rough, uncultivated land" (O.Fr. *froc*, Span. *lleco*).

*BROCCUS "with protruding teeth," also of unknown origin (Walde, p. 97); unless it is Celtic, it is certainly onomatopoeic (It. *brocco* "pointed stick," Nap. *vrocca* "fork," Prov. *broc* "thorn").

*BRUCCUS (Gloss. 628, 42; Meyer-Lübke, *Wiener Studien*, XXV, 93) is a contamination between *broccus*, *froccus*, and *brūca* "heath," a Celtic word (Ir. *froech*).

To these words of sensation may be added *hitta* or *hetta* "trifle" that has undergone the influence of **pittus* "small," *-ittus*, **pitittus*, etc., and **citto* for *cito* "quick, soon" from *cieo* "to move," that seems to have reduplicated its *t* by an assimilation of short time to short space.

*FULAPPA, *FULUPPA "fibre," "straw," a mysterious word of great extension in Vulgar Latin, most probably also is an imitative word of the same order as Eng. *flap*, *flip*, *flippant*, referring to things light and inconsistent. It is used of straw and rods; It. *frappa* "arbor," *frappare* "to adorn, to tell lies," Fr. *frapouille*, *fripouille* "bag of rags," Lomb. *faloppa* "silk-cocoon," It. *viluppo* "bundle," Fr. *envelopper* "to wrap," etc. It is perhaps this *faluppa*, inasmuch as it refers to bundles and fetters, which has influenced:

*MARSUPPA (Gr. μάρσιπος) "bag" for *marsupium* (Sp. *marsopa* "porpoise").

*STUPPA (Gr. στύπη) "raw flax" for *stūpa* (It. *stoppa*, Fr. *étoupe*).

*CRUPPA "thick rope" (*CGlL*, 118, 16) (It. *groppo*) (Teutonic?).

Though the term "onomatopoea" well applies to most of these formations, it would be used with even more propriety of the following words which directly imitate noises:

*PICCARE "to prick" (It. *piccare*, Fr. *piquer*, Sp. *picar* "to itch," Sp. *pico* "beak," It. *picco* "point, top," Cat. *picot* "woodpecker").

*TICCARE "to tap with a point," "to mark" (It. *tecco* "spot," Fr. *enticher* "to infect").

*TACCARE "to touch," "to mark" (Fr. *tacher* "to soil," It. *tacca* "notch," *attaccare* "to fasten," Sp. *taco* "peg").

*TUCCARE "to knock," "to touch" (It. *toccare*, Fr. *toucher*).

*SCLOPPUS "noise made by striking the swollen cheeks."

GUTTA "drop" has no satisfactory etymology. It seems to refer to the noise of dripping water and is indeed in assonance with *guttur*, *gluttio*, referring to similar sounds.

*JUTTA "soup" (Parm. *dzota*, Engad. *giuota*, Friul. *yote*) seems to be a creation of the same order.

A great many imitative words refer to the sounds and noises produced by animals:

PIPPARE, PIPPITARE "to peep," "to chirp" is an onomatopoea found in practically all languages: Gr. πιππίζω, Germ. *piepen*, etc. (Fr. *piper*, It. *pipa* "pipe," Fr. *pipeau* "shepherd's pipe").

*BURRIRE "to hunt" (properly "to rouse hares and partridges by shouting *brrr*") (It. dial. *burrir* "to hunt," Fr. *bourrer* "to chase game," Prov. *burra* "to excite the dogs").

The stammering and muttering of the stutterer and idiot are expressed by similar sounds: Lat. *baburrus* "stultus, ineptus," Lat. *burrae* "drollery."

*MURRUM "snout" also rhymes with these words.

*GORRUM "hog" is, of course, of the same family (O.Fr. *gorre*, *gorron*, Sp. *gorrin* "hog").

GLATTIRE "to bark," "to yelp" (It. *ghiattire*, Sp. *latir*).

GRACCITARE is said of geese, *graccilare*, of the chickens, *garrio* "to chatter," "to babble," of frogs, birds, and men.

*CIUTTUS "lamb" (Engad. *ciotin* "lamb," Obwald. *ciut* "lamb") (Meyer-Lübke, p. 195).

*MUCCA "cow" (It. *mucca* "cow," Romagnol. *moca*).

*GUCCIUS "dog" (O.It. *cuccio*, O.Fr. *gous*, Sp. *gozque*).

*CUCCIUS "pig" (Rum. *cucciu*, Fr. *cochon*, Sp. *cocho*).

ACCEIA "snipe" (O.It. *accegia*, Sp. *arcea*).

CUCULLUS, *CUCCUS "cuckoo" instead of *cuculus*.

In this way, a great many animals had names with double consonants because those names were imitative. Other names of animals exhibited the same peculiarity for another reason. It was because they were used as familiar appellatives.

VACCA "cow," compared with Skr. *vāça* "cow," *vāçati* "bellows," is clearly a Latin reduplication.

*MARRO "ram" (Gasc. *marru*, Sp. *marron*) is a familiar derivative from *mas*, *maris* "male."

CAPPO for *capo* "capon." The *p*-form only survives in Sard. *caboni* "cock." The other Romance forms go back to *cappo:* It. *cappone*, Fr. *chapon*.

PULLUS "young animal," if it is akin to Greek πῶλος "colt," Goth. *fula* "foal," is reduplicated for *pūlos*, but it could be for *putlos* (Walde, p. 623).

VAPPO "moth," though it cannot be an appellative, is, however, a familiar formation, apparently akin to *vapor* (Walde, p. 807).

CATTUS "cat," first found in Martial (Walde, p. 141), is generally held to be Celtic. One could also consider it as a "Rückbildung" from *catulus, catellus*. The *tt* also exists in Celtic: *kattos*.

DRACCO for *draco* (Gr. δράκων) is mentioned in the *Appendix Probi*.

Three new names of fish end in *-otta* and may have been influenced by one another:

*PLOTTA "flatfish" (Lomb. *piota*, Engad. *plotra*) is a Greek word (τὰ πλωτά "migratory fish"), the meaning of which has been contaminated by *plattus* "flat."

*ROTTA "roach."

*LOTTA "lote" for *lota*. The name is special to Gaul.

Finally one could mention, though it is of a very doubtful etymology:

*SAPPUS "toad" (Sp. *sapo*, Port. *sapar* "marsh," Lorr. *sevet* "tree-frog"). The word is perhaps Celtic and akin to *sappos* "resinous tree." The toad would be "the sappy." With the same meaning, it could be Latin and be considered as an abbreviation of **sapidus* from *sapa* "juice of fruit" (cf. *suppus* from *supinus*, *vorrus* from *vorax*, etc.).

Though plant-names can hardly be used as appellatives, they at times appear with double consonant. One has always to do with familiar, popular names and mostly with abbreviations of the type of *sappus* if our explanation of that word be right.

VITTA "string" is properly a "wicker-twig." A comparison with Gr. ἰτέα "willow," ἴτυς "wicker," O.Pruss. *witwan* "willow" tends to show that *vitta* is for *vitva*. The *tt* has thus here regularly arisen from *tv*.

*BETTA "beat" for an older *bēta* preserved in Sard. *peda*. *betta* survives in Fr. *bette*, Milan. *erbetta*. The latter form, obviously contaminated by **herbitta*, shows that the reduplication is likely to have arisen through the influence of *-itta*.

*BLITTA (Fr. *blette*) "blite" is the form of *blitum* in Gaul under the influence of the very kindred plant: *betta* "beet."

VACCINIUM "cranberry," "huckleberry" is in some relation to Gr. *ὑάκινθος*, that has the same meaning. A contamination is thus probable with *vacca, vaccinum*. It is "grape for cows" just in the same way as an Alpine cranberry is "grape for bears" (*uva ursi*).

LAPPA "burdock" is compared by Walde (p. 412) with Gr. *λάπαθος* "sorrel." Both plants have similar broad, crisp leaves. The relation is obscure; *lappa* is perhaps an abbreviation.

CRACCA "blue vetch" is still more likely to be an abbreviation. It is compared by Pauli (*KZ*, XVIII, 3) with *cracens* "gracilis." The etymology very well suits the aspect of the plant.

LACCA (Apul.), LACCAR (Plin.) (Walde, p. 403), name of some plant, is possibly abbreviated from *lacera* "jagged." Cf. Gr. *λάκος*, *λακίς* "rag." This *lacca* is apparently different from *lacca* "swelling in the muscles of horses" which possibly is an abbreviation of *lacertus* "muscle" (Walde, p. 483).

*SAPPINUM, *SAPPIUM "spruce" (O.It. *zappino*, Fr. *sapin*). The word could be derived from *sapa* "sap, syrup." The spruce would be the "sappy, resinous tree." *sapa* has produced in the same way: *sabina* "savin" and *sabucus* (O.Fr. *seü*, Prov. *savuc*, Rum. *soc*) "eldertree" (=*sambuccus*). The contamination with a Celtic word has, however, acted in the same manner as with *cattus* (cf. *supra*). Celt. *sapos* "fir" is preserved in O.Fr. *sapoie* "forest of firs" and in the name of the *Savoie* (=*Sapaudia;* cf. Cymr. *sybwydd* "fir"). This Gaulish name is also etymologically related to resin (cf. Lett. *sweki* "resin," Lith. *sakai* "id," O.Sl. *soka* "sap").

*SUCCA "stem" (Fr. *souche*, Prov., Cat. *soca*) is very obscure in its origins. Is it an abbreviation of *succidus, sucidus* "juicy," and is this word a formation similar to **sappus*, **sappinus*, meaning: "sappy, wellgrown, strong wood"?

*GURRA "willow" (It. *gorra*, Sic. *agurra*, Prov. *goret*) of unknown origin; possibly a popular adulteration of *gyrus* "circle," in the same way as in Greek, *ἰτέα* is a "willow" while *ἶτυς* is a "circle made out of willow-wood, a felly" (Boisacq, *Dict.*, p. 386).

*MARRO "chestnut" (It. *marrone*) is obscure; may be borrowed from some language unknown.

*BETTULA, *BETTUS: BETULA "birch" is Celtic (Cymr. *bedw* "birch"). The *tt*-forms are preserved in O.Fr. *betole*, Prov. *bez* (*bettus*).

BACCA beside *bāca* "berry" (Fr. *baie* "berry," Sp. *baga* "integument of flax-seed," *baya* "husk," Gallic *bago* "grape"). The word is probably in origin identical, or at least kindred, with *Bacchus* "god of wine" and has meant "grape" (Walde, p. 80). It also means "grape" in Latin and has preserved that meaning in several derivatives, so that, at any rate, a secondary association with *Bacchus* is certain. Among the derivatives some have *c: bacara* (Sic. *bacara* "pitcher"), **baciola* (It. *bagiola* "huckleberry"), **bacula* (It. *bagola* "fruit of the lote-tree"); some have *cc: **baccellum* "husk" (It. *baccello*), *baccinum* "basin" (It. *bacino*, Fr. *bassin*, Prov. *baci*), *baccile* (It. *bacile* "basin"), etc. From *baccinum*, by "Rückbildung," have been formed in Gaul: **bacca* "receptacle for water" (Fr. *bache*) and **baccus* "trough" (Fr. *bac*). This formation is parallel to that of **cattia* "mason's trowel," from *catinus* "dish."

*POTTUS, the ancestor of Fr. *pot*, possibly has a similar history. One finds in Venantius Fortunatus (Meyer-Lübke, 6705) *potus* with that meaning, so that *pottus* may be a familiar metonymy, but more probably is an abbreviation of *potatorium* (vas), *potilis* (nidus).

The application of this reduplication to names of plants and of utensils of daily use, as *baccinum*, *baccus*, *cattia*, is accounted for by the familiar, somewhat peasant-like character of this process. It is observable in a few more words referring to objects and utensils connected with farming. Some are Latin, as:

FLOCCES for FLŌCES (Walde, p. 300), "dregs of wine," perhaps akin to Lith. *zhlauktai* "husks" (W. Meyer, *KZ*, XXVIII, 174) but certainly contaminated with *flaccus*, *floccus* (cf. *supra*).

VAPPA "moldy wine" is most probably an abbreviation of *vapidus* "moldy."

CUPPA: *cūpa*. The older form: *cūpa* (Skr. *kūpa* "cave," Gr. κύπη) has been preserved with the original meaning (kieve, tub) in Fr. *cuve*, Sp. *cuba*, It. *cupo* "deep," but a very interesting process of differentiation has resulted in giving to the reduplicated form *cuppa* the meaning of "cup" (It. *coppa*, Rum. *cupa*, Fr. *coupe*).

It should, moreover, be mentioned that double consonants are found in a few names of cloths, instruments, etc., of foreign origin,

though it is often difficult to tell whether the reduplication is Latin or exotic. This is the case, e.g., with *soccus* "plowshare," a Celtic word, which has been made to rhyme with *broccus, occa*, etc.

MATTEA (It. *mazza*, Fr. *masse*) and MATTEUCA "club" (Fr. *massue*) are probably akin to *mattaris*, of Celtic origin.

MARRA "axe" is Semitic (Assyr. *marru* "axe").

*BARRA "bar," common to all Romance languages, is of unknown origin, but I wonder whether it also could not be in some manner traced back to Semitic (Hebr. *barzel* "iron," Assyr. *parzilla*, from which Eng. *brass* and Lat. *ferrum* are supposed to have come) (Walde, p. 285)?

SACCUS "bag" (Hebr., Phen. *saq* "hairy cloth").

SOCCUS "light shoe," "sock" (It. *socco*, Sp. *zueco*) is Phrygian (cf. Avest. *hakha* "sole").

MAPPA "map" is Punic.

MATTA "mat," probably also Punic (Hebr. *mitthâh* "cover").

DRAPPUM "cloth" appears pretty late and is of unknown origin.

BIRRUS "hood," BURRA "hairy cloth" are perhaps Macedonian (Walde, p. 91).

BUTTIS, *BUTTICULA "cask, bottle" (It. *botte*, Fr. *bouteille*, etc.) have come through Greek, but are probably also of Eastern origin.

*BOCCALIS for BAUCALIS (Gr. *βαυκαλίς*) has no clear connection in Greek (It. *boccale* "flask"). Here the *cc* is due to contaminations. Sard. *broccale* has been influenced by *broccus*, while *bucca, bacca* are other possible associations.

TUCCA "*κατάλυμα ζωμοῦ*" is Celtic, and perhaps an abbreviation of *tuccetum, tuccinum* "bacon" (Cat. *tocin*, Sp. *tocino* "lard").

The reduplication of consonants finally is observable in a few words which are not susceptible of classification. Most of them have a familiar character:

CAPPA "mantle" or "cap" (It. *cappa*, Fr. *chappe, chaperon*) is, according to Thurneysen (Walde, p. 128), an abbreviation of *capitulare, capital, capitium*, etc.

*PANNUS "rag," "cloth" (Sp. *paño*, It. *panno*, Fr. *pan*) is for *pānus;* cf. Goth. *fana* "sweating-cloth," OHG *fano* "cloth."

*CLOPPA for *copula* "pair" (Nap. *kyoppa*, Ven. *ciopa*) is a metathesis of the same kind as **clinga* for *cingula*, **padule* for *palude*,

**ligita* for *litiga*, **cofaccia* for *focacea*, **plūpo* for *populus*, **piclare* for *plicare*, **porcacla* for *portulaca*, **sudicius* for *sucidus*, etc. The double *p* may have been developed in the primitive form: *copplia*, as is always the case in Italy before palatal *l*.

LITTERA: *litera* is a word of doubtful origin. The *tt* is, in this word, universal in Romance: It. *lettera*, Sard. *littera*, Fr. *lettre*, etc.

LITTUS: *litus* "shore." This word has no other representative in Romance than It. *lido* from *litus*. It is thus doubtful whether the *tt* found in some manuscripts ever was a popular pronunciation. The original form, of course, was *litus* for *leitos;* cf. Ir. *Letha* "shore-land," Lat. *Latium*, Lith. *Letüwa* "Lithuania," etc.

MITTO "I send." The etymology is not quite sure. One compares it with Avest. *maeth* "send," and Eng. *smite*. If so, it is for *meito*. The *tt*, however, must be very old in this word, which it is true, had a somewhat popular character as shown by its great extension in Romance (at the expense of *ponere*, *locare*, etc.).

NARRO "I tell" is more decidedly familiar. It is, of course, for *gnāro*. It means "to acquaint with," "to make known," and was freely used as a familiar substitute for *dicere*, before *fabulare* and *parabolare* in succession usurped that position (cf. Sard. *narrere* "to tell, to say").

STRENNA (It. *strenna*) instead of *strēna* (Sic. *strina*, Sard. *istrina*) is assumed to be a Sabinian word akin to *strenuus*. The *nn* may be due to the existence of a "Nebenform" in which *-nua* had evolved into *-nna*.

TŌTTUS: *tōtus*. The *tt*-form is recent. Spanish preserves *totus* in Sp. *todo*. *tottus* mentioned by Consentius (V, 392, Keil) survives in Fr. *tout*, while It. *tutto*, O.Fr. *tuit* point to **tuctus*, perhaps by contamination with *cunctus* (Grandgent, *Introd. to VL*, § 204).

HOCC ERAT: *hoc erat*. According to Velleius Longus and Pompeius, both these pronunciations were in use. Sard. *occanno* (*hoc anno*) seems to indicate that the former was the really popular one.

-ESSIS for *-ensis* (=*-esis*) is condemned in the *Appendix Probi* (*capsesis* non *capsessis*). It is found sporadically in inscriptions: *Decatessium*, *CIL*, X, 1695, and in the Put. MS of Livy, xxix. 6. 4; xxx. 4. 6: *Locresses*, *Carthaginesses*. Apparently, we have here to do with an occasional compromise between the current pronunciation *-esis* and the pedantic one *-ensis*.

*BASSUS "low," a decidedly popular formation for **basius* from Greek *βάσις* "bottom," also presents a double *ss* (It. *basso*, Fr. *bas*). It is due to the pre-existence of **bassius*, **bassiare* (Nap. *vasciare*, Sp. *bajar*, Sard. *basciu*, Sic. *vasciu*) in which *s* has been reduplicated under the influence of the *i* in hiatus.

POSSUIT, POSSIT, POSSIVIT (=*posuit*), found in many inscriptions, e.g., in *CIL*, II, 2661, 2712, 5736, 5738, is perhaps a dialectal form of *posuit* in which the *r* of the prefix *por-* (**por-sivit*) has produced a *ss*, in the same way as *sursum* was pronounced **sussum*.

In all the cases mentioned thus far, excepting **cloppa*, **bassus*, and perhaps *strenna*, the reduplication appears to be independent of the sounds adjoining the consonant concerned. In Italian, on the contrary, as is well known, the reduplication in a great many cases is due to the influence of a following *y*, *w*, *r*, *l*. This process should be sharply distinguished from the phenomenon of which this article is treating. Its origins, however, are remote and are to be found in the tendencies that were active in the language of the people of Italy in Roman times: *acqua* for *aqua*, for instance, is found already in the *Appendix Probi*, and Heraeus (*ALL*, II, 318) mentions forms like *ecquitum*, *atque* (for *aquae*) and *nuncquam* in MSS. *Acqua* instead of *aqua* explains many Romance forms of that word, also outside of Italy (cf. C. Huebschmann, *Die Entstehung von aqua in Romanischen*). *Quattuor* also is common to all Romance languages. The reduplication in *battuere* "to beat" is also ancient. The word is familiar. Johanson explains it as a contamination of *batuere* with **battere*, but the reduplication was to be expected there in any case.

Reduplications before *y* are also sometimes ancient and common to various Romance languages, as, e.g., in *bracchium* (Fr. *bras*, *brasse*, Sard. *rattu*, etc.), *plattea* (Fr. *place*). Moreover, *soccius* is found in inscriptions (*CIL*, V, 4410; VI, 6874). Hesitations in the treatment of *sy* in Italian also point to the existence of *ssy* beside *sy* in *VL*. One has indeed *basium* "kiss" and *caseus* "cheese," giving *bascio* and *cascio*, while *cerasea*, *cinisia*, *piseat* produced *cilegia*, *cinigia*, *pigia* (Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik*, I, § 511).

Another well-marked tendency of Italian is to subordinate the reduplication to the presence of the accent on the preceding vowel. This is notably apparent in proparoxytons, as *cómmodo*, *cáttedra*,

fémmina, in which the equilibrium between the accented part of the word and the two following syllables is secured by lengthening the consonant, a tendency traceable to Vulgar Latin as shown by the *cammara* of the *Appendix Probi*. When the vowel marked by the secondary accent is short and followed immediately by *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r*, a similar reduplication takes place: *péllagrino*, *tólleráre*, *cámmináre* (Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik*, I, § 548). This connection between accent and reduplication is old and is confirmed by the simplification of originally double consonants whenever through a suffix they are placed before the accent (Stolz, *Hist. Gramm.*, pp. 225 f.): *canna* (Gr. *κάννα*):*canalis; far, farris*:*farrea* (=*farsio*):*farina; mamma*: *mamilla; offa* (=*odhwa*):*ofella*, etc.

We may now sum up the results of this inquiry, which has been mainly lexicological, and to draw from it some general conclusions.

Of all the Romance languages, Italian alone has preserved double consonants, and, what is more important, has even increased their number, both by assimilation and by reduplication (*sappia, acqua, femmina;* cf. *supra*). This induces us to believe that we have to do with an old and innate tendency of the Italians, probably prior to their Latinization. The numerous cases of reduplication in popular Latin considered in this light appear as manifestations of a general latent tendency of the language, as is the case, for instance, with assimilation, dissimilation, etc., rather than as the product of a regular and universal phonetic law. This, no doubt, is the impression gathered from a consideration of the numerous cases of reduplication mentioned in this study. The process works with many variations and irregularities. Moreover, while it is so largely represented in Vulgar Latin, there are even more cases in which the consonants did not undergo the change. To discover the real causes of the phenomenon, one has, of course, to consider closely the conditions in which it takes place, from the point of view both of semantics and of phonetics.

With regard to semantics, one cannot but be struck by the great number of reduplications in appellatives. The fact that this phenomenon is not limited to Latin makes it more certain that we have not to do here with a mere coincidence. There are psychological

reasons for this situation and they do not seem to be very mysterious. It is a well-known and very common fact that the accent is pushed back in vocatives. This is especially observable in Greek (*δέσποτα*, *πάτερ*, *Περίκλεις*). Persons are seldom called without some emphasis, some passion, some imperiousness, and, let us say also, without some haste. This explains why there is a tendency to raise the voice at the beginning of the appellatives and to give much stress or pitch to the syllable marked with the strong ictus. The breath is halted by the contraction of the muscles, and the accumulated air is violently ejected in the act. The accented syllable, one of the first—generally the first—receives the greater part of the stress. It is thus exaggerated at the expense of the others, and more so than is the case with any other syllables marked with the stress accent. It really becomes the only syllable that counts, the characteristic sound of the call. Nothing could be more natural than the dropping of the other syllables, so frequent in so-called "Kosenamen," and the reduplication of the last consonant pronounced, since the surplus of stress is expended upon it. Appellatives are addressed to the persons in the same way as names, and one may thus apply to *varro*, *vorri*, *lippus* the same observations as to the proper names. One should remember also that in proper names, in many qualificatives, and even in a great many other words found in my list the reduplicated form is clearly an abbreviation of a longer one with single consonant: *cūppes*:*cupidus*, *suppus*:*supinus*, *vorri*:*vorax*, *lacca*:*lacertus*, *cappa*:*capitulare*, **cattia*:*catinus*, **bottia*:*botulus*, etc. This replacing of a suppressed syllable by a reduplication produces in the rhythmus of speech an effect very much the same as the *κατάληξις* in the endings of verses.

In the dialects of Northern France and of Belgian Hainault, a case of enclisis has led to the same reduplication with syncope: *donnez-moi*>*donĕmm*; *prenez-le*>*pernĕll*; *mets-toi*>*mĕtt*.

The reduplication in onomatopoeas and in children's words is also easily explainable. Children's words are mostly calls. They are centripetal or centrifugal. The rhythmus of speech with them is mostly constituted by repeated short syllables or by lengthened endings (*pā*, *mā*, *papp*, *mamm*). The emphatic character of the reduplication in children's words has been shown by Idelberger

(*Entwickelung der Kindersprache*, p. 39). He observes that the sensations of children are too intense to be expressed by recto-tono words.

As to imitative words, which are also an important part of the language of children and no negligible one with adults, they would lose their whole value if they did not convey a vivid impression either of the noise which they reproduce or of the sensation with which they are associated by some physical connection. They are thus by their nature emphatic, at least from the phonetic point of view. This article contains a pretty long list of such words. They, however, are only a small part of those mentioned in Meyer-Lübke's *Etymological Dictionary*.

Though in a few cases one might have to do with Romance creations, the great extension of most of these words makes it probable that they already existed in Vulgar Latin, and we thus have reasons to believe that Vulgar Latin was very creative and very emotional, as is, after all, generally the case with popular languages. There has been in recent times a tendency to minimize the importance of the "Schallwörter" in language. The situation in Vulgar Latin and primitive Romance, on the contrary, shows that the part played by such spontaneous creations is far from being negligible. Moreover, one should remember that onomatopoeas are not always absolute creations. Words that were not onomatopoeic often come to be felt as such, generally through an association with onomatopoeas of similar meaning or of similar sound, or because the subjective shade of meaning of certain words has been secondarily associated with the very sounds of that word. When, in that way, words penetrate into categories of "Schallwörter," they are assimilated to onomatopoeas, both in form and in meaning. Among the categories of this kind revealed by the present inquiry, are: **potta, *motta, *ciotta*: **patta, *matta, *ciatta*—**guffus, buffo, *baffa, *beffa, *loffa, *muffa*—**tuccare, *ticcare, *taccare*—**broccus, *froccus, *rocca, occa*, etc.

In onomatopoeas, the suggestive syllables are naturally emphasized and articulated with a special ictus. What has been said about the appellatives, therefore, also applies to them in a great measure. Now, most of the names of animals marked with the reduplication are

onomatopoeic. If double consonants are found in others, it is either because they were used as appellatives or because that phonetic peculiarity had become a mark of familiarity. The latter motive accounts for the same feature in names of plants, of instruments of daily use, parts of the body, etc. All these categories also appear with diminutive suffixes, because they are likely to be used with a tinge of familiarity: cf. *cultellus* "knife," *conucula* "distaff," *martellus* "hammer," *mateola* "club," *genuculum* "knee," *auricula* "ear," *nasellus* "snout," *corpusculum* "body" (Gregory of Tours). Many of these reduplicated words, moreover, have a decidedly ironical or depreciative character: *lippus, varro, vorri, succo, suppus—vappa, pottus, cattia, bacca, sappus, succa, cappa, maccus*, etc. After all, the reduplication seems to have corresponded to a special rhythmus or ictus that was decidedly popular and familiar. The curious fact that about one-half of the words of unknown origin which suddenly appear in large areas at the fall of the Roman Empire have double consonants is, of course, due to the popular character of those words on which the spelling could not exert any correcting influence. Most of the Celtic borrowings invaded the familiar language before they were admitted into the general vernacular. This accounts for the great number of reduplications in these foreign words. In the case of Greek, at least, we know that such a change had nothing to do with an adaptation to the phonetics of the original language. Greek consonants, indeed, were rather weaker and softer than the Latin ones, as shown, for instance, by the great number of Greek voiceless explosives transformed into Latin voiced, weak consonants: *κυβερνᾶν* > Lat. *gubernare* "to govern," *κάμμαρος* > Sp. *gambero* "lobster," *κάλαθος* > *galatus App. Prob.* "basket," *κρύπτη* > It. *grotta* "cave," *κρατήρ* > Prov. *graal* "cup, graal," *Ἀκράγας* > *Agrigentum*, *καλόπους* > It. *galoccia* "galosh," *κόρφος* > Fr. *gouffre* "gulf," etc., *πύξος* > Lat. *buxus* "box-tree—*πυξίδα* > Fr. *boîte* "box," *πυῤῥός* > Lat. *burrus* "scarlet," *φαλλαῖνα* > Lat. *balaena* "whale," *πράττειν* > It. *barattare* "to churn," *παράλυσις* > Wall. *balzin* "cramp."

Our conclusion, therefore, is that the reduplication of consonants in Latin is clearly a semantic and psychical process and follows no regular phonetic law. While to a phonetician the phenomenon would seem capricious, its apportionment in the vocabulary is quite natural

to a psychologist. In fact, reduplication, be it of syllables or of consonants, generally has that character in languages. One finds it in perfective tenses, in intensive or frequentative verbs, in the plural, and in collectives. In most cases it is a reduplication of syllables, but a lengthening of vowels is not rare and the reinforcement of consonants is also found. In Chinook, for instance, the emotional words, both diminutive and augmentative, are expressed by increasing the stress of consonants. It is, of course, also well known that in Semitic the intensive radical of verbs is regularly formed by a reduplication of consonants. To a stem *qatal*, e.g., answers an intensive: Eth. *qattala*, Hebr. *qittel*. Cf. Hebr. *shibbar* "to cut in small pieces," Hebr. *hillech* "to walk," Hebr. *qibber* "to bury many," etc. Cf. Brockelmann, *Vergl. Gramm.*, p. 244. Even in Indo-European the reduplication in "Kosenamen" is not confined to Latin; in Greek, for instance, a woman in childbirth is a λέκχω, a womanish man is a γίννις (Meillet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, XV, 339).

But if the phenomenon is thus essentially psychical and based on general tendencies of speaking man, why did it take in Latin this special aspect and this remarkable extension? Such questions are generally idle and could be asked in connection with every psychical process in language, for instance, assimilation and dissimilation. They are never completely absent, but some peoples happen to give to them more importance than others. In the present case, however, it is possible to point to two circumstances which are likely to have brought about the extension of the phenomenon: First, there were in Vulgar Latin an unusually large number of onomatopoeas and spontaneous formations with double consonant which invited the propagation of that feature upon other words having the same familiar or emphatic character. The association of double consonant with emphasis may even have been helped by the frequent use in Vulgar Latin of reinforced demonstratives: *hicce*, *hocce* and, especially of the emphatic particles: *ecce*, *eccum* (It. *ecco*). They were of very frequent occurrence themselves, and, moreover, they were frequently united with pronouns: *eccille*, *ecciste* (Fr. *celle*, *celui*, *cet*, *cette*). This repeated use of double *c* with this shade of feeling would have been sufficient to make it the phonetic symbol of emphasis. A further reason, however, of another kind was the great force of the Latin accent. A strong ictus, as

is well known, marked the initial syllable in old Latin and later was made to coincide with the former pitch accent of words. Now, all the older cases of reduplication are in the initial syllable, and all the later cases are at least in accented ones. The association of this phenomenon with the stress of the word, at all periods of Latin, is quite evident. But another circumstance, no less remarkable which has been strangely overlooked, is that, but for a very small number of exceptions, the reduplicated consonants are strong voiceless explosives, such as *c, t, p*. No explanation which neglects to account for either of these circumstances can be accepted as satisfactory. We must admit that in case an explosive of this type immediately follows an accented vowel, the speaker has to produce at a short interval two great efforts, one to give due stress to the accented syllable and then another to articulate the strong consonant. In both cases there is a violent expulsion of breath. It is, of course, to be expected that the tendency will be toward combining those two efforts into one, in the co-ordination of movements which unceasingly takes place in our articulations. The feeling for rhythm can also bring about that result. In this way one great effort is followed by a relatively long silence, after which the organs relax for the following weaker syllable. Sommer, in his *Historical Grammar* (p. 300), thinks that a mere shifting in the division of syllables would be sufficient to account for the production of the phenomenon: the articulation of the consonant in the syllable following the accent would have begun already in the preceding one. This explanation, however, does not furnish any reason for this change in the division of syllables, nor for the fact that the reduplicated consonants are voiceless. It is a mere acknowledgment of the fact, nothing more. When, on the other hand, Groeber (*Comm. Woelfflin.*, p. 175) says that the reduplication is due to the staccato-pronunciation of the Italians, he seems to overlook the fact that, if the staccato-pronunciation may help in preserving pre-existent double consonants, one does not well conceive how it could create them. It is indeed, by definition, in opposition to such an encroachment of one syllable upon the other. Besides, both scholars have nothing to say about the repartition of the phenomenon and they completely ignore the semantic aspect of the process.

As a complement to this study we should say a word about the shortening of the vowel which normally takes place in case the following consonant is reduplicated (cf. *cuppa* : *cūpa*). The phenomenon is easy to understand, and is a mere dynamic process. If one added to the accented syllable a long silence, one would make it out of proportion with the other syllables. It is a question of rhythmus. The alternation between long vowel+single consonant and short vowel+double consonant is quite normal and is found, for instance, in Hebrew, after the article and the copula:

wā-bhōhû "and waste": { way yô 'mer "and He said." / wat-tô-çê' "and caused to go forth."

hā-rāgîa^{uc} "the expanse": { ham-māyim "the waters." / haggdhôlîm "the great."

Finally, we have to mention a very special case of reduplication in Vulgar Latin: the reduplication of *m* in the ending of the first person plural of the contracted perfect: *amavi*, *audivi* are conjugated in Vulgar Latin: *amai*, *amasti*, *amaut* or *amat* or *amait*, *amammus*, *amastis*, *amarunt*; *audi*, *audisti*, *audit* or *audiut*, *audimmus*, *audistis*, *audirunt*. The reasons given for the lengthening of the *m* in *amammus*, *audimmus* are either a need for compensation for the loss of a syllable, or the desire to distinguish the perfect from the present (Grandgent, *Introd. to VL*, p. 178).

Such considerations at best might account for the maintenance of *mm*, but would not give any explanation for its production. In fact, *-avimus* phonetically was expected to develop into either **aimus* or *-aumus*. Cf. on one side: *failla* for *favilla* in the *Appendix Probi*, *Flainus* for *Flavinus* in *Insc. Hisp. Chist.*, 146; on the other: *gauta* for *gabata* in Fr. *joue*, *avica* for *auca* in Fr. *oie*, etc. One can also conceive that by analogy with the other persons of the tense, it would have become *-amus*. *-ammus*, on the contrary, is an improbable transformation. It would not, it is true, be completely impossible even phonetically, since occasionally a double consonant has evolved from *v*+consonant, as in It. *città* from *civitatem*, It. *motta*, *smotta* "landslip" from *movita*, and perhaps in Fr. *jatte*, if it is from *gauta* and not from *gabta*. But *mm* for *vm* is phonetically surprising, and I think that the real origin of *-ammus*, *-immus* is to be found in

the existence of a few very frequent strong perfects in which *mm* resulted from other consonants+*m:* as *dīmmus* from *dīcmus* for *dicimus*, *fīmmus* from *fīcmus* for *fēcimus*, and more especially *dĕmmus*, from *dĕdimus*, which had been extended to many a verb ending in *d: descendĕmmus*, *respondĕmmus*, *re(n)dĕmmus*, etc. The influence of forms of so frequent occurrence must have been very great, and their emphatic character made them extremely suitable for the perfect. Here also the double consonant is a symbol of emphasis as it has so often appeared to be in this article.

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NOTES ON ROMANIC *e* AND *i*

1. FACIE

Where a consonant stood between a stressed vowel and hiatus-*i*, the stressed vowel is generally short and the following sound long or double in Italian. This principle is plain with regard to labials: *sappia* < *sapiat*, *trebbio* < **trìββiu* < *triuiu*, *vendemmia* < *uindēmia*.[1] Likewise the short vowel of *faccia*, beside the long one of *noce*, allows us to assume **fakkiat* < *faciat*. From the differences between *pozzo* (*póttso*) < *puteu*, *raggio* < *radiu* and *ragione* < *ratiōne*, it would seem that lengthening was earliest after a main-stressed vowel. Such forms as *sappiamo* and *vendemmiare* may therefore be considered later developments than *sappia* and *vendemmia*.

In cases like *cascio* (*kaššo*) < *caseu*, *foglia* (*fòλλa*) < *folia*, *vigna* (*viñña*) < *uīnea*, the consonants were presumably lengthened before they were palatalized. A different development is found in connection with *r:* the stressed vowel of *aja* is long, according to the transcriptions given in the *Maître phonétique*, XXVIII, 2. This shows that *r* was not palatalized in Italian as *l* and *n* were, but was simply dropped. *Cascio* is a variant of *cacio*, pronounced *kāšo* with a long *a* which indicates that in many varieties of Tuscan speech the formation of *š* from *si* was earlier than the development of **sappiat*, and that *cascio* therefore has *šš* < *ssi* < *si*.[2]

Outside of Italy the doubling of *p*, before hiatus-*i*, is implied by the voiceless sounds of Portuguese *aipo* < **appiu* < *apiu*, Spanish *apio*, Catalan *api*, Provençal *api*, French *ache*.[3] Other occlusives were doubled to form Portuguese *ç* in *faça* < *faciat*, *poço* < *puteu*, while *razão* corresponds to Italian *ragione*. Likewise French *fasse*

[1] I use *β* for bilabial *v*; *λ* = Portuguese *lh*; *ñ* = Spanish *ñ*; *ŋ* = English final *ng*; *θ* = *th* in *thin*. In phonetic spellings a grave accent indicates stressed vowels that are open, an acute those that are close.

[2] Outside of Tuscany, words like *noce* and *cacio* are often pronounced with *tš*. This treatment of *noce* may have a historic basis, but more probably it arose from the misreading of Tuscan spelling. The Tuscan word *ci* is *tši* or *ši*, depending on the sound that precedes; but such variation is unknown in many regions of Italy, and *tši* has been adopted as the standard form. The use of *tš* in *cacio* is certainly wrong: this spelling owes its origin to the pronunciation of *c* as a simple fricative in words like *noce, pace, vece*.

[3] Portuguese *b* in *saiba* and Spanish *e* in *sepa* are analogic (*Archiv*, CXXXIII, 411).

represents **fakkiat*<*faciat*. In the west, hiatus-*i* caused the lengthening of non-occlusives too, aside from *r* and *s*. A formation of λλ and *ññ* is proved by the checked vowels found before λ and *ñ* in French. It is a mistake to say, as Nyrop does in his French grammar (I, § 207), that *fueille* and *mieus* imply free vowels before λ: the development of diphthongs here was due to palatal-contact in **fòλλa* and **mèλλos*. Early Provençal has *fuelha*, *fuolha*,[1] and *miel(h)s*,[2] although it lacks diphthongs in the equivalents of French *cuer* and *pied*. These Provençal breakings were due to palatal-contact, and it is unreasonable to ascribe the parallel French formations to any other cause.

The stressed vowels of Spanish *cuña* (=Portuguese *cunha*) and *tiña* (=Portuguese *tinha*) show that intervocalic *ne* changed through *ni* to *ññ*, in Hispanic, before *pira* became *péra*.[3] The formation of *camiar*, beside *cambiar*, indicates that where stressless hiatus-*i* was not absorbed it was changed to *e*, and then to close *i* about the time that *mb* became *mm*.[4] From the stressed vowel of *vendimia*, it is clear that before the *é* of **fédži* or **fédzi* changed to *i*, **vendémea* became **vendémia* with a close *i* which had the same effect as the derivative of *ī*. The difference between *mucha*<**múλta*<**mùλta* <*multa* and *troja*<**tróλλa*<*trullea* shows that intervocalic λλ was not developed in Hispanic until after hiatus-*i* had changed through *e* to close *i*.

The hiatus-development of stressless *i*>*e*>*i* was probably general in France and Italy, though a chronology differing from that of Hispanic must be assumed for these and other vowel-changes in many dialects of France. In the north *pira* and *gula* underwent alteration before *ññ* was developed; and the *i* of **vendémia* changed to *dž* before the derivative of *fēcī* became **fidzi*. In the south the formation of *ññ* was nearly contemporary with the development of *góla*.[5] The existence of *vendimio* in modern Provençal, as a variant of *vendemio*<*uindēmia*, shows that the change of **vendémea* to *vendemia* (with close *i*) was in some regions earlier, and in others later,

[1] Compare modern *fòlha* in southern Languedoc.

[2] Compare modern *miè(u)s* in Provence.

[3] *Modern Philology*, XI, 350.

[4] *Ibid.*, XII, 188.

[5] *Ibid.*, XI, 351.

than the activity of vowel-harmony. For the benefit of persons who might feel inclined to doubt the probability of a general Romanic development *i*>*e*>*i*, involving *e*>*i*>*e*>*i* in the derivatives of *rubeu* and *trullea*, it may be well to mention the fact that stressless *u*>*o*>*u* is normal in Portuguese and Rumanian, and *i*>*e*>*i* (before a consonant) common in both of these languages.[1]

The following table shows the relative order of some of the developments mentioned above:

tinea	timētis	faciēs	sapiat	trullea
*tìnia	"	"	"	*trùllia
*tìnnia	"	*fakkiēs	*sappiat	"
tíñña	"	"	"	"
"	*temétes	*fakkēs	*sappeat	trùllea

Among the various sound-changes implied by the Romanic tongues, one of the earliest was that of stressless hiatus-*e* to *i*. Hiatus-*i* caused the lengthening of any consonant, other than *r*, after a main-stressed vowel. The voiced consonants of western Romanic indicate, however, widespread formations of *š* from *si*, and of *tš* or *ts* from *ti*, earlier than the period represented by the third line of the foregoing table. In southern continental Romanic, **tìnnia* made *tíñña*, with *í* due to palatal-contact (harmonic change of stressed vowels being unknown in Tuscan and a much later development in the west), and soon afterward close *e* replaced hiatus-*i*. But in a large portion of France, **tìnnia* became **tìnnea*, **ténnea*, **ténnia*, **téñña*, parallel with the general treatment of *li* in continental Romanic: *palea*>**palia*>**pallia*>**pallea*>**pallia*>*paλλa*. As French did not form λ*t* from *lt*, there is no direct evidence of northern **pallea*, corresponding to Hispanic **tróλλa*<**tróllia*<**tróllea*. But the *ó* of *boíl*<**bóλλo*<*bullio* and the *é* of **téñña* agree with the Hispanic evidence, and allow us to assume **pallea* in French. In Sardic we find *ndz* as the derivative of intervocalic *ni:* this non-assimilation of the second element corresponds to Sardic regressive *nn*<*ηn* beside the progressive-regressive *ññ*<*ηn* of Italian and western Romanic. Aside from *tíñña*, the developments shown in the table seem to have been shared by all varieties of continental Romanic.

[1] *Romanic Review*, I, 431.

The alteration of *timētis* to **temétes* was earlier than that of *pira* to *péra*. A mathematic proof of this difference can hardly be given, but the grounds for assuming it can be made plain to anyone familiar with the general symmetry of sound-changes. The continental formation of *é* from *ì* was earlier than that of *ó* from *ù:* this is proved by Rumanian *lemn*<*lĭgnu* beside *pumn*<*pŭgnu*, with normal *e* and *u;* and by Italian *legno*, Catalan *llenya*, Spanish *leño*, Portuguese *lenho*, beside *pugno*, *puny*, *puño*, *punho*, with *u* due to palatal-contact, the change of *ηn* to *ññ* being earlier than that of *ù* to *ó*, but later than that of *ì* to *é*. The contrary *ó* of French **póñño*>*poin* does not affect the general principle; it shows merely that in certain regions the formation of *ññ* was later than the change of *ù* to *ó*. French evidence in regard to *ì* and *ù* is found in *correie* beside *fuie*, and this difference, which arose from the weakening of *g* to a fricative, has parallels in southern Romanic. Likewise inscriptional evidence implies that *e*<*i* was earlier than *o*<*u*.[1]

The change of stressless *u* to *o* was earlier than that of stressed *u* to *o*. This is indicated by stressless *u*>*o* in Rumanian, the sound *o* being sometimes preserved on account of stress-displacement: *acòlo*<*acolò*<*eccu illōc*, *popòr*<*populu*. In a few words Rumanian *o* or *oa* seems to represent a Latin stressed *u;* but, as I have shown in the *Modern Language Review*, IX, 496, such cases are not comparable with western *góla*<*gula*. In some of these words the vowel-variation belongs to Latin, for example *noru*=*nuru*, **ploia*=*pluuia*. In other cases the real sources have been ignored: *rōbeu* and *roseu*, not *rubeu* and *russeu*, correspond to the Rumanian forms with *o*. In *toamnă* for **tumnă*<*autumna*, a Latin *o*-basis seems to be lacking; but there are several ways of explaining this change of *u* to *o*, the cause of the alteration being some *o*-word with a similar meaning, perhaps Slavonic *doba*, "season." And in certain cases *o* is only a Rumanian contraction: *cot*<*cubitu* is parallel with *nor*=*nùăr*< *nūbilu*.

We may therefore say that Rumanian represents a Romanic speech-period which had developed *e* from *ĭ* and stressless (but not stressed) *o* from *ŭ*. A trace of the same period is perhaps to be seen in Spanish *cochiello*<*cultellu* and *cotral*<**culterāle*. In early

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*[1], § 84; *ibid.*[2], § 93.

Hispanic, *l* was generally *u*-like at the end of a syllable, but it became the *i*-like sound λ after *u* (not close *o: sōlitāriu>soltero*). Apparently **culterāle* developed *o* before *multa* became **mùλta*, and thus it escaped a formation of λ; later the first *l* was lost by dissimilation. The *u* of *cutral* may be analogic, since a derivative of *cultru* would have had *ú* in Hispanic; or perhaps *cutral<cotral* was parallel with *lugar<logar*, the *o* of each word being in contact with a velar sound. The *o* of *cochiello* seems to show that *cultellu* became **koltèllo* before λ was developed in **mùλta*, and that the later influence of **kùλtro* or **kúλtro* changed **koltèllo* to **koλtèllo*. The *u* of *cuchillo* agrees with that of *mujer<mogier*, but could have also developed like *u* in *cutral*.

Romanic stressed *e<i* was earlier than stressed *o<u*, and stressless *o<u* was earlier than stressed *o<u*. These facts justify the assumption that stressless *e<i* was earlier than stressless *o<u* and earlier than stressed *e<i*. The change of *timēre* to *temére* was what caused *timet* to become **témet*. The difference between the stems of contemporary *temére* and *timet* was felt to be illogical beside **deβére* and **déβet:* from *temére* and numerous other such words came the general tendency that produced a change of *ì* to *é* in continental Romanic. This development of *é* was evidently later than the formation of close *i* in words like *tiñña* and *via;* French *veie* is an analogic variant of *vie*, due to the influence of normal *veage* and *enveer*,[1] modern *vī<uia* being found in dialects that shared with literary French the development *foi<fide, toi<tē*.[2] Parallel with *temére* and **témet* for discordant *temére* and *timet*, the change of *tussīre* to *tossíre* caused **tùsset* to become **tósset* at a later time, in Italy and the west. Rumanian separated from Italian after *tossíre* was established, but before *ù* became *ó;* it did not develop a general *ó<ù* of its own, but changed stressless *o* back to *u*, thus leveling the formerly different vowels derived from the *u*'s of *tussīre* and *tussi*.[3]

We may make a further distinction and say that posttonic *e<i* was probably earlier than pretonic *e<i*. Evidence in regard to the matter seems to be displayed in Sardic. Logudorian

[1] *Modern Language Review*, IX, 495; X, 247.

[2] *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, II, 257; III, 287.

[3] In modern Rumanian the equivalents of **tussisce* and **tussiscit* have replaced the verb-form **tuse*, but the noun *tuse* has kept normal stressed *u*.

distinguishes stressed *e*<*ē*, *i*<*ĭ*, *o*<*ō*, *u*<*ŭ*, and the stressless endings *-o*<*-o*, *-u*<*-ŭ*, *-os*<*-ōs*, *-us*<*-ŭs;* but apparently it shared, to some extent, the continental leveling of posttonic *ĭ* and *e*. Unfortunately it is not easy to find many trustworthy examples of this development. Persons who wish to deny its reality might say that *turre* comes from *turre*, not from *turri;* that *fàghere* is responsible for the *e* of *faghes, faghet;* that *benit*<*uenit* is normal, rather than an analogic formation dependent on the *ī* of *uenīs* or *uenīre;* and that the *e* of the imperative plural has gotten into the indicative-endings *-ades* and *-ides*, which are found in the present only, other tenses having *-dzis*<**-dzi*<**-dz*<*-tis*. But such an argument can be turned around: the ending of the noun *sidis* need not be called normal. It is hard to understand why this nominative was kept, instead of the accusative; but its stressless *i* may be explained in various ways.

Sardic is fond of assimilation and dissimilation: assimilated *sidis* <**sides*<*sĭtĭs* would be no more remarkable than *a*<*aut, àrbere*< *arbore, fae*=*fa*<*faba,* Campidanian *tanaxi*=Logudorian *tenaghe*< *tenāce,* and *tuo*<*tuu* in a dialect that regularly distinguishes final *o* and *u*.[1] Or perhaps the *i* came from the *ī* of *sitīre* and *sitītu*, the latter being represented by *sididu*, "thirsty." As Sardic shared with all other Romanic tongues the change of stressless hiatus-*e* to *i*, it is clear that *siti* would have kept or re-developed *i* before a vowel, and the accusative may have affected the nominative. So too the ablative *sitī* could have influenced the nominative: the declension **sitīs-sitī* might have come from the associated word *famēs-famē*. With regard to the ablative, it is noteworthy that in southern Sardic, which has *bónu*<*bonu* beside *bònus*<*bonōs*, the *ò* of *dòmu* points to the ablative *domō* as plainly as the *dòmo* of central dialects that distinguish final *o* and *u*.[2] Of course the form *dòmo* arose from *in domō* and other such phrases; but then *sitī* could likewise follow a preposition.

Southern Sardic has changed posttonic *e* and *o* to *i*, *u*, as shown in some of the words mentioned above. Otherwise its vowel-system

[1] Wagner, *Lautlehre der südsardischen Mundarten*, Halle, 1907, p. 17. In Sardic spelling, as in Genoese, *x* means the sound ʒ (=French *j*). Many Sardic dialects have, like Spanish, developed voiced fricatives from intervocalic *p, t, k;* I keep the ordinary spellings with *b, d, g(h)*, as the fricative quality does not seem to be distinctive.

[2] Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

is generally like that of Logudorian. A peculiar difference is seen, however, in the verb *suèxiri* = Logudorian *suíghere*, meaning "knead." These words do not come from *subigere* as Wagner assumes,[1] for *digitu* > *didu* has lost *g* in the south and north alike; they represent *subicere*, with normal treatments of the sound *k*. Neither does Wagner's theory of the southern *e* seem reasonable: he supposes that it was borrowed from other verbs with radical *e* before *ž*, such as *strèxiri* (< **ex-traicere*?), meaning "clean." But this ending, which would usually require a Latin *e* (*decēre* > *dèxiri*), is not found in a great many other verbs.

The real reason for the *e* of *suèxiri* is probably to be sought in the word itself. *Subicit* made normal **sùβeket*, and this produced **suβékere* with analogic *é*, just as in Spanish the *ñ* of *tañe* has replaced the *ŋg* of *tango* and the *ndz* of forms with stressed *e* or *i*.[2] We may therefore say that Romanic stressless *e* < *i* was an earlier development than stressed *e* < *i*: a trace of the difference is preserved in Campidanian *suèxiri*. Logudorian *suíghere* does not disprove a formation of **sùβeket* in the north; it only shows that there was no analogic change of *i* to *e* in this verb.

In Sardic, as in the other Romanic tongues, intervocalic *ki* made *tš* or *ts* (with a lengthened *t* in many dialects): from **lakiu* come southern *lattsu*, central *ladžu* and *laθu*,[3] northern *lattu*[4] and *lattsu*. But before *k* underwent a change of quality, **fakkiēs* became **fakkēs*. Logudorian has *fakke* beside *cabu* < *caput*, *ladus* < *latus*, *logu* < *locu*, *paghe* < *pace*. Early Campidanian has a form spelled *fachi* and *faki*, which would have developed *tš* in the modern language, beside *cabu*, *ladus*, *logu*, and *pagi* corresponding to modern *paxi*. The general voicing of occlusives indicates a basis **fakkie* for *faki* as well as for *fakke* (which is sometimes written with a single *k*, consonant-quantity being less distinct in Sardic than in Tuscan). From the foregoing remarks about Sardic *e* and *i*, it will be seen that *fakke* and *faki* can be explained in more than one way.

If Sardic shared with continental Romanic the change of **pallia* to **pallea*, we might call *fakke* and *faki* normal. But if we assume

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[2] *Modern Philology*, VIII, 596. Galician has analogic *tanxo* and *tangue* beside normal *tango* and *tanze* (*x* = *š*).

[3] Compare Castilian *ts* > *θ*.

[4] Compare Swedish *þ* > *t*.

that stressless open *e* and close *e* were distinguished, as the development of *mulier* seems to show, it is possible that *fakke*<**fakkee* was analogic, due to normal **fakkēs*<**fakkeēs*<*faciēs*. Or we may suppose that even though stressless close *e* and open *e* were commonly distinguished, they were assimilated at the end of a word: something of the same kind is to be seen in Italian *grue* beside *dì* and *buono*<*bonu* beside *bue* (=Spanish *buey*)<**búoe*<**bòe*<*boue*. It is also possible that the change of **fakkee* to *fakke* was parallel with western *mal* and *mar*, the final vowel being dropped rather than assimilated.

On the continent, *faciēs*>**fakkēs* was normal, in accord with **pallia*>**pallea*, **sappiat*>**sappeat;* but the formation of **fakke* may have been analogic as in Sardic. The difference between Spanish *haz* and Portuguese *face* corresponds to *hoz*=*fouce*<*falce*, *tos*=*tosse*<*tussi*. Portuguese *face*, beside *paz* (*paš*<**padz*)<*pace*, shows that final *e* could be dropped after *dž* or *dz*, but not after *tš* or *ts;* contrary dialectal *pouz* (*póš*<**pòuts*)<**paucē*[1] belongs to a border-region that has other Spanish-like features, such as *rézio* for *rijo*<**ricidu*,[2] *si* for *sim*,[3] *sim* for *sem*,[3] *barrer* for *varrer*.[4]

In France and Italy the change of **fakkie* to **fakke* seems to have produced a feeling that this shortening was incorrect. But the longer form could not be restored while **sappeat* was the equivalent of older **sappiat*. The earlier structure of the word could be imitated only by adding a different vowel. On account of the gender, the vowel was *a:* **fakke* became **fakkea*. In Italy this noun developed like the verb **fakkeat*>*faccia*. In France we find evidence that the addition of *a* was rather late, at least in some of the southern dialects. Early Provençal has *fatz*=Spanish *haz*, and also *facia* beside *faça* corresponding to Italian *faccia*. In the modern language *facia* has become *faci*(*o*), parallel with *vendemia*> *vendemi*(*o*).

2. FILIOLA

It is generally held that *filiola* became **filiòla* as the result of a mechanical development: the stress was transferred from *i* to the

[1] *Modern Philology*, XII, 195.
[2] *Revista lusitana*, X, 240; *Modern Philology*, XI, 350.
[3] *Revista lusitana*, X, 243.
[4] *Op. cit.*, VIII, 298.

opener sound *o*. While the reality of the stress-change cannot be questioned, the common idea of its cause is probably wrong. With a purely mechanical treatment, *filiola* would have made **filìla*, and later **filéla* outside of Sardinia. If the *o* was not lost, it was because this vowel was felt to be an essential element of the word. It was therefore kept in the only way that it could be for any great length of time, after the change of *altera* to *altra*, by means of a stress-displacement. As the same displacement occurred in *faseolu*, there is no reason for ascribing it to the relative openness of the vowels. It is possible that *area*>*aria* produced analogic stressed *i* in **arìola*, though this theory is needless and probably wrong; but there was no such basic form that could have put analogic *ì* in the place of the *è* of *faseolu*. We must therefore admit that in the derivatives of this word *èo* changed through *eò* to *iò*.

3. HODIE

Latin *grŭndio* had a variant form *grŭnnio;* from the latter come Portuguese *grunho* and Spanish *gruño*, with normal *ù*>*ú* due to *ñ*-contact as in *cunha*=*cuña*. But it is unreasonable to say with regard to the Romanic development of *uerēcundia*, as Cornu does in Gröber's *Grundriss* (*Die port. Sprache*, § 111), that this noun had a variant with *nn*. On the contrary, there is clear evidence showing that the *d* was kept until after *gula* became *góla:* Italian has *ó* in *vergogna* (*vergóñña*), beside *u* in *giugnere*, *pugno*, *ugna*. Likewise in the other languages that changed *ù* to *ú* before early *ñ*, *-undia* made **-ùndea*>**-óndea*>**-óndia*>**-óñña*. Thus Catalan *vergonya*, Spanish *vergüeña*, and Portuguese *vergonha* correspond to *cegonya*=*cigüeña*=*cegonha*.[1]

We may therefore assume that in general the Romanic palatalizations of *d* were later than the change of *ù* to *ó*, and consequently later than the separation of Italian from Rumanian and Sardic. Yet it is plain that the derivatives of *hodiē* do not directly represent a form **oddē* corresponding to **fakkēs*<**fakkiēs*, which (as explained above) lost *i* before *trùllea* became **tróllea*. Sardic *oe* could have come from **odē*, if such a form ever existed, but the other languages

[1] In *Modern Philology*, XI, 350, the Spanish development should read as follows: **vergoñña*>**vergoiña*>*vergüeña*.

require (and Sardic admits) a basis with a palatalized *d*. There seems to be only one way out of this difficulty: *hodiē* became **oddē;* but afterward, when **sappeat* had changed back to **sappiat*, *i* was restored from the noun *diē*. A parallel for such influence is to be seen in Portuguese *alheio*, Spanish *ajeno*, Campidanian *allenu* (with normal *ll* as in *folla*<*folia*), Logudorian *andzenu* (corresponding to *fodza*<*folia* or *bindza*<*uīnea*): these forms imply a stem *alién-* or **allién-* for normal **alén-*<*aliēn-*, with *i* borrowed from the related words **allios* and **allius*<**alleus*<**allius*<*alius*.[1]

4. MULIER

If continental **fakke* was normal, and not due to the influence of **fakkes*<*faciēs*, it would seem that *mulier* should have made Italian **mólle*<**mùlle(r)*<**mùllier*. In this case we could assume that every stressless *e* became close after *i* changed to *e*, and that the λλ of *moglie* came from normal *mogliere*<**molière*<**moleère*<**muleère*<**mulière*. But if *moglie* is normal, representing **móllie*<**móllee(r)*<**mùllee(r)*<**mùllier*, we must assume that stressless open *e* and close *e* were distinguished after the change of *i* to *e*. This would agree with *bène*<*bene*, in which the restressed stressless *e* has remained open, although it was not anciently stressed often enough to become *ie*. Since *moglie* is the usual Italian form, it seems hardly probable that its development was analogic. It is more likely that both *moglie* and *mogliere* are normal. In any case we must call *mogliere* normal with respect to **mulière*, and assume that hiatus-*e* remained close. If every stressless *e* had become open, the Italian forms would be **mólle* and **mol(l)ière*.

As an independent word, *muliere* would have made **mulìre*>**molére* in continental Romanic. But the influence of the nominative hindered this development. Instead the *e* became stressed, thereby keeping the nominative and the accusative fairly similar: **mulière* replaced *muliere*, and thus the half-stressed vowel of each form corresponded to the main-stressed vowel of the other.

[1] As most Sardic dialects lack λλ and ññ, Meyer-Lübke is wrong in supposing that **aλus* changed **alenus* to **aλenus* (*Einführung*[1], § 101; *ibid.*[2], § 110). If the derivative of *alius* was kept long enough, it must have made **aλλos*, not **aλus*, on the continent; but at an early time it was driven out by the noun derived from *alliu*. Because of this leveling, which produced an intolerable ambiguity, "other" was expressed by derivatives of *alteru* and *alid*.

5. PARIETE

Stress-analogy caused *muliere* to become **mulière*, and may have helped in producing **filiòla* beside *filia*. But such influence is not easy to establish with regard to *pariete* and *parīēs*. In English the conflict between written *whom* and spoken *who* (objective) has lasted for centuries, and may go on indefinitely. So too the struggle with non-personal nominatives like *parīēs* may have reached through a long time. Meyer-Lübke says that the genetive **parētis* may have been analogic, due to normal **parēs*<*parīēs*.[1] This statement is correct but incomplete: it is also possible that *parīēs* produced analogic **parīētis*. It should, however, be noted that the stem of *pĕde* was not affected by the *ē* of *pēs*. It is therefore most probable that *pariete*>*parête* was a normal development, and that *parīēs* was lost (morphologically) before *mulier* caused *muliere* to become **mulière*.

If *pariete* had become **pariète*, its derivative would have been **pariète*[2] or **pajète* in Italian, and **paried* or **periede*>**piried* in Spanish. Rumanian *părete*, Italian *parete*, and the western equivalents, which have or imply a close *e*, are based on **parìte*, a normal shortening of *pariete* parallel with *domnus* for *dominus*. This reduction of *pariete* was earlier than the formation of close *i* from the *ì* of *uia*. If the historic nominative was kept long enough, **parēs* was contemporary with **parìte*. A declension **parēs-*parìte* would have been similar to the *hospes-hospite* of classic Latin, aside from a difference in stress like that of *nepōs-nepōte*.

I have mentioned above Meyer-Lübke's correct statement about **parēs*. In the new edition of his work, he gives up his former view: we now read that the retention (*Bewahrung*) of *parīēs* is assured by the development of **fakkie* from *facie*.[3] This theory is evidently wrong. Morphologically *parīēs* has been lost. But if it had been kept as *homo* and *mulier* were, it would have become **parēs*, parallel with *quiētus*>*quētus;* this general principle is stated correctly by Meyer-Lübke a few pages farther on,[4] and repeated in his Romanic

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*[1], § 82.

[2] The *pariete* given in Petrŏcchi's dictionary is presumably bookish.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*[2], § 91.

[4] *Ibid.*, § 110.

dictionary under the word *ariēs*. Hence the term *Bewahrung* has no true application to *pariēs*, beyond this: there was such a word in Latin. It is a mistake to think that the formation of **fakkie* from *facie* can tell us anything about *pariēs*.

We can lengthen most speech-sounds without making appreciable changes of quality. But *r*, sounded as it was in Latin and is in Tuscan, lacks a held position; it can be repeated (as in *terra*), but not simply lengthened. This is why *aria* did not become **arria* when the other consonants were lengthened. The difference between simple *r* and a prolonged trill was so great that it was found more convenient to keep the simple sound. In this there was no real violation of a sound-law; *r* was a special kind of sound, essentially different from other consonants, and therefore it followed a special law of its own. Likewise in early western Germanic the sound *j* (or hiatus-*i*) caused a lengthening of any preceding consonant except *r*.[1]

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CORRECTIONS

In my article on *locus*, printed in *Modern Philology* for last March, the derivation-mark should be reversed in the first line of the first paragraph; in the second line of p. 164, and at the end of the paragraph near the middle of p. 164.

E. H. T.

[1] Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, Heidelberg, 1896, § 131.

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THE SECOND NUN'S PROLOGUE, ALANUS, AND MACROBIUS

The famous Invocation to the Virgin in the Prologue to the *Second Nun's Tale* has been repeatedly discussed, and the investigations of Holthausen, Brown, and Tupper have thrown into strong relief the blending of phrases from the Latin hymns with the lines of St. Bernard's prayer to the Virgin at the beginning of Canto XXXIII of the *Paradiso*.[1] But the interfusing of related passages is even more complex than has hitherto been recognized. For phraseology borrowed from Alanus de Insulis and from another even more unsuspected source is closely interwoven with the lines from Dante and the hymns.

I

The passage from Alanus with which we are concerned is the somewhat gorgeously rhetorical panegyric upon the Blessed Virgin at the close of the fifth *Distinctio* of the *Anticlaudianus*.[2] It is the climax of the long account of the journey through the air to which Chaucer refers in the *Hous of Fame*,[3] and the allusion to "many a citezein" (*HF.*, 930) recalls this very chapter (ix), as well as the next

[1] See, for the latest and fullest discussion, Carleton Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 1 ff., supplemented by Tupper, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXX, 9–10, and Brown, *ibid.*, pp. 231–32.

[2] *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century* (Rolls Series), II, 362–64.

[3] *HF.*, 985–88:

And than thoughte I on Marcian,
And eek on Anteclaudian,
That sooth was hir descripcioun
Of al the hevenes regioun.

but one before (vii).[1] The lines from the *Anticlaudianus*, accordingly, come from an account which Chaucer states explicitly that he knew. I shall include as little as possible of what has been pointed out in earlier discussions, but a slight degree of repetition will be necessary in order to bring out the extraordinary dovetailing of passages involved.

Thou mayde and mooder, doghter of thy sone[2]
Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio[3]

Thou *welle of mercy, sinful soules cure*
[te *fontem pietatis*][4] . . . . *medicina reis*[5]

In whom that God, for bountee, *chees to wone*
In cujus ventris thalamo sibi summa paravit
Hospitium deitas[6]

Thou humble, and heigh over every creature
Umile ed alta più che creatura[7]

Thou nobledest so ferforth our nature,
That no desdeyn the maker hadde of kinde
Tu se' colei che l'umana natura
Nobilitasti sì, che il suo Fattore
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura[8]

[1] The chapter with which we are dealing (ix) begins: "Hic *superos cives* proprio praecellit honore Virgo," and at once Alanus enters upon his panegyric.

[2] G 36. The remaining lines from Chaucer follow in order.

[3] *Par.*, XXXIII, 1. I am following the *Oxford Dante.*

[4] *Anticlaudianus*, Dist. VI, cap. vi, 10. I have bracketed the phrase, because it does not occur in the immediate context of the remaining passages. Too much stress, however, should not be laid on the parallel quoted above, for the phrase was a not uncommon one. It occurs in Gautier de Coincy (*Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. M. l'Abbé Poquet): "*fons de miséricorde*" (col. 26). Compare also "Fontaine de pitié, fluns de miséricorde" (col. 759); "C'est la fontaine, c'est la doiz Donc sourt et viens miséricorde" (col. 5); "Dame, qui fleurs, fontaines et dois Ies de toute miséricorde" (col. 343). Chaucer may possibly have drawn the phrase from Gautier, or its source may be found in the hymn literature, as pointed out by Brown (*Mod. Phil.*, IX, 7, n. 7). And it also occurs in Petrarch's canzone addressed to the Virgin, which closes the *Canzoniere:* "Tu partoristi *il fonte di pietate.*" (With Petrarch's next line—"E *di giustizia il Sol*"—compare G 52: "Thou, that art *the sonne of excellence.*") See also Toynbee's discussion of "'Fons pietatis' in the *De Monarchia*" (and of its interesting source) in *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 297–98.

[5] *Anticlaudianus*, Dist. V, cap. ix, 26. In the light of what follows, Alanus' phrase (which occurs in a long list of the familiar designations of the Virgin) is seen to lie closer at hand than the "medicina peccatoris" of the hymns (see Brown, p. 7).

[6] Dist. V, cap. ix, 13–14.

[7] *Par.*, XXXIII, 2.

[8] *Par.*, XXXIII, 4–5.

His sone in blode and flesh to clothe and winde.
[Hospitium deitas], *tunicam sibi texuit ipse*
Filius artificis summi, nostraeque salutis
Induit ipse togam, nostro vestitus amictu.[1]

It will be observed that the borrowings from the *Anticlaudianus* account for all the interpolations which Chaucer has made in Dante's lines so far as this stanza is concerned.

The phraseology of the first two lines of the next stanza is in part suggested by the lines which immediately follow in Dante, the turn of the thought, however, being different.

Withinne the *cloistre blisful* of thy sydes
Took mannes shap the eternal love and pees
Nel ventre tuo si raccese l'amore,
Per lo cui caldo nell'eterna pace
Così è germinato questo fiore.[2]

Chaucer's "cloistre blisful" Brown refers[3] to the "*claustrum* Mariae" of the *Quem terra*. But there is a link between the two which has been overlooked. For in "cloistre *blisful*" Chaucer is recalling a phrase from an earlier canto of the *Paradiso*, which likewise applies to Christ and Mary:

Con le due stole *nel beato chiostro*
Son le due luci sole che saliro.[4]

One other suggestion seems to have come from Alanus, for "hir lyves leche" (G 56) recalls Alanus' "Aegrotat *medicus*, ut sanet morbidus aegrum."[5] So much for the interweaving of Dante and Alanus.

[1] Dist. V, cap. ix, 14–16. Compare "suo *Fattore*" and "*artificis* summi" as an associative link.

[2] *Par.*, XXXIII, 7–9. Compare Dante's "Nel ventre tuo" and Alanus' "In cujus ventris thalamo" as another link between the two passages.

[3] *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 6.

[4] *Par.*, XXV, 127–28. The reference here of course is to heaven (cf. *Purg.*, XXVI, 128–29), but it is the *phrase* that clung to Chaucer's mind. Whether the line from the hymn (which Chaucer certainly knew) called up the earlier passage from Dante or vice versa, it is impossible to say. A similar use of *chiostro* appears in Petrarch's canzone to the Virgin, referred to above (p. 194, n. 4): "Ricorditi che fece il peccar nostro Prender Dio, per scamparne, Umana carne *al tuo virginal chiostro*."

The latter part of Chaucer's phrase ("of thy sydes") occurs at least a score of times in Gautier de Coincy: "c'est la pucèle *En cui sainz flans* chambre e cèle Cil qui pour nous mourut en croiz" (col. 5); "qui *en ses flans* le roy porta" (col. 6); "char precieuse *en tes flans* prist" (col. 13); "Je chanterai de la sainte pucèle *Es cui sainz flans* le fiuz dieu devint hom" (col. 15). See also cols. 16, 19, 24, 55, 74, 458, 690, 715, 729, 745, 747, 748, 751, 760.

[5] Dist. V, cap. ix, 66. Compare ll. 52–53: "aeger Factus, *ut aegrotos sanaret.*" Gautier de Coincy has: "Est la Virge *fisiciane*" (col. 101, l. 1103).

In the remainder of the Invocation, up to its last stanza, Chaucer passes back and forth between Dante, the *Quem terra*, the *Salve regina*, and the *Ave Maria*,[1] until in the final stanza (ll. 71–77) a new and exceedingly interesting strand enters the fabric.

II

Lines 71–74 of the Prologue are as follows:

> And of thy light *my soule in prison lighte*,
> That *troubled* is by *the contagioun*
> *Of my body*, and also by *the wighte*
> *Of erthly luste* and fals affeccioun.

Brown attempts to show that these lines "present unmistakable evidence of the influence of the *Paradiso*,"[2] and offers the following parallels, still from Bernard's prayer:

> Perchè *tu ogni nube* gli disleghi
> *Di sua mortalità* coi preghi tuoi,
> Sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi . . . .
> . . . . che conservi sani,
> Dopo tanto veder, gli *affetti* suoi.
> Vinca tua guardia *i movimenti umani*.[3]

But the source is elsewhere, and in part it is in another book which we know Chaucer to have been reading, *in conjunction with Dante and Alanus*, at the time he was engaged upon the *Parlement of Foules* and the *Hous of Fame*.

In the summary of the *Somnium Scipionis* at the beginning of the *Parlement* occur the lines:

> And that our present worldes lyves space
> Nis but a maner deth.[4]

The corresponding passage in the *Somnium* is as follows:

"immo vero" inquit "hi vivunt, *qui e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt*, vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est."[5]

On this passage Macrobius comments at great length.[6] The idea of the "soule in prison" recurs again and again:

[1] See the articles of Brown and Tupper referred to above.

[2] *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 8–9.

[3] *Par.*, XXXIII, 31–33, 35–37. The italics in this passage are Brown's.

[4] V, 53–54.

[5] *Somnium Scipionis*, III, 2.

[6] *Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, I, x, 6–xii, 18.

ipsa corpora, quibus inclusae animae carcerem foedum tenebris horridum sordibus et cruore patiuntur (I, x, 9); per alteram vero, quae vulgo vita existimatur, *animam de inmortalitatis suae luce ad quasdam tenebras mortis* inpelli vocabuli testemur horrore. nam ut constet animal, necesse est, *ut in corpore anima vinciatur* . . . . unde Cicero pariter utrumque significans, *corpus esse vinculum*, corpus esse sepulcrum, *quod carcer est* sepultorum ait (I, xi, 2–3).[1]

And in this same portion of the *Comment* we find, not only the rare phrase "contagioun of the body,"[2] but in conjunction with it other verbal parallels that are conclusive:

Secundum hos ergo, quorum sectae amicior est ratio, animae beatae *ab omni cuiuscumque contagione corporis liberae* caelum possident, quae vero *appetentiam corporis* et huius, quam in terris vitam vocamus, ab illa specula altissima et *perpetua luce* despiciens *desiderio latenti* cogitaverit, *pondere ipso terrenae cogitationis* paulatim in inferiora delabitur.[3]

That Chaucer had definitely in mind the phraseology of this comment on a passage which he had himself translated there can be, I think, no doubt.

But there is another notable comment which seems to stand in somewhat baffling relation to Chaucer's words. The splendid lines in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* (703–51) which deal with the relation of the river of Lethe to the union of souls and bodies, underlie, of course, the discussion in Macrobius, so that the remoter source of Chaucer's lines is really *Aeneid*, VI, 730–34:

> Igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo
> Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
> Terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
> Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras,
> Respiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.

[1] Compare also I, xiii, 10.

[2] On the infrequent use of the word "contagioun" see Brown's comment, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 10.

[3] I, xi, 11. The phrase "contagio corporis" occurs again in I, viii, 8: "Secundae, quas purgatorias vocant, hominis sunt, qui divini capax est, solumque animum eius expediunt, qui decrevit se *a corporis contagione* purgare." And ten lines farther on appears "*terrenas cupiditates.*" That there may have been a subsidiary influence of Boethius is possible. For in Book III, prose xii, 5–9 occurs the following, in Chaucer's translation: "whan I loste my memorie by *the contagious conjuncciouη of the body with the sowle;* and eftsones afterward, whan I loste it, confounded by the *charge* and by the burdene of my sorwe." The Latin text is: "Primum, quod memoriam *corporea contagione*, dehinc cum moeroris *mole* pressus, amisi." But the other specific correspondences are wanting.

On this famous passage in the *Aeneid*, however, there is a comment which it is hard to believe that Chaucer did not know. Servius' remarkable discussion of *Aen.*, VI, 724 is primarily concerned with the "contagioun of the body": "ita ergo et *animus quamdiu est in corpore, patitur eius contagiones.*"[1] And the precise phrase appears in the comment on *Aen.*, VI, 719: "credendum est *animas corporis contagione pollutas* ad caelum reverti?"[2] A few lines before, in the account of the descent of the soul through the several circles, occurs a list of the "false affections" that trouble the soul: "quia cum descendunt animae trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Jovis regni desiderium: quae res *faciunt perturbationem animabus*, ne possint uti vigore suo et viribus propriis."[3] And the "soul in prison" also appears: "non est verisimile, [animas] *liberatas de corporis carcere* ad eius nexum reverti."[4]

But did Chaucer know the passage in Servius? There is some reason to believe that he did. In the comment on *Aen.*, VI, 724 from which I have already quoted, Servius is discussing the question: "et qua ratione res melior est in potestate deterioris?"—the fundamental problem, of course, of the "contagioun of the body." For, as he continues, "atqui divinus animus debuit corpus habere in potestate, non mortale corpus naturam animi corrumpere. sed hoc ideo fit, quia plus est quod continet, quam quod continetur."[5] And he gives two illustrations. First: "ut si leonem includas in caveam, inpeditus vim suam non perdit, sed exercere non potest, ita animus non transit in vitia corporis, sed eius coniunctione inpeditur nec exercet vim suam."[6] It is the second illustration that is for us significant:

> videmus enim tale aliquid, ut in *lucerna*, quae per se clara est et locum, in quo est, sine dubio inluminat, sed *si qua re tecta fuerit et inclusa, non perdit splendorem proprium, qui in ea est*—remoto namque inpedimento apparet—

[1] *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, 101, ll. 19–21.

[2] Ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, 99, ll. 9–10. Compare: "animus . . . . laborat ex corporis coniunctione" (II, 101, l. 13), and especially the comment on *Aen.*, VI, 733: "'Hinc metuunt cupiuntque dolent gaudentque' *ex corporis coniunctione et hebetudine*" (II, 103, ll. 10–11).

[3] II, 98, ll. 21–24.

[4] II, 97, ll. 1–2.

[5] II, 101, ll. 3–6.

[6] Ll. 6–9.

nec tamen quia inpeditus est eius vigor, ideo etiam corruptus. ita ergo et animus quamdiu est in corpore, patitur eius contagiones; simul atque deposuerit corpus, recipit suum vigorem et *natura utitur propria.*[1]

But that is the Wife of Bath!

> Tak *fyr*, and ber it in the derkeste hous
> Bitwix this and the mount of Caucasus,
> *And lat men shette the dores and go thenne;*
> *Yet wol the fyr as faire lye and brenne,*
> As twenty thousand men mighte it biholde;
> *His office naturel ay wol it holde,*
> Up peril of my lyf, til that it dye.[2]

Chaucer is here, as Skeat points out, also drawing on Boethius:[3]

> Certes, yif that honour of poeple were a naturel yift to dignitees, it ne mighte never cesen nowher amonges no maner folk to don his office, right as fyr in every contree ne stinteth nat to eschaufen and to ben hoot.

There is, too, a very similar passage in Macrobius: "ignis, cuius essentiae calor inest, calere non desinit."[4] But the figure of the fire (or candle) as "*tecta . . . et inclusa*" ("in the derkeste hous," "lat men shette the dores"), and the employment of the idea of "*splendorem*" ("as *faire lye* and brenne") for that of "*calere*" ("to eschaufen and to ben hot")[5] point strongly to the influence of Servius, or of Servius' source. It is very possible that Chaucer's context in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*[6] suggested to him the passage in Boethius, and that this in turn recalled to him the more definite figure in Servius. That, at least, is the sort of thing which Chaucer constantly does. And both Servius and Boethius seem to be there.

If this be so (to return to the Second Nun's Prologue), Chaucer may also have recalled the remarkable comment of Servius as he composed his appeal to the Virgin. That, however, it is by no means *necessary* to suppose. The passage is explicable without it. And the details that are (most of them) included in a single sentence

[1] Ll. 15–21. [2] D, 1139–45.

[3] Book III, prose iv, 71 ff.: "Atqui si hoc naturale munus dignitatibus foret, ab officio suo quoque gentium nullo modo cessarent: sicut ignis ubique terrarum, numquam tamen calere desistit."

[4] *Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, II, xvi, 6.

[5] There is also a hint of Servius' "natura utitur propria" in Chaucer's "His office *naturel* ay wol it *holde*." But compare Boethius' "ab *officio* suo" ("to don his office").

[6] He is drawing heavily on Dante's *Convivio*, both in what precedes, and in what follows. See Lowes, *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 19–33.

in Macrobius are scattered in Servius through several pages. Macrobius is pretty certainly the primary source. But both are comments on lines with which Chaucer was familiar. And it is possible that he had them both in mind when he wrote the Invocation. "*Troubled . . . . by the wighte,*" for instance, seems to represent the "*perturbationem*" of Servius and the "*pondere*" of Macrobius. So that here once more we are possibly justified in recognizing a convergence of influences.

But we have not yet exhausted the complexities of the problem. For the lines which I have quoted from Macrobius and Servius *both* appear in Albericus—the third of the mythographers published by Bode.[1] There are, of course, minor variants in the phraseology, but none of them affect the problem, so far as Chaucer is concerned.[2]

The sources of Albericus are discussed and exhaustively set forth by Raschke.[3] According to him, the *fontes primarii* are Fulgentius, Servius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, and Remigius of Auxerre.[4] But it is also possible, as Professor Rand points out to me, that "Albericus drew not from Macrobius *plus* Servius, but directly from Donatus, who is also the source of Servius and Macrobius independently.[5] Of course Albericus may have found Donatus

[1] The passage from Macrobius is in Mythogr. III, vi, 8 (Bode, *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum*, p. 178); that from Servius in Mythogr. III, vi, 11 (Bode, p. 180). Both occur in the long chapter on Pluto.

[2] Albericus' text of the passage from Macrobius varies so slightly from the text as given above that it is unnecessary to quote it. See, for the chief variant, Raschke (below), p. 45, n. Albericus' text for the *lucerna* passage from Servius is as follows:

"Videmus enim tale aliquid in lucerna, quae per se clara est, et locum, in quo est, sine dubio illuminat. Quae si quando retracta [quae si retecta: cod. M. See Raschke (below), p. 47, n.] fuerit et inclusa, locum quidam illuminare desinit, splendorem autem proprium non amittit. Remoto namque impedimento, apparet. Nec fulgor eius quamvis impeditus, ideo etiam est corruptus. Ita ergo animus, inquiunt, quamdiu est in corpore, simul eius patitur contagionem. At cum corpus deposuerit, antiquum recipit vigorem, et natura utitur propria" (Bode, p. 180).

In the next chapter (III, vi, 12) where Servius (II, 101, ll. 26–27) reads: "sic anima ex eo quod datur corpori inquinata," etc., Albericus has: "sic et animam, adhuc *corporis contagione* inquinatam," etc.

[3] "De Alberico Mythologo," *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* (1913), 45. Heft. I am indebted for this reference to Professor E. K. Rand, to whom I appealed for aid when I turned up the passages in Bode.

[4] Raschke, pp. 2–7. For the secondary sources see pp. 7–10. For Albericus' date (tenth or eleventh century) see p. 11. The two passages under discussion are found on pp. 45 and 47. In cap. vi (Pluto) in which they occur, Macrobius is specifically mentioned twice (III, vi, 6, 9), and Servius ten times (III, vi, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 32).

[5] See Rand, *Classical Quarterly*, X (July, 1916), 158–64: "Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil Lost?"

already excerpted by Johannes Scottus[1] or Remigius." The question, accordingly, arises: Did Chaucer draw on Macrobius (and perhaps Servius) directly, or did he find both passages brought together in Albericus,[2] or did he meet with them in Remigius, or Johannes, or even in Donatus? The question is perhaps impossible to answer. At all events, the problem is too large and complex to enter upon here.[3]

So far as the Second Nun's Prologue alone is concerned, however, I do not believe that the matter is as complex as it seems. We know that Chaucer knew Macrobius,[4] so that for the Second Nun's lines it is unnecessary to fall back upon either Albericus or the common source of Albericus and Macrobius. For the passage from Macrobius, as I have said, is in itself sufficient to account for Chaucer's lines. And Chaucer may very well have known Servius too.[5] As for the fact that the source of the lines in the Second Nun's Prologue and the partial source of the lines in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* occur together in Albericus, that should not carry us off our feet. If Chaucer knew both Macrobius (as he did) and Servius (as he may have done), the facts are accounted for, and the occurrence together of the two passages in Albericus becomes, so far as Chaucer is concerned, an accident. And that is at least as possible as the other view.

[1] On John the Scot, and Remigius as commentator, see Rand, "Iohannes Scottus," *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lat. Philologie des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1906).

[2] Albericus is extant in four Vatican manuscripts, to which Bode (p. xix) adds three more, at Göttingen, Gotha, and Paris. See Raschke, p. 12. Jacobs (*Zeitschrift f. Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1834, pp. 1054 ff.) gives an account of one more, at Breslau. Skeat has pointed out (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 78, 82) indications of Chaucer's use, in his descriptions of Venus and Mars, of Albericus' *De deorum imaginibus libelli*. But here again it is entirely possible that Chaucer may be following Albericus' sources. And for that part of his account of Mars which Chaucer uses, Albericus draws on Servius and Martianus Capella (Raschke, p. 140); for his account of Venus, he uses Remigius, Fulgentius, and Servius (Raschke, p. 142). In both cases there remains the possibility that Albericus is employing the common source of all of these—and this, again, *may* have been known to Chaucer. I hope later to carry this investigation farther. Meantime, it seems worth while to give the facts, so far as they appear.

[3] It serves, however, to emphasize the importance of thorough consideration of Chaucer's knowledge of the mediaeval commentators and mythographers. I have already had something to say about this in *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 726–27.

[4] See references in Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 98–99; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VI, 387.

[5] His knowledge of him is no more unlikely than Dante's, and Dante pretty certainly knew him. See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, I, 189–91, and index; Rand, *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Dante Society* (1916).

On the whole, then, waiving for the present the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, the chances are in favor of Chaucer's direct recollection of Macrobius as the source of the lines about "the contagioun of the body." If that be so, it may be added that the inclusion of Macrobius and Alanus in the *cento* places the Invocation—without entering into the problem of the rest of the Prologue and the *Lyf* itself—in close relation to the *Parlement* and the *Hous of Fame*. In each we find the same combination of Dante,[1] Alanus, and Macrobius. Beyond that obvious remark I do not care to go at present.

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[1] In *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 708–9, I have shown that Chaucer used the *Paradiso* in the *Parlement*—a fact which has apparently been doubted before. See Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, p. 82.

WALTER MAP AND SER GIOVANNI

Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* contains only one story which has been claimed as the source of a later piece of mediaeval fiction. A peculiar interest naturally attaches to that story, *De Rollone et eius uxore,* which is found in Distinctio III, cap. v, of Map's book.[1] This interest is heightened as a consequence of proof, which I have recently advanced,[2] that the *De Nugis* was never really completed and published by its author, but survives, in a unique manuscript, only by a lucky chance. It is therefore fitting to scan the evidence of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's indebtedness to Walter Map. Map's story runs as follows:

Rollo, a man of high reputation for knightly virtues, was blest in possession of a most fair wife and in perfect freedom from jealousy. A youth named Resus, who in comeliness, birth, and all other respects surpassed the other youths of the neighborhood, languished for love of Rollo's wife, but received no encouragement from her. He tearfully admitted to himself his inferiority to the peerless Rollo, but, sustained by his high spirit, he resolved to merit his lady's favor. From Rollo himself he obtained the belt of knighthood, and with unfailing gallantry he proceeded to win martial honors for his name. He won favor from all except the lady whom he adored.

It happened one day that Resus met Rollo and his wife out riding. Rollo greeted him courteously, and the young man, turning his horse, for a while escorted his lord and lady. Then, saluting them with becoming words, he departed. The lady maintained a cool indifference, but Rollo looked after the departing youth for a long time, then turned his gaze ahead and rode on in silence. His wife, fearing his suspicions, asked why he looked so intently at one who was not regarding him; and Rollo replied: "I like to look at him. Would that I might ever behold that most noble spectacle of the world, a man graced in birth, manners, beauty, riches, honor, and the favor of all."

The lady took this praise to heart. Though she dissembled her interest, she pondered over Rollo's encomium, reflecting that he was an excellent judge of men. What she had heard of Resus must be credited. She began to

[1] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. M. R. James, Oxford, 1914), pp. 135–37. In this book occurs also, of course, the *Epistle of Valerius to Ruffinus,* which was widely known in the Middle Ages, but attained its circulation separately from the *De Nugis.*

[2] "Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium:* Its Plan and Composition," in *PMLA,* XXXII (1917), 81.

repent of her severity, and in due time she summoned Resus. He came with alacrity, astonished but happy, and was received by his lady in a private chamber. She said: "Perhaps you wonder, dearest, after so many cruel refusals, what has so suddenly given me to you. Rollo is the cause, for I had not heeded common report, but the assertion of him whom I know to be trustworthy has convinced me." With these words she drew Resus to her; but he, putting a curb on his passionate impulses, replied: "Never shall Resus return Rollo an injury for a favor; discourteous it would be for me to violate his bed, since he has conferred what all the world could not." And so he departed.

Liebrecht was the first to point out that this story is the same as the first *novella* in Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone*, which Dunlop had praised as "one of the most beautiful triumphs of honor which has ever been recorded."[1] Liebrecht's opinion as to the relations of the two stories altered somewhat. Originally (1860) he pronounced *Rollo and Resus* either "the direct or indirect source" of the *novella;*[2] but later, when he revised his article for his volume *Zur Volkskunde* (1879), he declared unequivocally that Map presents the "direct source."[3] Before discussing Liebrecht's opinion we must examine Ser Giovanni's *novella.*[4]

There was in Siena a youth named Galgano, rich, of noted family, skilled in every accomplishment, brave, magnanimous, beloved of all. He loved a lady named Minoccia, the wife of Messere Stricca. Galgano endeavored by jousting and by entertainments to gain this lady's favor, but in vain. One day, while Stricca and his wife were at their country place, Galgano went hawking near by. Stricca saw him and invited him in, but the youth reluctantly declined. Soon afterward his falcon pursued a bird into the garden of Messere Stricca, who happened to be looking out, his wife with him. She asked to whom the falcon belonged, and he replied: "The falcon has a master whom it may well emulate, for it belongs to the most noble and esteemed youth of Siena," and, in response to further inquiry, he named Galgano.

Minoccia was impressed, and soon afterward, when Stricca was sent on an embassy to Perugia, she sent for Galgano. He came, was entertained, and at last was taken to the lady's chamber. There, however, Minoccia noticed an appearance of timidity in Galgano, and asked him if he were not

[1] J. C. Dunlop, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen* (trans. F. Liebrecht, Berlin, 1851), p. 259; J. C. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction* (ed. Henry Wilson, London, 1896), II, 157.

[2] F. Liebrecht, "Zu den Nugae Curialium," in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, V.

[3] F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* (Heilbronn, 1879), pp. 43–45.

[4] Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, *Il Pecorone* (Milan, 1804), I, i; Dunlop-Wilson, *History of Prose Fiction*, pp. 157–59. The collection was begun in 1378.

well pleased. He swore that he was, but begged one request: that she would tell him why her behavior had changed so suddenly. Minoccia recalled the falcon incident and her husband's praises. Galgano implored her for another reason, and, receiving none, he exclaimed: "Truly, it is not pleasing to God, nor would I, since your husband has said such courtesy of me, that I should use villainy toward him." So saying, he took his departure. Never again did he pay any attention to the lady, and he always manifested a singular love and esteem for Messere Stricca.

Certainly the stories of Map and of Ser Giovanni are strikingly alike, not only in theme, but in detail. It is not surprising that Liebrecht's theory of their relation met with no opposition. Egidio Gorra, in his study of *Il Pecorone*,[1] quotes Liebrecht's original opinion with approval, but adds that it is important to determine whether the *De Nugis Curialium* affords Ser Giovanni's direct or indirect source. The theme, he says, was widespread in the Middle Ages, and he cites as similar the *Lai de Graelent*[2] and the story of the troubadour, Guillem de Saint-Didier.[3]

With regard to these two stories, of Graelent and of Guillem, I must disagree with Gorra. The point of the Resus-Galgano story is the magnanimous renunciation of a woman, passionately loved and, after a long suit, won, by a hero who is actuated solely by a sense of chivalrous indebtedness to her husband for unwittingly causing his wife's submission. Graelent, on the other hand, had no long-fostered passion to contend with, and it was not the husband's, but the general, praise that won for him the lady's love; Graelent refused her, as Joseph refused Potiphar's wife, or as Map's Galo refused the Queen of Asia,[4] because his loyalty to his master was proof against illicit love for his master's wife. Guillem is still farther removed from the high sense of honor manifest in Resus and Galgano, since he deliberately contrived a trap[5] for the husband so that, willing or unwilling, the wife must grant his suit. This motive is nearer akin to that of Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* and of the fifth novel of the

[1] Egidio Gorra, *Studi di critica letteraria* (Bologna, 1892), pp. 201–8.

[2] Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux et contes* (Paris, 1808), IV, 57–80.

[3] F. Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* (ed. K. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1882), pp. 261–63.

[4] *De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. III, cap. ii, pp. 104–22.

[5] In this respect the story is like one in the *Hitopadeça* (I, vii), which Gorra recognizes as different from Ser Giovanni's.

tenth day of the *Decameron*,[1] in which the lover plots to fulfil a supposedly impossible condition set by the lady purely in hope of ridding herself of unwelcome attentions; the lady yields a debt of honor. There may be held to exist a balance of merit; there is not a single outstanding hero, such as Resus or Galgano. The compact between the wife and the lover gives a different shape to motivation, character, and incident.[2]

Gorra, however, passes lightly over this matter of analogues to a genuine contribution on the relation of Map's and Ser Giovanni's tales. A century after Ser Giovanni, Masuccio Salernitano retells in his collection, *Il Novellino*, the story of Map and of the Florentine. According to custom, Masuccio declares that his story is true; he had heard it a few days before concerning Bertramo d'Aquino, a cavalier of the family of Madonna Antonella d'Aquino, Contessa Camerlinga, to whom he addresses the story.[3] *Il Novellino* was first published at Naples in 1476 and is thought to have been written not long before that date.[4] Bertramo d'Aquino, Masuccio says, was a follower of Charles of Anjou, who triumphantly entered Naples after the defeat of Manfred at Benevento, 1266 A.D. Not much importance need be attached to Masuccio's assertion that he had just learned of this story.[5]

Bertramo, who was prudent and valiant above all others in King Charles' army, joined the other victors in the gayeties of Neapolitan society. There he met the beautiful Madonna Fiola Torella, wife of Messer Corrado, a fellow-soldier and dear friend of Bertramo. He endeavored by his jousting and entertainments to win the lady's admiration and favor, but without

[1] Jacob Ulrich (*Ausgewählte Novellen Sacchettis, Ser Giovannis, und Sercambis* in *Italienische Bibliothek* [Leipzig, 1891], p. xvi) refers to *Decameron*, X, v, as an analogue of *Il Pecorone*, I, i.

[2] The husband's resignation of the wife, wittingly and without obligation of honor, is still a different motive. Koegel (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* [Strassburg, 1894–97], I, 258) errs in connecting *Lantfrid and Cobbo* with Map's story.

[3] Masuccio Salernitano, *Il Novellino* (ed. L. Settembrini, Napoli, 1874), pp. 243–44, 536. On these protestations cf. Gaetano Amalfi, "Quellen und Paralellen zum *Novellino* des Salernitaners Masuccio" in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, X, 33 ff.; the study is concluded at pp. 136 ff.

[4] *Il Novellino*, p. xxxiii.

[5] *Il Novellino*, Part III, nov. i (the twenty-first novel of the collection). Amalfi (*loc. cit.*) says that this *novella* was retold in the seventeenth-century collection of the *Academici Incogniti*, of whom Gian Francesco Loredano was chief (cf. Wiese and Percopo, *Gesch. d. ital. Lit.*, p. 451), and also by Adolfo Albertazzi (*Liberalità di Messer Bertrando d'Aquino*) in his *Parvenze e sembianze* (Bologna, 1892), and by Saint-Denis in *Comptes du monde aventureux* (nouv. xxxviii). Of these I have seen only the last; it is certainly derived from Masuccio.

avail; from honesty or from real love for her husband she crushed her lover's hopes. One day Messer Corrado, Fiola, and other knights and ladies, while hawking, beheld a wild falcon flush a covey of partridges and scatter them. Messer Corrado exclaimed that he fancied he was beholding his captain, Messer Bertramo, dispersing their enemies in battle; unaware of Bertramo's love for Fiola, he ran on and on with brave tales of the captain's exploits until all were charmed with admiration, Fiola not less than the others.

Soon after, Bertramo, passing her house, was greeted with a salutation so gracious that he sought out a friend to solve for him the riddle of woman's ways. His friend cynically lectured him on the fickleness and frailty of women and bade him write at once for a rendezvous. Bertramo obeyed and was duly received in Fiola's garden; after a time he and Fiola were conducted by a trusted maid into a *camera terrena*, where all was prepared for their enjoyment. In the course of their conversation Bertramo curiously inquired why Fiola had softened toward him. She related at length the falcon incident, her husband's eulogy, and its influence. Bertramo responded in a long antistrophe on the fine points of a gentle nature, leading up to the avowal: "It is not pleasing to God that such villainy should appear in a cavalier of Aquino." Thereupon he renounced Fiola in another lengthy speech, cast jewels in her lap, bade her remember the lesson of his experience, kissed her tenderly, and departed. Fiola was somewhat dazed at this fine oration and not a little piqued at her lover's departure, but, actuated by woman's instinctive avarice, she gathered the jewels and returned to her house. The story, Masuccio says, leaked out, much to the credit of Bertramo among his fellows.

To Masuccio this tale is an example of feminine weakness rather than of masculine honor. It is the first *novella* of the third part, "nella quale il defettivo muliebre sesso sarà in parte crucciato," and is connected with the next *novella* by a link in which the author diverts attention from Bertramo to the woman. Masuccio adds the confidant of the hero, a figure which does not appear in the *De Nugis* nor in *Il Pecorone*, and thus complicates the plot slightly, making Bertramo write before Fiola summons him. I have no doubt that Masuccio himself, not his source, is responsible for this alteration; he doubtless wished merely to get a pretext for working in a cynical harangue against women.

Gorra thinks that Masuccio is not dependent on Ser Giovanni, first, because of divergences in the handling of the plot, and secondly, because *Il Pecorone* had not been printed in Masuccio's time, and, Gorra thinks, it is unlikely that Masuccio had seen a manuscript of

it. There is, however, a significant point which the *novelle* have in common, but which is wanting in Map's version: the falcon incident. Because of this, Gorra holds that Map does not present the direct source of the Italian versions, though he may present a more remote source. Gorra could go no farther with safety unless a version with the falcon incident should be discovered.

Such a version I have found. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, relates the following story:[1]

There was in France an excellent knight, Reginald de Pumpuna,[2] who, in a land where so many good knights were to be found, was incomparable in valor. For a long time he loved the wife of a certain knight, but never won any favor from her until one day her husband, on returning from a tournament which had been held near-by, fell to conversing with his comrades on the victors of the day. All agreed in praising Reginald above all others, whereupon the lady asked her husband if such praise was truly deserved. He replied: "Even so, for as doves flee before a falcon, so before Reginald all knights flee." By this praise the lady was overcome. Very soon her husband's absence gave her an opportunity, and she sent for her lover. He came, but before surrendering himself to her embraces he asked how it came to pass that she, who had been so long obdurate, now offered him that unexpected pleasure. She told him of her husband's praises, and Reginald exclaimed that he too would change his mind because of the same praises, and would never again love her in injury to the one who had pronounced them.

The *Gemma Ecclesiastica* was one of the proudest works of Giraldus Cambrensis. He presented a copy of it to Pope Innocent III, who, according to Giraldus, valued it so highly and was so jealous of its safe-keeping that he would let no one else read it.[3] We need not imagine, however, that Innocent's successors were all equally fond of the Welshman's work, and we may safely assume that, in the course of time, the book was accessible to Italian clerks.

[1] *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, II, xii, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Rolls Series, II, 226–28.

[2] It is interesting to identify this knight. A letter from Henry, Count of Champagne, to Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis, written in the year 1149, concerns a knight who had been captured in a tournament by "Reginald de Pompona" (Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XV, 511). Among those who swear to a compact between the king of France and the count of Mellent, "Reginald de Pompona" stands second on the part of the count, just above William de Garlande (Bouquet, *Recueil*, XVI, 16).

[3] See Brewer's preface to *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, II, ix–x. The Lambeth manuscript contains the only known copy of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica;* it is surmised that this may be the pope's copy, or that Gerald's gift may still repose in the Vatican.

Thus we find a possible source, more or less direct, for the *novelle* of Ser Giovanni and Masuccio—a source which contains the falcon simile, and which, we know, was within reach of Italian story-tellers. It may be noted that, in addition to the falcon simile, these three versions agree against Map's in making the lover inquire why the lady has softened toward him, and also in representing the lover as a man of secure reputation at the time when he falls in love. The effect of Map's story is intensified by the representation of Resus' love as the one motive of his life. In humility he realized that a nameless lad was not a worthy rival for the noble Rollo, and therefore he devoted himself to becoming a peerless knight in all the excellences of the chivalric ideal; when he had attained his desire, he found that chivalric honor prohibited him from accepting the prize for which alone he had striven.

If the story of Reginald de Pumpuna were not more like the two *novelle* than is the story of Resus, it would still be a more likely source for them, for we can account for its presence in Italy. The only positive ground for supposing that the *De Nugis Curialium* was so widely circulated, or indeed was circulated at all, has been Liebrecht's theory that it contains the source of Ser Giovanni's *novella*. It is needless to accept that theory any longer.

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VERSES ON THE NINE WORTHIES

Professor Gollancz' edition of the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, published in 1915, contains an appendix consisting of early texts illustrative of the Nine Worthies theme. These texts, written in Latin, French, German, and English, show the wide dispersion of the theme in literature. My researches have brought to my attention a number of others, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some of which afford interesting comparisons with those published by Gollancz.

I

The first is written in a hand of about 1380 in a manuscript of the Vulgate about a century older, prepared for, and doubtless used in, Sweetheart Abbey in Kirkcudbright.[1] The lines, which present a variant of those numbered as XVII and XVIII in Gollancz' appendix, and show the same Scotch tradition of Robert Bruce as the tenth Worthy that we meet in the *Ballet of the Nine Nobles*, numbered X by Gollancz, run as follows:

> Ector, Alexander, Julius, Josue, David, Machabeus,
> Arthurus, Carulus, et postremus Godofrydus—
> Robertus rex Scotorum denus est in numero meliorum.

II

The next is a set of stanzas which accompanies mural paintings of the Nine Worthies in the castle of La Manta in Piedmont.[2] The paintings were executed between 1411 and 1430. The verses are interesting, first, as showing a clear dependence upon the very earliest authoritative treatment of the Nine Worthies in literature, the passage from the *Vœux du Paon* of Jacques de Longuyon, which is given by Gollancz as VI; and, in the second place, as showing a version in Italianized French of the stanzas on the woodblock of

[1] Bernard Quaritch, *Catalogue No. 196*, p. 299.

[2] P. D'Ancona, "Gli affreschi del castello di Manta," *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 195.

1454–57, given by Gollancz as XIV.[1] The text is given by D'Ancona as follows:[2]

Ector
Je fui de Troie nee et fis du roy Priam,
E fuy qant Menelas e la gregoise gans
Vindrer asegier Troie a cumpagne grant;
La ocige XXX rois et des autres bien CCC:
Puis moy ocist Achiles ases vilainemant
Devant que Diu nasquit XI.CXXX ans.

Alisandre
Jay coquis por ma force les illes d'outramer;
D'Orient jusques a Ocident fuge ja sire apeles.
Jay tue roy Daire, Porus, Nicole larmires;[3]
La grant Babiloina fige ver moy encliner;
E fuy sire du monde; puis fui enarbres:
Ce fut III.C ans devant que Diu fut nee.

Julius Cesar
D Rome fuge jadis enperere et roy;
Jay conquis tote Spagne, France, e Navaroys;
Ponpe, Amunsorage, e Casahilion li roy;
La cite d'Alisandra amim somis voloyr:[4]
Mort fui devant que Diu nasquit des ans XL trois.

Josuee
Des enfans d'Irael fuge fort ames,
Qant Diu fist pour miracle li solegl arester,
Le flin Jordam partir a pasaie la roge mer;
Le Filistins ne purent contra moy endurer:
Je ocis XXXII roy: puis moy fenir,
XIIII.C ans devant que Diu fust nee.

Roy Davit
Je trovay son de harpa e de sauterion;
Si ay tue Gulias, un grant gehant felon;
En meintes batagles moy tient-on a prodons:
Apres li roy Saul tien je la region;
Et fui vray propheta de lancarnacion:
Mort fui VIII.C ans devant que Diu devenist hons.

[1] There are certain errors in Gollancz' printing of these stanzas, as may be seen by comparing it with Pilinski's reproduction of the woodcuts in his *Monuments de la Xylographie, Les Neuf Preux*. Gollancz' errors are as follows: The title *Hector de Troye* should read *Troie;* and in the first line following, *povoir* should read *pooir*. The second title should read *Alixandre;* and in the fourth line below, *pris* should read *os*. The fifth title should read *Le Roy David*. In the sixth stanza, l. 4, *le* should read *se*. In the seventh, l. 3, *grant* should read *grand;* and in l. 5 *g(uer)re* should read *gerre* (cf. *gerrier* in the next stanza). The eighth title should read *Charle le Grand*.

[2] D'Ancona has emended the text, but gives the original reading in his notes.

[3] In the margin the painter of the legends supplied glosses describing *Daire* as *li Persian* and *Porus* as *li Endian*.

[4] D'Ancona suggests that this is a corruption of *soumis a mon voloyr*.

Judas Makabeus
Je viens en Jerusalem, en la grant regiom,
E la loy Moises metre a defensiom;
Ceous qui adorent les idoles, mecreants e felons,
. . . . mige a destrucion;
Econtra heus men alay a pou de compagnons;
E mory VC ans devant licarnacion.

Roy Artus
Je fui roy de Bertagne, d'Escosa e d'Anglatere;
Cinquanta roy conquis qui de moy tiegnen terre;
Jay tue VII grans Jehans rustons en mi lour terre;
Sus le munt Saint Michel un autre nalay conquere;
Vis le Seint Greal; puis moy fist Mordre goere;
Qui moy ocist V.C ans puis que Diu vint en tere.

Charlemaine
Je fui roy, emperaire, e fuy nee de France;
Jay aquis tote Espagne e in us la creance;
Namont e Agolant ocige sans dotance;
Le Senes descunfis e l'Armireau de Valence.
En Jerusalem remige la creance,
E mors fuy V.C. ans apres Diu sans dotance.

Godefroy de Bouglon
Je fuy Dus de Loraine apres mes ancesours,
E si tien de Bouglon le palais e le tours;
Au plain de Romania jay conquis les Mersours:
Li roy Corbaran ocige a force e a stours;
Jerusalem conquige au retours,
E mori XIC ans apres Nostre Segnour.

III

Another version of these stanzas is found on the fragmentary woodcuts of the Hotel de Ville at Metz.[1] These according to Pilinski date from before 1460, and they show some dialectal forms of Lorraine.

(Joshua)
Des enfans disrael fuge forment ameis
Quant dieus fit par miracle le solail aresteir
Le fleune iordan p(ar)tir & passay rouge meir
Les mescreans ne peurent contre moy dureir
De XXXII royalmes fige les roys tueir
XIII^{c}. ans deuant que die- fut- ne-

[1] Reproduced by Pilinski, *Monuments de la Xylographie, Les Neuf Preux.*

(David) Ie trouuay son de harpe & de psalteriu-
Et golias tuay le grant gayant fel-
En pluseurs grans batailes me tint on-
Et apres le roy saul ie tins la regio-
Et si propheti . . . lanuntia-

(Godfrey) -e fus duc de lorraine apres mes ancessours
-t si tins de boullon les palais & les tours
-n plain de comeine desconfis lamassour
-e roy cornemarent occis par fort atour
-herusalem conquis antijoche au retour
-s fus .XI^{c}. apres nostre se-

IV

The next treatment of the Nine Worthies is a Latin description by Antonio d'Asti of the statues of these heroes in the great hall of Coucy, written in 1451.[1] Bertrand du Guesclin here makes a tenth Worthy.

Adde novem veterum fama praestante virorum,
Nomen apud Gallos clarae probitatis habentum,
Illic compositas ex petra albente figuras.
Ex quibus existunt Judea ab origine nati
Tres domini: Josue, Judas Machabaeus, et ipse
David; tres autem gentilis sanguinis: Hector
Trojanus, Caesar Romanus Jullius, atque
Magnus Alexander; tres vero Regis Olimpi,
Qui fuit ob nostram passus tormenta salutem,
Excoluere fidem, certe meliora secuti:
Arturus rex, et rex Magnus Karolus, atque
Is qui pro Christo postremus subdidit urbem
Jerusalem, aeterno Gothofredus nomine dignus.
Addidit his genitor nostri hujus principis, heros
Summae virtutis, Lodoycus, munera longe
Promeritus famae, qui non mediocriter auxit
Hoc castrum, decimam Gallorum ex gente figuram
Militis insignis Claschina, prole Britanna
Nati, Bertrandi, quo nullus major in armis
Tempestate sua fuit, aut praestantior omni
Virtute, et tota fama praeclarior orbe.

[1] Le Roux de Lincy, *Paris et ses Historiens*, p. 558.

V

The fifth example occurs on a series of copper engravings, made in 1464 by an anonymous artist known as the Meister mit den Bandrollen, of which sets are to be found in the British Museum and the library of Bamberg.[1] The verses, which reflect rather unfavorably on the composer's latinity, run as follows:

Hector	Hector de troya priamis filius
de	fuit de ix paribus unus
troya	apud troyam fuit occisus
	ab archille ut legimus
	xic annis lxx uter pars minus
	antequam xps fuit natus
Rex	Secondus fuit alexander vocatus
alexander	qui de macedonia fuit natus
	in paradiso —— tributum
	sicut continet historia scriptum
	tre centis annis obiit prius
	in babilonia quam nasceretur xps
Julius	Julius cesar tercius vocatur
cesar	per quam terra magna acquiratur
rex	in babilona & italia
	ipse possedit cum potencia
	de satis fuit vexatus
	xlii annis antequam xps fuit natus
nobilis	(Inscription imperfect)
Iosue	
rex	Quintus dauid vocabatur
dauid	vere illustris rex coronabatur
	golias fuit ab eo interfectus
	a deo fuit dauid electus
	obiit ut legimus mille annis
	ante datum xpi incarnacionis

[1] Described by Dodgson, *Catalogue of German and Flemish Prints in the British Museum*, II, 150 ff.

Judas machabeus	Sextus fuit vero iudeus et vocabatur iudas machabeus muchonorum ipse necavit de hoc seculo migravit centum & quadraginta duo annis ante datum xpi incarnacionis
Artur rex	Artur fuit in ordine primus christianorum et rex nobilissimus draconem ipse occidit Et per xpo penas habuit post mortem xpi vc et xlv annis abiit artur rex illustris
Karolus rex	Karolus rex et imperator fuit sanctus et dominator per ytaliam & almaneam per friseam & hyspaniam aquis gracie obiit nobilis post mortem xpi viiic et xlv annis
gotfridus de bulion	gotfridus de bulion fuit tercius et paganis multum durus jhrem subiugauit et locum sanctum coronam spineam portauit tantum veneno ipse fuit toscicatus post mortem xpi xic annis

VI

The sixth is found in MS Harley 2259, fol. 39v, at the British Museum, and has been published by Furnivall in *Notes and Queries*.[1] As this text is so easily accessible, I print here only the first of the nine stanzas.

ix[e] worthy

Trogie.

Ector, miles paganus, & ante incarnacionem.

he b(ere) asure ij lyons rampant combataunt or, enarmyd goules.

Ector, that was off alle knyghtes flowre,
whych euer gate hym' with hys hond honour,
vnware, of achylles full of envye,
was slayn': allas, that euer shuld he deye!

[1] Series VII, Vol. VIII, p. 22.

VII

In the Coventry Leet Book an account is given of the entertainment of Queen Margaret, in 1455, and on this occasion the Nine Worthies figured among the spectacles, each of them delivering a speech of welcome.[1]

Afturward betwix the seyde crosse & the cundit beneþe that were sette ix pagentes well arayed & yn every pagent was shewed a speche of the ix conqueroures yn the furst was shewed of Hector as foloweth

HECTOR
Most pleasaunt princes recordid þat may be
I hector of troy þat am chefe conquerour
lowly wyll obey yowe & knele on my kne
and welcom yowe tendurly to your honoure
to this conabull citie the princes chaumber
whome ye bare yn youre bosom joy to þis lande
thro whome in prosperite þis empyre shall stand

In the secunde pagent was shewed a speche of Alexander as foloweth

ALEX
I alexander þat for chyvalry berithe þe balle
Most curious in conquest thro þe world am y named
Welcum yowe princes as quene principall
but I hayls you right hendly I wer wurthy to be blamyd
The noblest prince þat is born whome fortune hath famyd
is your sovereyn lorde herry emperour & kyng
unto whom mekely I wyll be obeying

In the thridde pagent was shewed of Josue as foloweth

JOSUE
I Josue þat in hebrewe reyn principall
to whome þat all egipte was fayne to inclyne
wyll abey to your plesur princes most riall
as to the heghest lady þat I can ymagyne
to the plesure of your persone I wyll put me to pyne
As a knyght for his lady boldly to fight
Yf any man of curage wold bid you unright.

In the fourthe pagent was shewed of david as foloweth

DAVID
I David þat in deyntes have led all my dayes
That slowe þe lyon & goly thorowe goddys myght
Will obey to you lady youre persone prayse
And welcum you curtesly as a kynd knyght
for the love of your lege lorde herry that hight
And your laudabull lyfe that vertuus ever hath be
lady most lufly ye be welcum to þis cite

[1] Thomas Sharp, *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries*, p. 147.

In the fyth pagent was shewed a speche of Judas as foloweth

JUDAS I Judas þat yn Jure am callid the belle
In knyghthode & conquest have I no pere
Wyll obey to you prynces elles did I not well
And tendurly welcum you yn my manere
Your own soverayn lorde & kynge is present here
Whome god for his godeness preserve in good helthe
and ende you with worship to this landys welthe.

In the sixt pagent was shewed a speche of Arthur as foloweth

ARTHUR I Arthur kynge crownyd & conquerour
That yn this land reyned right rially
With dedes of armes I slowe the Emperour
The tribute of this ryche reme I made downe to ly
Ihit unto [you] lady obey I mekely
as youre sure servande plesur to your highnesse
for the most plesaunt princes mortal þat es.

In the vij pagent was shewed a speche of Charles as foloweth

CHARLES I charles chefe cheftan of þe reme of fraunce
And emperour of grete rome made by eleccion
Which put mony paynyms to pyne & penaunce
The holy relikes of criste I had in possession
Jhit lady to your highnes to cause dieu refeccion
Worshipfully I welcum you after your magnificens
Yf my service mowe plese you I wyll put to my diligens

In the viij Pagent was shewed a speche of Julius as foloweth

JULIUS I Julius cesar soverayn of knyghthode
and emperour of mortall men most hegh & myghty
Welcum you prynces most benynge & gode
Of quenes þat byn crowned so high non knowe I
the same blessyd blossom þat spronge of your body
Shall succede me in worship I wyll it be so
all the landis olyve shall obey hym un to.

In the ix Pagent was shewed a speche of Godfride as foloweth

GODFRIDE I Godfride of Bollayn kynge of Jerusalem
Weryng þe thorny crowne yn worshyp of Jhesu
Which in battayle have no pere under the sone beme
Yhit lady right lowely I loute unto yowe
So excellent a princes stedefast & trewe
knowe I none christened as you in your estate
Jhesu for hys merci incresse & not abate.

VIII

A tapestry of the third quarter of the fifteenth century in the Basel Historical Museum gives us German couplets for five of the Worthies.[1] The tapestry, bearing as it does the arms of a Basel family, was doubtless of Swiss manufacture.

David	. . . . kam schlug ich den grossen goliam
Judas Machebeus	ich hab gehabt iudische lant und min opfer zuo gott gesant
Kunig Artus	min macht und min miltikeit das ich alle lant erstreit
Kaisser Karelus	weltlich recht han ich gestifft und die bestettiet in geschrift
Göppfrit herr von hollant	noch düress fürsten adels sitten han ich das heilige grab erstritten

Of the texts on the subject of the Nine Worthies one of those given by Gollancz (No. XIII), a mumming play of the time of Edward IV, and one of those given above (No. VII), the Coventry pageant, were intended for oral recitation, and of course each of the speeches is in the first person. It seems to me, therefore, possible that the stanzas of which versions are to be found on the Bibliothèque Nationale and Metz woodcuts and at La Manta were composed originally for that purpose. The commonest method of explanation on wall paintings, tapestries, and so forth is the third person. Perhaps, too, the German prologue to the prose Alexander (Gollancz No. XV) and the couplets for the Basel tapestry, both of which are written in the first person, were also intended as the parts of actors in a pageant, and came to be used naturally for other purposes. A set of sixteenth century tapestries from the district of La Marche, originally discovered at St. Maixent and now at the Castle of Langeais, also bears inscriptions in the first person.[2] Perhaps when further texts of this character have been accumulated, we shall have actual proof of the occasional adoption of pageant parts by tapicers and other decorative artists for explanatory legends on their products.

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[1] Julius Lessing, *Wandteppiche und Decken des Deutschen Mittelalters*, Plate XXVIII.
[2] *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, 1894, p. 209.

DANE HEW, MUNK OF LEICESTRE

The tales concerning the disposition of a corpse or corpses in an effort to conceal crime are numerous and varied. The discussions of these tales have been of very unequal value. Little remains to be said about those tales which deal with more than one corpse; they have been well studied by Pillet.[1] The state of affairs is quite different with the stories of the wanderings of a single body, for previous collections have been ill arranged and incomplete. Clouston's descriptive account,[2] which is occupied chiefly with summaries, errs occasionally in matters of relationship. De Cock[3] brought together the largest number (twenty-six) of examples, with the declared purpose of showing that the "Little Hunchback" of the *Arabian Nights* could not be their source. His scheme of classification obscures several clearly marked types. Steppuhn[4] did not even employ all the material accessible to him. He greatly overrates the significance of the fabliau "Le prestre comporté," and, because of insufficient evidence, draws erroneous conclusions about the affiliations of Masuccio's novella. Sumtsov's discussion of tales about fools touches incidentally upon these corpse-stories.[5] Sumtsov cites seventeen tales, which for the most part do not appear in the other articles. He holds that these tales originated in India and were spread in Western Europe by the fabliaux and novelle. He was unfortunate in selecting an Indian example[6] to serve as a starting-point. The tale of his choice relates how the stupid brother in executing the clever one's orders manages to do everything wrong. Instead of bathing his mother he kills her in a flood of hot water.

[1] *Das Fableau von den Trois Bossus Menestrels*, Halle, 1901; compare an important review by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XXXI, 136–44.

[2] *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 332–57.

[3] "De Arabische Nachtvertellingen: De Geschiedenis van den kleinen Bultenaar," *Volkskunde* (Ghent), XIII, 216–30.

[4] *Das Fablel vom Prestre Comporté: Ein Beitrag zur Fablelforschung und zur Volkskunde*, Dissertation, Königsberg i. Pr., 1913.

[5] N. Ph. Sumtsov, "Razyskaniya v oblasti anekdoticheskoy literatury. Anekdoty o gluptsakh," in *Sbornik Harkovskago istoriko-philologicheskago Obschchestva*, XI (Harkov, 1899), 165–67 (pp. 48 ff. of the reprint).

[6] Minaef, *Indiiskia Skazki i Legendy*, pp. 38–42.

When he is sent to bring a girl to his brother's house, he cuts her into pieces for convenience in carrying her. The mutilated body and the murderer are burned. This is not a tale of the wanderings of a corpse at all. It has no bearing on the question of the origin of the genuine corpse-stories which Sumtsov cites, and of course it does not prove their Indian origin. A discussion of corpse-stories did not properly lie in the field of Sumtsov's paper; consequently his collections are incomplete and his remarks rather unsatisfactory.

The material available is far more abundant than appears from any previous study; several hundred stories about the wanderings of *one* corpse are mentioned below. The objects of this paper are to distinguish the various types of tales based on the incident of the compromising corpse and to examine in more detail the group, interesting because of its singular literary popularity, which includes "Dane Hew, Munk of Leicestre."

In the tales to be discussed the lifelessness of the dead body lends itself to a grotesque or often revolting humor. The lack of respect, the disrespect even, for the rites and conventions of burial, and the coarsely comic situations into which the corpse falls, are exploited to the full and with a gusto which we today may envy, but would scarcely imitate. The subject is not one which allows of many kinds of treatment. The majority of these tales are told in a matter-of-fact tone—so matter-of-fact, indeed, that they could be, and in some cases were, accepted as actual historical tradition. The conscious literary artist either follows the lead of the folk-tales or turns it all into a mock-heroic burlesque.

I

The many tales which have as their main theme the disposal of a corpse or corpses, fall into several clearly separable classes with a residue of scattering and unclassifiable forms. The more important of the clearly separable types may be designated for convenience as: *Les trois bossus menestrels*, *Tote Frau*, *The Blinded Husband and the Corpse*, *Prestre Comporté*, and *Dane Hew*. Only occasionally does a member of one of these groups seem to be contaminated by, or combined with, a tale of another type. Furthermore, the number of tales which fall strictly under each head is sufficient, especially in

view of their geographical distribution and the nature of their relationship, to justify the classification. A number of tales, however, resist successfully all attempts to "pigeon-hole" them. This is to be expected in the variants of a theme so widespread and so capable of modification. It is by no means necessary, nor is it desirable, to assume that all these scattering forms can be traced back to a common source. The fact that unclassifiable forms do exist, and in considerable numbers, is itself a proof that no violence has been done to the tales that have been classified.

Pillet has made an excellent study of *Les trois bossus menestrels*, which has been corrected in some points by Gaston Paris. Briefly the story is:

The wife of a humpback makes assignations at successive hours with three humpbacks. The first is hurried into a closet when the second appears, the second follows in his turn, and then the third when the husband comes home. There they stifle, and the wife must dispose of the bodies in order to conceal the affair. She calls in a porter and offers him a sum of money to carry off one body. On his return for his pay she declares that the corpse has come back. The porter is surprised but takes the second body away and ties a stone about its neck before throwing it into the river. He is induced to carry off the third on the same pretext, [and this he is burning when the humpbacked husband rides by. The porter thinks that the appearance of the latter explains the mystery of the returning corpse and throws both horse and rider into the fire].[1]

The great popularity of this tale is due in large measure to its inclusion in certain texts of the *Seven Sages*, where it is known as *Gibbosi*.[2] The addition of variants to those recorded by Pillet will probably not change the status of the investigation.[3] It will suffice for

[1] The episode in brackets is peculiar to the occidental variants.

[2] On the use of *Gibbosi* as a means of classification of the texts of the *Seven Sages*, see A. Hilka, *Historia septem sapientum*, I (=*Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, 4), p. xi. Hilka prints a new version of considerable importance.

[3] Hindu: *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94 (from **North Indian Notes and Queries*, IV, 422). Malay: W. Skeat, *Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest*, pp. 36–37, "Father 'Follow-My-Nose' and the Four Priests." Syriac: Oestrup, *Contes de Damas*, pp. 115–21. Greek: *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94; *ibid.*, XI, 333, No. 8. Rumanian: Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, iii, pp. 385, 393. Italian: Κρυπτάδια, IV, 145, No. 5; Francesco Angeloni da Terni, Novella XXIII (unpublished; see summary by G. Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella italiana nel secolo XVII*, 111–12). French: *Revue des trad. pop.*, II, 461; XI, 451–53; XXI, 459–61; *Wallonia*, XIII, 199; *Sébillot, *Les joyeuses histoires de Bretagne*, No. 77. Flemish: de Mont and de Cock, *Dit zijn Vlaamsche Vertelsels*, No. 407. The Hungarian additions are numerous: see Gâlos, *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, XVIII (1902), 103–14; *Ethnographia*, XIX

the present purpose to emphasize the facts that the point of this tale lies in the disposal of *several* corpses, and that a trick must therefore be played on the porter who thinks he is carrying away but one. The heart and fiber of this tale is the plurality of the bodies. It is inconceivable that a story about the disposal of *one* corpse could have developed out of it. The assignations of a lady with several wooers and their subsequent discomfiture (but not death), as narrated in the fabliau *Constant du Hamel* or in Lydgate's *Prioress and Her Three Wooers*, are more suggestive as parallels to *Les trois bossus menestrels* than are stories about one corpse.[1] Indeed some French fabliaux seem to be a combination of *Les trois bossus menestrels* and *Constant du Hamel*. A curious joining of *Les trois bossus menestrels* with the episode of the bride won by the man who guesses the true nature of an enormous flea's hide[2] is found in an Italian tale, "È Re Gobbetto."[3]

(1908), 125; B. Heller, *ibid.*, XIX, 272; *Revue des trad. pop.*, XXI, 369 ff. For Scandinavia, see Bondeson, *Svenska Folksagor*, No. 89 (cf. *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen*, II, cix, and Wigström, *ibid.*, V, No. 1 [1884], p. 102); Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, No. 111; *S. Bugge and R. Berge, *Norske Eventyr og Sagn, Ny Samling*, 1913, No. 20, p. 78. Hackmann, *FF Communications*, VI, No. 1537*, cites 5 versions from Swedes in Finland. It is known in Slavic territory: see F. S. Krauss, *Märchen und Sagen der Südslaven*, I, No. 98; Dalmatia: *Zt. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIX, 324, No. 11; and the abundance of references collected by Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XIX, 256, No. 99; XXIX, 452, No. 340; XXXI, 274, No. 82; *Zt. f. österreichische Volkskunde*, VIII, 148, Nos. 25, 26; *Národopisný Sborník Československý*, Svazek VII (Prague, 1901), p. 213, No. 7. Numerous additional references of all sorts are to be found in J. Frey, *Gartengesellschaft* (ed. Bolte), p. 281 (addenda to his notes on V. Schumann, *Nachtbüchlein*, No. 19); Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 72; *ibid.*, IX, 88 (addenda by Basset, *Revue des trad. pop.*, XX, 331). Modern literary redactions are cited by Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 349.

On the oriental origin of this tale see von der Leyen, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXVI, 294 ff. On Jörg Graff (Pillet, p. 94) see also Götze, *Zt. f. d. d. Unterricht*, XXVII, 99. I have not seen H. Varnhagen, *De glossis nonnullis anglicis*, Universitätsschrift, Erlangen, 1902; nor E. de Cerny, *Saint Suliac et ses légendes*, "Les trois mortes." The tale in Waetzold, *Flore* (cf. Paul's *Grundriss*[2], II, No. 1, p. 378), does not belong here.

I have not seen the works whose titles, in this and later notes, are preceded by a star.

[1] Pillet, pp. 51–75; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, II, 231, note; Prinz, *A Tale of a Prioress and Her Three Wooers* (= *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, XLVII).

On the relation of *Constant du Hamel* and *Les trois bossus menestrels* see further: Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VIII, 51; Jonas, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, X, 111; Bédier, *Fabliaux*[2], p. 246; Cosquin, *Romania*, XL, 486; *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XIX, 213; Vetter, *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, V, 556 f.; B. Heller, *Ethnographia*, XIX, 371; Hilka, *Jahresbericht d. schles. Ges. f. vaterl. Kultur*, XC, No. 4, p. 18.

[2] On this see R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 601: Flohfell erraten; Bolte, *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XVI, 242, No. 23, and XVII, 229; Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXVI, 464; Desparmet, *Contes pop.*, p. 407.

[3] G. Zanazzo, *Tradizioni popolari romane*, I, *Novelle, favole e leggende romanesche*, pp. 41 ff. = *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, XXII, 123 ff.

The main outlines of the story which, in accordance with Steppuhn, I shall call *Tote Frau*, are tolerably clear, and wholly distinct from those of any other form:

A poor brother (or sexton) steals a hog from his rich brother (or parson). The latter suspects the right man, but wishes to make certain. So he conceals his mother-in-law in a chest which he asks the poor brother to keep for a short time. The spy betrays her presence, however, and is killed by the pouring of boiling water into the chest, or by some similar method which leaves no mark of violence. To give a plausible reason for her death the poor brother puts a bit of cheese or dry bread in her mouth. The rich brother is astonished when he opens the chest, but he can prove nothing, and the corpse is buried with fitting respect. At night the scamp disinters the body, robs it of its jewels, and places it at the rich brother's door. The latter must part with some of his ill-gotten gains to provide a proper funeral, for he is led to believe that the dead woman's reappearance is due to lack of dignity in her previous burial. Successive repetitions or variations of the trick make the wealth of the two brothers approximately equal, and then the corpse is allowed to rest.

The occidental origin of this tale[1] is, I think, as clear as the oriental origin of *Les trois bossus menestrels*. The characteristic features of this type are: that the corpse is a woman's, that its

[1] The variants are abundant. Steppuhn (p. 49) cites only: J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, No. 15; E. Meier, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus Schwaben*, No. 66; Cosquin, *Contes pop. de la Lorraine*, No. 80; Braga, *Contos tradicionaes do povo portuguez*, p. 210, No. 109, "Os dos irmãos e a mulher morta" (this is a contaminated version; see the remarks below on "Dane Hew"). It is well known on Celtic soil. Hebrides: *Folk-Lore*, IX, 89, No. 10. Irish: M. Sheehan, *Cnó Coilleadh Craobhaighe*, Dublin, 1907, pp. 49 ff., "An t-seanchailleach sa Chófra" ("The Old Woman in the Chest"); J. Lloyd, *Sgéalaidhe Óirghiall*, Dublin (Gaelic League), 1905, pp. 12–16 (with trifling variations from Sheehan); J. Lloyd, *Tonn Tóime*, Dublin (Gaelic League), 1915, pp. 24–28 (in both of Lloyd's collections it is entitled "An Dearbráthir Bocht agus an Dearbráthir Saidhbhir" ["The Poor Brother and the Rich Brother"]. In *Tonn Tóime* the servant who aids the poor brother is a Thankful Dead Man. For these references in Irish I am indebted to Professor F. N. Robinson); Britten, *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 185–86; T. C. Croker, *Killarney Legends*, pp. 81–86. It is known in Flemish and North German countries; see Pelz, *Blätter f. pommersche Volkskunde*, I, 43; Jahn, *Schwänke und Schnurren aus Pommern*, p. 111; Wisser, *Plattdeutsche Volksmärchen*, No. 29 (he has 30 unprinted variants, see p. xxiii. For the concluding incident see Addy, *Household Tales*, No. 17); Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg*², II, 501–6 (the editor, Willoh, has altered this tale [cf. *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, VIII, 204], and the first edition [I, 354] should be used); *Ons Volksleven*, XII, 109 (defective); de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 229, No. 22. For Scandinavia, see E. T. Kristensen, *Fra Mindebo*, No. 3, pp. 24–32; Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, No. 114. *FF Communications*, V, No. 1536, cites 117 Finnish variants, of which five are from Finns out of Finland. A great variety of Slavic and other references are to be found in R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 190; Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XVII, 581, Nos. 216, 217; XIX, 267, No. 29; *Zt. f. öst. Vk.*, VIII, 147, No. 21; 148, No. 24; 152, No. 79; *Národopisný Sborník Československý* (Prague, 1901), p. 213, No. 6.

For the robbery of jewels from a corpse see Burne, *Shropshire Folklore*, p. 105; "Lageniensis," *Irish Folklore*, Glasgow, 1870, p. 24. For the fear of the return of a

returnings embarrass the same person (the rich brother or the parson), and that the poor brother (or sexton) profits from its reappearances. The absence of any signs of murder on the body, and the bit of food which the murderer puts into the old woman's mouth to make it seem that she has choked, are common to all the tales. In Ireland and Scotland it is usually related of two brothers, elsewhere of a country preacher and his sexton. On the whole, the Continental tales are less imaginative than the Celtic. The disposal of the corpse in the Continental tales is a matter of rather vulgar bargaining by which the sexton enriches himself; and there is none of that strange horror of the corpse supposedly returning for a more gorgeous burial. It is noteworthy that no other story of a compromising corpse has been found in Ireland.

The *Blinded Husband and the Corpse* is composed of two wholly distinct stories, as is evident from an outline of the occidental variants:[1]

An adulterous wife, fearing that knowledge of her conduct may come to the ears of her husband, prays that he may be blinded. The husband hears her prayer and deceives her into thinking that it has been granted. He seizes the opportunity, which her confidence in his dissembling gives, to kill the priest.[2] The story of the corpse is very summarily told. Usually the corpse is leaned against an altar; sometimes a horse, bearing the body, runs wild in a pot-market.

corpse see W. Gregor, *Folklore of the Northeast of Scotland*, p. 214 (something similar to this tale is hinted at); *Alemannia*, VIII, 129 ff. For parallels to the incident of the old woman bound to a foal which pursues its mother, see M. Böhm, *Lettische Schwänke*, No. 24 and notes, p. 114.

The Continental tales are often introduced with the episode of the man who did not wish to share with his neighbors the hog that he had slaughtered. He follows a cheat's advice and exposes the hog which, by prearrangement, the cheat steals. The cheat asserts that someone else stole it, and the selfish man dares not accuse him. For this as an independent story see A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: Its Sources and Analogues*, pp. 257–58.

[1] Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, 1867, No. 58; J. G. T. Grässe, *Sagenbuch des preussischen Staates*, II, 1009–10, No. 1242; M. Böhm, *Lettische Schwänke*, p. 65, No. 40 (and notes, p. 119; cf. addenda by Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXXIII, 605). The Russian examples are abundant: see Κρυπτάδια, I, 240–43; Jaworskij, *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, VIII, 218 (too brief to be compared); Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XIX, 256, No. 102; XXXI, 269, No. 50; Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der turkischen Stämme*, X, 150–52, Nos. 84, 84*a*. Sumtsov (see note 5 on p. 221) cites: *Sadovnikov, p. 162. Polish: *Kolberg, Pokuice, IV, No. 67. For Finland see Aarne, *FF Communications*, III, No. 1380; *ibid.*, V, No. 1380 (72 variants); Hackmann, *ibid.*, VI, No. 1380 (4 variants from Swedes in Finland). Greek: R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 475–79, "The Son who feigned blindness"; and compare Halliday's notes, *ibid.*, pp. 236–37.

[2] He pours hot fat down the priest's throat; for this see also Erk-Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, I, 172, No. 50A, "Die Mordeltern."

The incident of the husband who feigns blindness in order to outwit his wife and her paramour has a family tree of its own extending as far back as the Pantschatantra.[1] The dissembled blindness in conjunction with a corpse-story is found both in Europe and in India. It is probable that we are not dealing with a combination which was made in the Orient and then transmitted westward. Hans Sachs, who knows the story, very probably joined the parts himself.[2] On the other hand, we can show that a union of the parts was also made in India. In a Ceylonese tale,[3] after the husband has feigned blindness and killed the lover, the body is put first in a neighbor's field, and then before a salt-dealer's house; the latter strikes the body, discovers that it is a corpse, and, knowing himself to be innocent, makes the murder known to the government. The guilty wife, who has been hired as a mourner, betrays herself and is executed; the murderer goes scot-free. In connection with this tale the corpse-stories collected from three North Indian tribes, the Santal, the Oraon-Kol, and the Kohlān, offer some points of interest. A corpse in a Santal tale[4] has a set of adventures similar to those in the Ceylonese story; in both the blinding episode is lacking. The second tribe, which has other tales in common with the Santal, tells essentially the same corpse-story[5] with a curious addition:

A potter, who has been the contriver of the corpse's adventures, counterfeits its voice at the funeral pyre in which it is being burned, and bids the

[1] Montanus, *Schwankbücher* (ed. Bolte), p. 611 (*Gartengesellschaft*, chap. lxxii); *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XXI, 197; Swynnerton, *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 147; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 215; Stiefel, *Litteraturblatt f. germ. und rom. Philol.*, XXXVII, col. 26; E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de Entremeses* (=*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XVII), I, p. cxxiii; **Grisanti, Usi, credenze . . . . di Isnello*, II, 202; *Lademann, *Tierfabeln und andere Erzählungen in Suaheli*, No. 35; *Anthropophyteia*, I, 448, No. 338; *ibid.*, 449, No. 339; Bünker, *Schwänke, Sagen, und Märchen in heanzischer Mundart*, No. 19; *F. Lorentz, *Slowinzische Texte*, p. 142, No. 130; cf. Polívka, *Zt. f. öst. Vk.*, VII, 195. Bolte (*Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XXIV, 430) cites a discussion of this tale by S. Debenedetti. See also the *Skogar Kristsrímur*, of Rognvaldr blindi (Paul's *Grundriss*[2], II, 1, p. 729).

[2] Stiefel, *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, X, 74 ff. The meistergesang is "Der baur, messner, mit dem (toten) pfaffen" in Sachs, *Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke* (ed. Goetze, Neudrucke, Nos. 207–11), V, No. 742.

[3] H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 212–15, No. 228.

[4] Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 247–48, "The Corpse of the Raja's Son."

[5] F. Hahn, *Blicke in die Geisteswelt der heidnischen Kols*, Gütersloh, 1906, pp. 16–19, No. 9. In this collection Nos. 15 and 20 are from the Santal. See also the remark on No. 34.

people give half the kingdom and the hand of the ruler's (corpse's) daughter to the potter.[1]

Now the Kohlān tale contains in the corpse-story this new motif, and prefixes the dissembled blinding to it all.[2] The fact that the corpse-story in all these—the Ceylonese tale included—is practically one and the same indicates that here is a specifically Indian type, and that it is being combined with other motifs before our eyes. These eastern tales exhibit no striking or significant resemblances to the European forms.

The eastern tales are not the source of the other versions. The joining of the episode of the dissembled blindness to a corpse-story probably took place at least three different times. The only one of these which we can date is the juncture made by Hans Sachs. The combination in India is probably very recent, for it is apparently restricted to a few intimately related tribes. The combination as it appears in European folk-tales has had sufficient time to become widely disseminated, and, if we may assume a single starting-point, to develop considerable individual differences. The situation is obscured by the facts that it is difficult to identify the source of the corpse-story[3] in the European *Blinded Husband and the Corpse*, and that there has been some interchange of motifs between this and other types.

Steppuhn errs in not developing Pillet's suggestion (p. 96) that the fabliaux "Le prestre comporté" and "Du segretain ou du moine" are representatives of different groups. The *Prestre Comporté* type is a very old one, and it will not be possible to unravel its history here. It may be outlined as follows:

A woman has been carrying on a liaison with a priest. The husband, who has been informed of the affair by a servant,[4] makes certain of the

[1] This is comparable to the story of Gianni Schicchi (*Inferno*, XXX): cf. Altrocchi, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIX, 200–225; see also Vossler, *Studien zur vgl. Lit. gesch.*, II, 19. Professor Altrocchi found no examples in folk-tales; in addition to these, see W. F. O'Connor, *Folk Tales from Thibet*, p. 128, and compare *Mitteilungen d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Deutschen in Böhmen*, XV, 166, No. 6.

[2] Bompas, *op. cit.*, pp. 480–83, No. 22. The Kohlān are related to the Santal.

[3] It is so brief that comparison with other forms is difficult. It has certain similarities to some tales of the *Prestre Comporté* type, but the most characteristic incidents of one type do not appear in the other.

[4] For parallels to this figure see Bolte, *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, New Series, VII, 464; Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXII, 310, No. 700; *Zt. f. öst. Vk.*, VIII, 147, No. 11; 149, No. 36.

lover's visit one night by announcing his intended absence. He returns unexpectedly and kills the priest (usually by pouring some hot liquid down his throat). He feels no responsibility for the concealment of the murder, for its disclosure will cause him little inconvenience. [He torments his wife by forcing her to move the body from one place to another in order, as she hopes, to hide it from him.][1] The corpse is then laid against a door, [is mounted on a horse], and is exchanged for a hog in a sack. Apparently the blame finally rests on an ecclesiastic whose position protects him from the accusation of murder.

The variants[2] differ widely among themselves, and a satisfactory archetype cannot be easily constructed. One thing, however, is quite clear: the fabliau "Le prestre comporté" is not, as Steppuhn would have it, a good substitute for its folk-tale source (or the archetype); it is too elaborate and sophisticated. Characteristic of this type are: the guilty wife, the servant who either informs the husband of the liaison or disposes of the body or does both, and murder by pouring a hot liquid down the man's throat. The mounting of the corpse on horseback, although it is not found in all the examples, has certain distinctive characteristics: it is not the conclusion of the tale, the corpse is not armed, and the horse and rider are attacked for trespass (usually on a grainfield).

Prestre Comporté is first and foremost a type circulating among the folk; its immediate literary derivatives are negligible. By a selection and rearrangement of incidents a new form developed out of this rather chaotic type. This new form I call the *Dane Hew* type and shall discuss in detail below.

A number of tales remind us of one or another of the foregoing types without presenting a conclusive similarity. These corrupt

[1] Details in brackets are not common to all variants.

[2] "Le prestre comporté," Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Recueil général des fabliaux*, IV, No. 80 (trans. A. von Keller, *Altfranzösische Sagen*, II, 167 ff.; retold with minor changes by L. H. Nicolay, *Vermischte Gedichte und prosaische Schriften*, Berlin, 1792, I, 156–67, "Der Kapuziner"). Its nearest associates are: Asbjørnsen and Moe, *Norske Folkeeventyr, Ny Samling*, Christiania, 1871, pp. 141–51, No. 88, "Klokkeren i Bygden vor" (trans. Dasent, *Tales from the Fjeld*, pp. 184 ff., "Our Parish Clerk") and de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 220–21, No. 4, "Pater Koekebak." Pitrè, *Fiabe, novelle . . . . pop. sic.*, Palermo, 1874, No. 165, "Fra Ghiniparu" (ill-told and contaminated with Masuccio, Novella 1) and Finamore, *Trad. pop. abruz.*, I, *Novelle*, Lanciano, 1882, pp. 40–42, No. 9 (very clever), form another group. Haas, *Blätter f. pomm. Vk.*, IX, 24–26, contains incidents from the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse* (compare the tale collected by Grässe cited in note 1 on p. 226). See further: E. T. Kristensen, *Fra Mindebo*, pp. 145–51, No. 28; B. Heller, *Rev. des trad. pop.*, XXI, 373–74 (two tales); Sébillot, *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, XIII, 280–81 (defective).

versions tell us nothing new about the types; they are of interest only because they show how easily these tales were modified. The whole might be given a new emphasis, the motivation of the murder might be changed, and the narrator might forget incidents which even he felt to be essential.

Some of these tales may contain remnants of the corpse-story in the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse.* The narrator in these corrupt forms strains his ingenuity to devise new ways of "killing" the corpse. When his invention fails he concludes with one or another incident which is especially familiar in this type. In the Icelandic "Märchen vom Barbiere,"[1] the barber extorts hush money from a miller, a tailor, and a shoemaker at whose doors he has laid the corpse. Since it offers him no further opportunities for profit he lays it on the church steps, and it is buried in the odor of sanctity. A Dutch tale[2] has, like the Icelandic, three "slayings" of the corpse, which is then mounted on a horse and runs wild in the pot-market; "perhaps it's running yet," says the narrator. The characteristic incidents in these two are respectively the body on the church steps and in the pot-market, and these seem to be the property of the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse.* A meistergesang, "Vom pfarrer der zu fünf maln starb,"[3] which has been ascribed to Hans Rosenplüt, may possibly belong under this head.

"D'un vieux cheval et d'une vieille femme"[4] may contain reminiscences of the *Prestre Comporté* type, although there are considerable differences. So, too, a curious Magyar tale[5] has certain resemblances in spite of its unique and grewsome introduction: a woman has a passion for tearing out people's hair; her husband on his deathbed

[1] Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, pp. 396 ff., No. 112. Compare with it: "Ta Hans'l unt ta' Pfaara" in Bünker, *Schwänke, Sagen und Märchen in heanzischer Mundart*, pp. 7–9, No. 3.

[2] "De Groentedief," de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 222, No. 7. Compare with it: "Le Père Bernard" (*Rev. des trad. pop.*, XI, 302–3), from Haute Bretagne.

[3] A. von Keller, *Erzählungen aus altdeutschen Handschriften* (Stuttgart Lit. Ver., XXXV), pp. 111–19. Stiefel (*Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, X, 77) relates it loosely to *Prestre Comporté.* On the ascription to Rosenplüt see V. Michels, *Studien über die ältesten Fastnachtspiele* (=*Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXVII), p. 148, and J. Demme, *Studien über Hans Rosenplüt*, Münster, 1906, p. 15.

[4] Sébillot, *Contes pop. de la Haute Bretagne* (1880), I, 236–42, No. 36; see also Steppuhn, pp. 66, 68.

[5] G. von Gaal, *Märchen der Magyaren*, pp. 276–89.

assures her that she will die a fivefold death if she does not let him carry his hair to the grave; she violates his wish and pays the penalty.

What seems to be a fifth type of corpse-story is found in tales from Finland, Transylvania, and Rumania. The Transylvanian "Der siebenmal Getödtete"[1] is the most easily accessible version of this type. It is remarkable on account of the abundance of incidents. A characteristic one, unknown in western Europe, is the floating of the corpse in a boat until it disturbs a duck hunter and is "shot."[2]

A few interesting tales from a great variety of places do not accord with any of the foregoing types. No two of them are alike. They exhibit only insignificant, incidental resemblances to forms we have met. The fabliau "Dou sagretaig"[3] is the oldest of these wholly anomalous tales:

A ram butts a priest and kills him. His corpse is placed at the door of a neighbor whose wife the priest had once loved; it is thrown into the river. Two fishers draw out the sack containing it, and one of them carries the sack home. The other refuses to believe that the sack contained nothing but a corpse, and publicly accuses his comrade of murder. While the first fisher is undergoing the ordeal of the bier, the ram is accidentally led past, the corpse bleeds, and the murder is out.

The similarities between this and other forms are negligible.[4] The discovery of the real murderer, the ram, by the ordeal of the bier seems to be the point of this tale; this is a curious turn which is paralleled nowhere else. The introductory love affair—lost because the manuscript is torn—is of a sort unfamiliar in these tales because there is nothing illicit about it. In a tale[5] of the Mande, a Central African tribe, we have a helpful servant who carries about the body

[1] Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, 1856. No. 61. Rumanian: *Obert, *Ausland*, 1856, 716 (summarized by Steppuhn, pp. 69 ff.). Finnish: Aarne, *FF Communications*, III, No. 1537. *Ibid.*, V, No. 1537, cites 42 Finnish versions; *ibid.*, VI, No. 1537, gives 8 from Swedes in Finland.

[2] See also the tales in Radloff (note 1 on p. 226).

[3] Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Receuil général*, VI, 243 ff.

[4] The two incidents of this tale which may be compared with other forms are the leaning of the corpse against a door and the throwing of it into water. Both incidents are so frequent as to be of no significance in questions of origin or affiliation. For the first see R[ouse], *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94; Paton, *ibid.*, XI, 334, and note 1 on p. 234 below; the second occurs often in the *Prestre Comporté* and *Dane Hew* types. See also H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 139–40, and for historical instances, Lütolf, *Germania*, XVII, 215.

[5] L. Frobenius, *Der schwarze Dekameron*, 342–50, No. 4, "Der Listige" (cf. p. 388). The Mande have long been in contact with Mohammedans to the north.

of his mistress' paramour. The journey of the corpse (carried to a robber's house, laid against a tree in which men were collecting honey, set before the king's harem) does not exhibit any significant similarities to anything else. It concludes with a well-known incident which has no connection with the corpse-story cycle: when the guilty man receives a mark which should distinguish him on the morrow, he marks all about him in the same way, and thus prevents detection.[1] "Die mehrere Male getötete Leiche"[2] is a dull tale of a woman who killed her mother-in-law for making trouble; the blame was shifted to the husband, to his brother, and then to an outsider. The most sordid of all these tales is one from Malta.[3] It relates how money was extorted from various merchants by the trick of leaving a child's body in their shops and then accusing them of murder. Apparently the same idea inspires a tale from the Swedish population of Finland.[4]

Of all the anomalous tales the "Little Hunchback" in the *Arabian Nights* is the most important, for it has often been used to bridge the gap in the transmission of these stories from their supposed place of origin in India to Europe. It has already been recognized that it fulfils this office very unsatisfactorily; de Cock's article was written to prove that it is not such an intermediary, and Stepphun (pp. 60 f.) reaches the same conclusion independently. It seems to be unrelated to any other tale. Chauvin[5] states that the story is probably older than the Cairene recension of the *Nights* into which it was interpolated; but we have no descendants from this hypothetical floating form. The purpose of the insertion is apparent; it gives a frame for the stories of the murderers who came forward to accuse themselves. Except for its use in *Sumurun*, the dramatization of the "Little Hunchback," there is no evidence of its popularity apart from the *Nights*.[6]

[1] For parallels see Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 113–65; Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, I, 214, note 2; von der Leyen, *Herrig's Archiv*, CXV, 11, note 2.

[2] Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, pp. 399 ff., No. 113.

[3] H. Stumme, *Maltesische Märchen*, pp. 61–64, No. 22, "Margherita" (original text in his *Maltesische Studien*, pp. 44–45, which is apparently much shorter than the translation).

[4] *FF Communications*, VI, No. 1537**.

[5] In a letter quoted by de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 230.

[6] See Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, V, 181. For a variant resembling *Sumurun*, see *Magasin pittoresque*, V, 201–2. It is not mentioned in Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England*, or in de Meester, *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early 19th Century*.

Two folk-stories about corpses have been inaccessible to me.[1]

In written literature as contrasted with folk-literature, the theme of the compromising corpse has not been widely used. It is too somber, and the lifeless body, except in the way that it affects the living, offers few possibilities to the literary artist. Noteworthy examples are: Palacio Valdés, "El Crimen de la Calle de la Perseguida";[2] the crassly realistic "Der tote Jude," of Hans Heinz Ewers;[3] and Robert Louis Stevenson's "The Wrong Box," which Mr. Granville Barker has recently dramatized as "The Morris Dance." In a clever story by James Morier[4] a dead man's head is bandied about. The interest in all these is rather in the emotions of the living than in the disposition of the body. There are a few literary instances in which the corpse is the "hero" of the tale, but these rest ultimately on some one of the folk-tales discussed below. In an incidental way the compromising corpse appears now and again on the stage, e.g., in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, IV, iii, and, with still more horrors, in Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, V, i.[5]

Certain facts about the relations of the various groups of tales may now be pointed out. No matter how far back we may go with the forms that have been described, *Les trois bossus menestrels* cannot be the source of any one. Nor is there cogent reason for thinking that the "Little Hunchback" is an intermediary between the East and the West. For speculation on the possible oriental origin of these tales, the Santal "Corpse of the Raja's Son" and the Kohlān and other Indian tales of the *Blinded Husband* type offer a foundation firmer than any hitherto proposed.

Obvious interrelations between the groups are few, but cross-influences of all sorts must not be excluded. The corpse-story in the

[1] E. T. Kristensen, *Bindestuens Saga*, p. 116; Schullerus, "Rumänische Volksmärchen," No. 59, in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, New Series, XXXIII.

[2] *Aguas Fuertes = Obras Completas*, Vol. X, Madrid, 1907.

[3] *Das Grauen*[11], pp. 208–40, Münich, 1912.

[4] *Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, chap. xiv.

[5] On Marlowe and *Titus Andronicus*, II, iii, see A. Schröer, *Ueber Titus Andronicus*, p. 118 (review by Brandl, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1891, p. 714); on Tourneur, see E. Koeppel, *Quellenstudien zu den Dramen B. Jonsons*, Münchner Beiträge, XI, 140.

For the painting of the corpse, as in an earlier scene of the *Revenger's Tragedy*, see also *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, V, ii (*Dodsley's Old English Plays*, X) and with a different purpose, Reade, *Cloister and the Hearth*, chap. xxxiii.

Blinded Husband and the Corpse has, in spite of its paucity of incident, something in common with *Prestre Comporté.* Some tale of the *Prestre Comporté* type, as will presently appear, supplied the material from which some clever narrator adapted incidents for *Dane Hew.* The complex "Siebenmal Getödtete" and the tales like it exhibit no significant similarities to any other group. The cleft between *Tote Frau* and other cycles cannot be bridged.

Before taking up the *Dane Hew* group we may note in passing certain tales in which the disposition of a compromising corpse appears merely as an incidental episode. In some of these the murderer simply props the body up—often at the scene of the murder—and makes his escape.[1] This device is best known in the widespread *Unibosmärchen,*[2] in which it is occasionally replaced by the episode of the pretended resuscitation of the hero's wife, who has been slain—so the onlookers think—by a blow. In one variant of *Unibos*[3] the narrator has not unskilfully expanded the motif of the corpse by inserting details from the longer corpse-stories. It is told of two monks of Bégard, and follows the *Unibos* type fairly well except for this incident:

While the clever monk is carrying the corpse to town he sees a pear tree in the moonlight. At its foot he lays the corpse. The proprietor of the orchard shoots the body "dead," and pays for the monk's silence. Then the corpse mounted on horseback rides wild in a pot-market. From a merchant who thinks he has killed the corpse more money is extorted. Naturally, the stupid monk fails in his attempt to make money from a corpse.

[1] Examples are collected by Miss M. R. Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 501, note 42. See further: Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, No. 57; Grundtvig, *Danmarks Folkeviser i Udvalg*, p. 101 (Prior, *Ancient Danish Ballads*, I, 69); *Folk-Lore*, XXII, 466; "De Schäwekeerl," *Niedersachsen*, May 1, 1901 (summarized by Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 348); R. C. Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, IX, 206; *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XVII, 339; *Squyr of Low Degre* (ed. Mead), p. 30, cf. pp. xxxii, 76.

I am not inclined to believe that this motif has any relation to the Hjaðningavíg, the myth of the recurrent battle, in spite of Liebrecht's comparisons (*Otia Imperialia*, p. 195).

[2] See J. Frey, *Gartengesellschaft* (ed. Bolte), p. 278, note 6*d*; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, II, 1–18 (No. 61, "Das Bürle"; the motif is G[2], cf. pp. 10 ff.); Jellinek, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1901, col. 899; Wiener, *Yiddish Literature*, pp. 45–49. It appears independently in Leskien and Brugmann, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen*, No. 38, p. 483 (cf. notes, p. 574).

[3] Luzel, *Contes pop. de la Basse Bretagne*, III, 426–38 = Blümml, *Schnurren und Schwänke des französischen Bauernvolkes*, No. 52.

In other tales the corpse is bound on a horse, which is then released to wander where it will.[1] This device also appears in the *Unibosmärchen*. In a Santal tale, "The Greatest Cheat of Seven,"[2] which is more or less of the *Unibos* type, we have this incident:

The corpse in a sack is laid on a bullock's back. When the animal trespasses on a wheatfield both beast and sack are beaten, and the cheat receives hush money from the man who thinks himself guilty of killing the woman.

II

The *Dane Hew* type is, with a few modifications in detail, a new arrangement in a fixed order of the incidents we have already met in *Prestre Comporté*. The importance of literary transmission in its history explains the clarity of the outlines of the story and the ease with which the relations of the variants can be perceived. The outline of the *Dane Hew* type is as follows:

A husband agrees to his wife's assignation with a libidinous monk (priest); they have conspired to blackmail him or to punish him for his presumption. He is killed by a *blow* on the head. The body is concealed in an outhouse (*pertruis*) of the monastery, is returned to the murderer's door, is exchanged for a hog in a sack,[3] and then, more or less completely armed, is mounted on a horse. In one subdivision of this group the horse runs wild, and either dashes its rider's brains out against the lintel of a door or falls with its rider into a river. In the other the horse pursues a mare bearing a man who flees from the accusation of having committed the murder until horse and corpse are engulfed in a ditch.

This sequence of incident, which is one of the most useful means of identifying the type, is followed in all the examples. Other essential characteristics are the new motivation of the murder, and the fact that the mounted corpse is armed.[4] The

[1] See *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, XIII (1900), 176–78; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 247; Bédier, *Fabliaux*², p. 469 (*E. Hamonic, *Moine Amoureux;* the corpse is armed); Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 68, "Young Hunting," version G, str. 2 (the corpse is armed); R. Basset, *Contes pop. berbères*, p. 223 (the corpse is later resuscitated by magic water).

[2] A. Campbell, *Santal Folk Tales*, pp. 98 ff.

[3] The incident may have been suggested by the many tales about stolen hogs, e.g., Latham, *Folk-Lore Record*, I, 27; *A C Mery Tales, Shakespeare's Jest Books* (ed. Hazlitt), I, 31–36, No. 16. See also Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 130, 385; Birlinger, *Alemannia*, XIV, 252; Bolte, *ibid.*, XV, 63; J. E. Simpkins, *County Folklore*, VII (Fife), pp. 220 f.

[4] An armed corpse on horseback appears occasionally elsewhere (see note 1 above), as an incidental motif, but not, as far as I know, in a corpse-story.

incident of the corpse's ride must not be confused with the analogous adventure of an unarmed body in *Prestre Comporté*. As the outline indicates, the type shows two subdivisions, one in which the horse runs wild,[1] and one in which it pursues a mare.[2] Of these the first is older both in the history of the tale and with regard to the variants preserved; the latter has enjoyed a singular literary popularity.

Unfortunately the lack of material prevents us from reproducing completely the process of selection which created the *Dane Hew* type. Certainly neither the fabliau "Le prestre comporté" nor any one of its nearest associates was the starting-point; for that purpose a defective Swedish tale,[3] in the absence of anything in French, must serve. The Swedish version stands about half-way between *Prestre Comporté* and the earlier form of *Dane Hew*, i.e., the one in which the horse runs wild. Here we have the characteristic incidents of *Prestre Comporté*—the guilty wife and the unarmed corpse on horseback—but the order typical of *Dane Hew*. It will be abundantly apparent that the development of this new type took place in France, although the best example of an intermediate form is Swedish.[4]

To the earlier form of the tale belong the three French fabliaux: "Du segretain ou du moine" (SoM); "Du segretain moine" (SM); "Le dit dou soucretain" (DS). Steppuhn's thesis discusses these thoroughly and, in the main, correctly. He has recognized that the three are closely related; that SM and DS are derivatives from a common source; that SoM is an improvement, chiefly in matters of motivation, on the other two. However, it is not necessarily true that SoM is therefore the source, or a faithful derivative of the source, which was corrupted in the tale which lies behind SM and DS. Steppuhn's argumentation (pp. 34–38) rests solely on the motivation of SoM, which is shown to be the work of a clever craftsman. Only

[1] Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Receuil général*, V, No. 123, "Du segretain ou du moine"; *ibid.*, No. 136, "Du segretain moine"; *ibid.*, VI, No. 150, "Le dit dou soucretain." An oral form of this tale was current in Great Britain a century ago: see Brueyre, *Revue des trad. pop.*, V, 198.

[2] Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1866, III, 135–46 (supersedes C. H. Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Romances*, pp. 316–29); Settembrini, *Il Novellino di Masuccio Salernitano*, Novella I, pp. 7–23; Braga, *Contos tradicionaes do povo portuguez*, No. 109, p. 210 (combined with *Tote Frau*, see note 1 on p. 225). Only the independent versions are cited here.

[3] Bondeson, *Svenska Folksagor*, pp. 301–4, No. 86, "Prästen, som de ödde tre gånger" ("The priest who was slain three times").

[4] Steppuhn's opinions (pp. 41, 64) are neither clear nor consistent.

in one point, the discovery of the body, is a comparison with the other tales possible: in SoM the body is discovered at the *fumier* before the sack is carried to the inn; in all other variants (except Masuccio's novella, which omits the incident) it is discovered at the inn. Here it is clear that SoM is less original, since all the remaining variants agree against it. This fact and the presumption that the better story-teller would be more likely than a poorer one to change the story justify the opinion that SoM as a whole represents the source of the three fabliaux less faithfully than do SM and DS.

The tale as told in the fabliaux is preserved in various literary and popular forms. The thirty-fifth novella of Francesco Angeloni da Terni, which still lies in manuscript in the Marciana at Venice, is closely related to SM-DS. It is accessible only in the following summary by Marchesi:

> Nicoletto, pescatore, sorpreso il medico Gilberto con sua moglie, lo uccide. La moglie pone il morto entro una cassa; venuta la notte, Nicoletto lo porta presso la bottega di un macellaio; questi, trovatolo, lo appoggia alla porta di uno speziale, emette grida lamentose, suona il campanello e fugge; lo speziale esce e, trovato il morto, lo pone a sedere sulla latrina di una casa lontana; qui alcuni giovani lanciano al morto qualche sassata, poi, credendo averlo ucciso loro, lo legano a cavallo di un asino e lo lasciano liberamente vagare per la campagna ; finchè l'asino, inseguito, cade ed annega in un fiume, e si crede poi che anche il medico sia morto annegato.[1]

This is not entirely clear, for it is not evident who pursues the ass and its burden. The novella resembles the fabliaux SM-DS in the fall of the ass and corpse into the river; this and the placing of the corpse *sulla latrina di una casa lontana* are conclusive evidence that the tale belongs to the *Dane Hew* type. The illicit love affair does not agree with any tale in that group except "Der tote Trompeter": in that, too, the husband is a fisherman. Both the German folk-tale and the Italian novella reject blackmail as the motive of the murderers, and substitute the liaison. Possibly the conspiracy of husband and wife to defraud the monk lacked plausibility. The incident of the exchange of the body for a hog in a sack is lacking, but the novella shows no other similarity to Masuccio's novella. Angeloni's tale is a descendant of the fabliaux SM-DS (or their source), which has been modified somewhat by oral transmission, and is closely related to the German tale next to be discussed.

[1] G. Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella italiana nel secolo XVII* (Rome, 1897), 115.

"Der tote Trompeter,"[1] one of the best of the folk-tales, has been ingeniously adapted to its new home in Pomerania:

A trumpeter attached to a Swedish regiment quartered in Pomerania has criminal relations with a fisher's wife. He is killed, and the body is carried to a house (the monastery of the fabliaux) where the officers are banqueting. On coming out they knock it over and down a flight of steps. They bear it to the fisher's house because they recall the liaison. The fisher exchanges it for a hog in a sack which has been dropped by two frightened thieves. He takes the sack to its owner, the smith (instead of keeping it himself as in the fabliaux). The latter finds the corpse in place of his hog, ties it on an ass, and turns the ass loose. The beast runs between the ranks of the regiment—which is preparing to march away—and falls into a pit of slaked lime.

This agrees very closely with DS. Indeed, in the following minor details "Der tote Trompeter" agrees with DS against the fabliau's closest parallel, SM: the trumpeter (monk) is killed in a sudden fit of rage or jealousy; those who carry the corpse back to the fisher's house know of the liaison; there are two thieves, and the bearer of the corpse hears them talking.

These very same details prove also that the version in the *Histoire des Larrons*[2] is derived from DS. Here the tale is told of an advocate, Carilde. There is a curious turn at the end: the narrator says that the corpse alone fell into a pit which had been dug in the road, while the colt galloped on.

From the *Histoire des Larrons* the story passed into Kirkman's *History of Prince Erastus*.[3] The English *Erastus* is a derivative through the French of an Italian *remaniement* of the *Seven Sages*. Kirkman found in his source the tale of *Les trois bossus menestrels* and to this he added the story he found in the *Histoire des Larrons*.[4] He says (p. 220): "This story or example may be and hath been applyed to the same purpose as the former of the Lady of Modena [i.e.,

[1] Pelz, *Blätter f. pomm. Volkskunde*, III (1894), 43.

[2] *Histoire générale des Larrons divisée en trois livres . . . par F. D. C. Lyonnois* (i.e., François de Calvi), 3 vols. in 1 (Rouen, 1639), I, chap. xxxvi, 239–51: "De l'auanture estrange ariuée en la ville de Rouen, en la personne d'vn Aduocat."

[3] *Ed. cit.*, London, 1674, pp. 206–19, in particular pp. 213 ff. It is more conveniently accessible in a summary by Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 352 ff.

[4] The combination is not found in French, e.g., *Histoire pitoyable du Prince Erastus . . . nouvellement traduite d'Italien en François*, Anvers, 1568, pp. 106–16; *Histoire pitoyable du Prince Erastus*, Paris, 1584, pp. 251–75; *Histoire du Prince Erastus*, Paris, 1709, pp. 290–318; nor in Italian, e.g., *Erasto doppo molti secoli ritornato al fine in luce . . .*, In Vineggia, Appresso di Agostino Bindoni, 1552, ff. 80*b*–89*a*; *I Compassionevoli Avvenimenti di Erasto. . . . .* In Vinegia, 1554, pp. 221–45. In all of these, *Les trois bossus menestrels* alone forms the eighteenth chapter.

Les trois bossus menestrels]: to shew the cruelty and little credit that is to be given to women, and by this or the former they preserved the life of Prince Erastus for one day longer." Kirkman has altered somewhat the strange adventure of the advocate Carilde. The conclusion has suffered from the necessity of fitting the new story into the *Seven Sages* as an example of the untrustworthiness of women. In Kirkman's *Erastus* the woman betrays herself and her husband by an inadvertent exclamation when she unexpectedly sees the body of the advocate; a similar incident appears in the story as it is told in Timoneda's *Patrañuelo* (see p. 245).

Longfellow also based his "Martin Franc and the Monk of Saint Anthony"[1] on DS, as is apparent for the following reasons: the increasing poverty of the merchant gives the monk, as in DS only, an opportunity to press his suit; the keys are taken, as in DS only, from the monk's belt. Longfellow either explains away or avoids the psychological difficulties which Steppuhn met in analyzing DS. This process reminds us of the changes which the author of SoM introduced, changes which indeed occasionally agree with those of Longfellow. Of course, it is not at all out of the question to hold that Longfellow knew both SoM and DS. Andrae[2] is surely wrong in supposing that Longfellow heard this tale in the streets of Rouen. The poet himself says: "He [the narrator] said he found it in an ancient manuscript of the Middle Ages, in the archives of the public library." What more is necessary?

Two prose retellings of DS offer no points of interest.[3]

A Flemish tale, "De Hoenderdief,"[4] is told of a thief's body which is carried about by "slimme Jan." The incidents and their order are familiar. The agreement of the tale with SoM in the matter of the thieves' discovery of the exchange of the corpse for the hog before they have carried it to the inn may indicate descent from SoM, or, as is suggested by other details, may be due to the

[1] *Prose Works, Outremer*, I, 32–47.

[2] *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, X, 149.

[3] *Les Bibliothèques Françoises de* [*François Grudé de*] *la Croix du Maine et de* [*Antoine*] *du Verdier, sieur de Vauprivas; revue par M. Rigoley de Juvigny* (Paris, 1772–73), IV, 376–80; [Jean Pierre Niceron et François Joachim du Tertre], *Bibliothèque amusante et instructive* (Paris, 1755), II, 14–15 (very much condensed). See also von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, III, p. liii, note 1.

[4] De Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 227, No. 18.

condensation and consequent speeding up of the narrative. The introduction of "slimme Jan" has hastened the tempo; the corpse need not be carried back each time to its real or supposed starting-place. The conclusion (the horse and corpse run wild in a pot-market) is clearly a later addition; this incident is especially popular in North German territory.

A few tales are either broken-down forms of this variety of the *Dane Hew* type or contain reminiscences of it. They have lost its most important characteristics, and are recognizable only by the sequence of incidents. An Ammerland tale[1] of the leaning of a Catholic priest's body against a window ledge and the finding of a hog which two frightened thieves have dropped is clearly defective; but we cannot reconstruct it. One step in that direction is apparent. The husband returns with the hog after he has thrown the corpse into a swamp, and tells his wife that he exchanged the corpse for it. Obviously the story has been diverted from its proper course, and the exchange should have taken place. In several tales of the *Dane Hew* type the intention of throwing the corpse into a milldam is announced just before the incident of the hog; but in them it is not executed.

"Sor Beppo"[2] is a clever, well-told folk-tale from Italy:

Fra Michelaccio, who bothered everybody by begging and paid no attention to warnings, visited a house which he had been forbidden to enter. The owner said nothing, but killed him with a club. Sor Beppo, the local grave-digger, agreed to dispose of the corpse for a consideration. He leaned it against the door of an inn. Summoned again, he hung it in a butcher-shop. The butcher gave him half a gelded hog for his help. Sor Beppo buried the corpse under a heap of dead bodies, where it remains.

Features characteristic of the *Dane Hew* type are the killing with a club, and the sequence of incidents, in which the inn corresponds to the monastery, and the butcher-shop to the incident of the hog in a sack. Other tales[3] explain how the butcher-shop came to have a place in the narrative. In the Middle Ages, when the fabliaux were told, an inn-keeper or householder might readily enough be supposed to

[1] Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 348.

[2] Grisanti, *Usi, credenze, proverbi e racconti di Isnello*, I (1899), 213–16.

[3] Compare Pitrè, *Fiabe, novelle . . . pop. sic.*, No. 165 and *Blätter f. pomm. Volkskunde*, IX, 24–26; both are cited above in note 2 on p. 229.

have a side of pork in his larder. Today the only person likely to have so much meat at one time is the butcher. For the sake of plausibility the substitution was a ready one. In the tales cited the situation is clearer than in "Sor Beppo," where the theft of the bacon has been altered into the butcher's gift of it. This tale, like several other Italian tales, omits the ride on horseback.

"Juvadi e lu cantalanotti,"[1] a Calabrian tale with a curious history, also lacks the ride on horseback. The order of the incidents and, in large measure, the motivation are new:

Juvadi's mother kills a cock for a holiday. While they are eating it, he hears a man going past, and runs out and kills him. He puts the corpse in a sack and starts off to throw it into a ravine. On the way thither he exchanges his sack for another containing a hog. He threatens to expose the unfortunate dupe, but compromises for fifty ducats and the corpse. Then he leans it against the door of a monastery, and there, for a promise of silence, receives a similar sum, a monk's cowl, and the corpse. He now places it in an outhouse, where a guardian knocks it over. From this man he extorts a hundred ducats, and together they bury the corpse.

The last incident shows striking similarities to the analogous one in the French fabliaux and in Angeloni's novella. To these tales "Juvadi e lu cantalanotti" must be intimately related. The monastery, whose appearance here is fortuitous, is corroborative evidence, if any were needed. This tale is particularly interesting because of the antecedents of its hero. Wesselski traces him back to Turkish and Arabic sources. However, there is no reason for believing that this tale also came from the East; the resemblances to the French fabliaux are conclusive on that point. In spite of the Turkish pedigree of its hero this tale looks toward the West and not the East; it cannot be used to bridge the gap between the two.

We now pass to the second subdivision of the *Dane Hew* type: that in which the horse bearing the corpse pursues a mare on which rides a man who thinks he may be accused of murder. Our knowledge of this subdivision is based on three independent tales: "Dane

[1] Mango, *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, X (1891), 51–52 = Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, 1911, II, 122, No. 438.

For the introduction of this tale, compare another tale about Juvadi (Giufà) in Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 294 ff. (cf. p. 380, note 16). See also Basset, *Revue des trad. pop.*, XVII, 92; Mouliéras, *Fourberies de Si Djeh'a*, No. 21 (see also Basset, *Tableau Comparatif*, p. 18, note 6, in the same book).

Hew," the first novella of Masuccio and its derivatives, and "Os dos irmãos."

On the whole, the English "Dane Hew"[1] agrees very closely with the fabliaux SM-DS except for the decisive incident of the mare. The story is as follows:

Dane Hew, a young and lusty monk of the abbey of Leicester, has long cherished designs on a tailor's wife. At last he makes his wishes known to her. She feigns to consent, and agrees to an assignation for the following morning. That evening, however, she tells all to her husband, and disclaims any intention of giving him a "cuckold's hood." On the morrow the tailor conceals himself in a chest. When the monk arrives and hands over the 20 nobles he had promised, she opens the chest to put them in it; out leaps the tailor, and kills the monk with a blow on the head. In the evening he bears the body to the abbey and lays it against the wall. There the abbot's man finds it. When Dane Hew refuses to answer the summons to come to the abbot and explain his absence, the servitor informs the abbot of the situation. The abbot calls for his staff, and finding Dane Hew still unresponsive, "gaue him such a rap, That he fel down at that clap." For forty shillings the abbot's man, who is aware of the monk's unfortunate attachment, bears the body back to the tailor's. The tailor, restless with dreams of the monk, rises in the night. He finds the corpse at his door, and "slays" it again with a pole-ax. It is too near morning to dispose of the body. On the following night the tailor bears it away with the intention of throwing it in a milldam. He terrifies two thieves into dropping a stolen hog in a sack, and leaves the corpse for the thieves. They discover the exchange in one of their homes, and take the corpse back to the miller from whom they had stolen the hog. The miller must wait until the next night. Then he mounts Dane Hew on the abbot's horse, and puts a long pole in the monk's hand. In the morning the horse pursues the abbot's mare when he rides out to supervise his workmen. They beat the corpse with clubs and staves. Then it is buried.

This story, told in rough couplets, is preserved on six leaves printed in black letter by John Allde. The date of its publication cannot be exactly determined. It is approximately given by the fact that the first mention of Allde as a printer is in 1554.[2] Clouston

[1] Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 130–46.

It is summarized in J. Aubrey, *Letters of Eminent Men* (London, 1813), I, 119–27 (in a letter from Mr. Wanley to Dr. Charlett on the meaning of the title *Dan*). The first lines are quoted in Nichols, *History of Leicestershire* (1795), I, 287.

Hazlitt's reference to Boisrobert, *Menagiana*, "The Three Ravens," is incorrect. In *Menagiana ou les bons mots et remarques critiques . . . de Monsieur Menage, recuellis par ses amis* (3d ed., Paris, 1715), III, 83–85, there is a tale of Boisrobert's about the three Racans, which has no interest for us.

[2] Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 354.

believes that the rudeness of the language justifies him in dating the composition of the verse about a century earlier. In that case it would be roughly contemporaneous with Masuccio's *Novellino* (finished in 1476). "Dane Hew" has the same details in common with DS as "Der tote Trompeter" and the story in the *Histoire des Larrons*. There are certain concessions to good taste. The *pertruis* incident is modified and the *fumier* has disappeared. The most important changes are the introduction of the abbot's man and the distributing of the corpse's adventures over several nights. Both of these are certainly innovations. The discovery of the corpse takes place in the home of one of the thieves, not at an inn. The details of the concluding incident—the corpse beaten by the abbot's men—are probably unoriginal. No doubt the story should have ended with the corpse falling into a pit, as in Masuccio's novella and the fabliaux. Although Masuccio's version of the story later became very popular in England, it is curious to note that knowledge of "Dane Hew" is based solely on this black-letter print of John Allde's. There are no folk-tales derived from "Dane Hew," and the story has been known only to antiquarians. "Dane Hew" is a very important version because it throws new light on the relations of all the other tales in its group.

In the history of literature by far the most important variant of this subdivision is Masuccio's first novella;[1] more than a dozen tales in England, France, Italy, and Germany are derived directly or indirectly from it. Because this novella contains the incident of the pursuit of the mare it must be derived from the same source as the English "Dané Hew."[2] Two facts are characteristic of this Italian form: the husband wishes the monk to come in order to revenge himself (not as a blackmailing scheme); and the incident of the exchange of the corpse for a hog in a sack is omitted.

The oldest derivative of Masuccio's novella, in the *Comptes du monde adventureux*,[3] does not deserve especial notice. The popularity

[1] *Il Novellino di Masuccio Salernitano* (ed. Settembrini), I, 7–23. The *narrazione* occupies pp. 8–21. The *Novellino* first appeared in 1476.

[2] Steppuhn's arguments (pp. 44, 48) have no weight. They are concerned with similarities in motivation, and show only that two skilful narrators (Masuccio and the author of SoM) hit upon the same devices to make their stories plausible.

[3] No. 23 (ed. F. Frank [Paris, 1878], I, 125). On the *Comptes* see Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese*, p. 119, and the review by G. Paris, *Journal des savants*, 1895, pp. 350–55.

of the novella in England is particularly noteworthy. Here it was told as a humorous anecdote, versified, dramatized, and even taken into a county history. All of the English examples rest ultimately on Thomas Heywood's *History of Women*.[1] Some are derived directly,[2] and others through Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.[3] Both are localized at Norwich, but only the latter is associated with Sir Thomas Erpingham. None of the various versifications has any singular merit; the least distinguished is the anonymous *Hue-and-Cry after the Priest*. Jodrell says in his preface (p. vi): "I have deviated in no important point from the letter, but have only embellished the narrative with poetical colours." The first two lines:

When guilt pursues the coward soul
Vain is our flight from pole to pole

show what his "poetical colours" were. The cleverest versions—both burlesques—are those of Hardinge and Colman.

The two derivatives of Masuccio's novella which make the greatest pretensions to literary art are curiously different and yet intimately related. Batacchi's "Il morto a cavallo"[4] is a clever mock-heroic poem. The description of the awakening of the passion which leads to the monk's downfall will characterize the whole:

Non sì veloce giù dal ciel turbato,
l'elettrica favilla al suol discende,
nè la quercia che cento anni sprezzato
avea 'l furor dell' aquilone incende,
come lo stral del crudo Dio d'amore
ratto piagò del padre Marco il cuore.

[1] London, 1624, pp. 253–56, "The Faire Lady of Norwich."

[2] T. Heywood, *The Captives*, I, ii; II, i; III, i, iii; IV, iii (in Bullen, *Old Plays* London, 1885], IV, 105–217); *Pasquil's Jests*, London, n.d. (*ca.* 1634; an enlarged edition), pp. 51–53, "A pretty tale of two friers"; Burton, *Unparalleled Varieties*, 4th ed., 1699, chap. vi, 167; *A Hue-and-Cry after the Priest; or the Convent*, London, 1749.

[3] F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1807), VI, 415–18. The passage is reprinted from an earlier edition of Blomefield in *Gentleman's Magazine*, L (1780), 310–12.

It has been versified by R. P. Jodrell as *The Knight and Friars; an historick tale*, London, 1785, pp. 9–26 (pp. 27–31, a reprint of Blomefield); by George Colman the Younger in *Broad Grins*, London, 1802, pp. 40–106, "The Knight and the Friar"; by George Hardinge in *Miscellaneous Works*, London, 1818, II, 322–30, "The Knight and the Two Friars."

Gough (*British Topographer* [London, 1780], II, 27) cites "The fair lady of Norwich; or the pleasant history of two friars, John and Richard"; this may be still another reworking of the tale.

[4] D. L. Batacchi, *Novelle* (ed. F. Tribolati), I, 289 ff., No. 12.

"Der Todte zu Ross,"[1] which is derived from Batacchi, takes as its text "Wehe dem, den Amor zum Spielwerke seiner Launen wählt." Langbein seeks plausibility, not rhetorical effect, and writes in a spirit of drab reality. A Spanish version of Masuccio's novella is of some interest because it gives a new conclusion to the tale. This, the third patraña of Timoneda,[2] ends with an incident showing the untrustworthiness of women which is comparable to the conclusion of the tale in Kirkman's *Erastus*. In a quarrel between husband and wife, the real murderers, she betrays their guilt and they are condemned to death.[3]

There still remains for consideration the Portuguese "Os dos irmãos e a mulher morta."[4] This is a combination of the types *Tote Frau* and *Dane Hew*, and does some violence to both in the joining. After beginning essentially as the *Tote Frau* type does (with the exception that the body is kept over night in a church and starts its wanderings from there rather than from the grave), the corpse is exchanged for a hog in a sack, is carried to an inn, is leaned against a door, and is then mounted on an ass which pursues the priest on a mare until the priest dashes his brains out against the lintel of a door. This tale does not preserve the characteristic order of the incidents, and seems imperfect in other details. Why should the innocent priest—he is called to excommunicate the "devil" in the old woman —flee and brain himself? This tale cannot be derived from Masuccio's novella, because it contains the incident of the hog in the sack which Masuccio omitted. It cannot be derived from the three French fabliaux, because it contains the incident of the mare. It stands nearest to the English "Dane Hew," but it can be related to that only through a common source. Thus this sadly mutilated tale proves to be a useful confirmation of the existence of a common source of Masuccio's novella and "Dane Hew, Munk of Leicestre."

The results of this study of the variants of the *Dane Hew* group may now be summed up. There are two subdivisions of this group:

[1] A. F. E. Langbein, *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Stuttgart, 1837), XXVII, 192–214, No. 8.

[2] Juan de Timoneda, *El Patrañuelo* (=*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, III), p. 134, No. 3. It is a derivative of Masuccio's novella; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela* (=*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, VII), II, p. lii, note 3.

[3] For parallels, see von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, III, p. xlv, note 1; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 357 ff.

[4] See note 1 on p. 225.

one in which the corpse is mounted on a horse which runs wild, and another in which the horse bearing the corpse pursues a mare. The variants of the former and older subdivision are due to oral and not literary transmission. The fabliau, "Du segretain ou du moine," stands aside from the line of direct descent; it is a *remaniement* by a clever hand. The subdivision is better represented by the two fabliaux, "Du segretain moine" and "Le dit dou soucretain." Closely allied to these two are several clever folk-tales which exhibit minor changes caused by oral transmission. The continued popularity of this type of tale among the folk is proved by the existence of tales which seem to be corrupt versions of this group. The state of affairs is quite different with the second subdivision; it has been spread broadcast by literary means. It is composed of three tales which imply the existence of a French tale differing from the two last-named fabliaux by the insertion of the pursuit of the mare. Steppuhn held that this development took place in the Iberian peninsula, for he knew it only in Masuccio's novella, which claims a Spanish source,[1] and in the Portuguese "Os dos irmãos." This opinion is less tenable since the addition of the English "Dane Hew" to the list of variants. These three can only be derived from a common source, which, from geographical considerations, was probably French. The English and Portuguese tales have given rise to no new forms; they are important only in determining the history of the story. The Italian novella has enjoyed a remarkable literary success, such as fell to the lot of no other tale about the wanderings of a corpse.

I am indebted to Professor George Lyman Kittredge for the suggestion of this paper, and for helpful criticism. Dr. Paull F. Baum has been very generous in tracing references for me.

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[1] Amalfi, "Quellen und Parallelen zum Novellino des Salernitaners Masuccio," *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, IX, 38, does not question this claim.

DRYDEN'S *TEMPEST* AS A SOURCE OF BODMER'S *NOAH*

In Shakespeare's *Tempest*, Act I, scene ii, Prospero, in the course of his conversation with Ariel, recalls the following incident:

> Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
> By help of her more potent ministers
> And in her most unmitigable rage
> Into a cloven pine; within which rift
> Imprison'd thou didst painfully remain
> A dozen years . . . .
> If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak
> And peg thee in his knotty entrails till
> Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters.[1]

Two passages very similar to this appear in Bodmer's *Noah*. The first occurs in a characterization of the giant Gog:

> Ihn vergnügte, wann er auf einen Sklaven erzürnt war,
> Eine Fichte zu spalten, und Hand und Fuss in der Spalte
> Eingekerkert drei Tag' ihn schmachten zu lassen.
>
> [Canto V, ll. 487–89.][2]

Later, Bodmer's angel Raphael commands the two giants, Gog and Perez, to prepare the lumber required for the ark. After issuing the command he adds the direful threat:

> Murret ihr unter der Bürde, so will ich den Eichbaum zerspalten,
> Und euch beide will ich in sein knorrichtes Eingeweid' klemmen,
> Bis ihr drei langsame Tage darin verheult habt.
>
> [VI, 143–45.]

The striking resemblance between these German and English passages was noted by Ellinger, and again by Köster. Ellinger remarks cautiously: "Vielleicht hat Prosperos Erzählung von Ariels Gefangenschaft, der Sturm, I, ii, Bodmer die Anregung zu der

[1] Globe edition, ll. 274–79, 294–96.

[2] This and the following passage are quoted from the edition of 1765; they are not contained in the shorter version of 1750. All the other citations, however, are made from the edition of 1750: *Noah, ein Helden-Gedicht*, Frankfurt und Leipzig, published anonymously.

Erfindung gegeben."[1] Köster's inference is very positive: "Diese Stelle ist ein Beweis dafür, dass Bodmer, ebenso wie Haller, Shakespeare sehr gut gekannt hat."[2]

The motif, to be sure, is Shakespearean; but Bodmer, I believe, did not derive it from Shakespeare. In 1667 Dryden, in collaboration with Sir William Davenant, prepared an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, and in it took over almost word for word the lines from Shakespeare quoted above.[3] Many other passages in Bodmer's *Noah* are, as I shall proceed to show, clearly derived from Dryden's play. It was therefore from Dryden's version rather than from Shakespeare's that Bodmer derived his cloven pine and oak.

It may not be amiss to recall at this point that Bodmer was an inveterate borrower of literary material. Nor did he attempt to conceal the fact; on the contrary, he was surprisingly ready to confess his borrowing proclivity, and on several occasions was even at some pains to justify his practice.

In Dryden's adapted *Tempest* Prospero, the Duke of Milan, is, by his usurping brother Antonio, borne out to sea together with his two young daughters, Miranda and Dorinda, and put ashore on a remote island. Novel situations subsequently arise from the fact that Prospero's ward Hippolito, who is likewise brought to the same island, has never beheld a woman,[4] while Prospero's daughters have never looked upon a man other than their father. Here on the lonely, enchanted island the members of the little group pass their days, the daughters being kept in one cave and—without their knowledge—Hippolito in another. Fifteen years have elapsed

[1] C. F. Nicolai, *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand der schönen Wissenschaften in Deutschland* (ed. G. Ellinger), p. xix. The *Briefe* were first published in 1755. Nicolai had read the *Noah* in the edition of 1752, which contains the second of the two passages quoted above. He classes that passage with the "Märchen, die allen Witz der Kunstrichter erschöpfen würden, wenn sie in einem alten Dichter ständen, und die bei einem neueren Dichter ganz und gar nicht zu entschuldigen sind" (1755 ed., p. 56). He does not suspect the source of the passage.

[2] C. O. Frh. von Schönaich, *Neologisches Wörterbuch* (ed. A. Köster), p. 499.

[3] *The Tempest*, in *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), III, 124.

[4] Cf. Act I, sc. ii. This idea, as Dryden himself states in the preface to the play, was conceived by Davenant as the "counterpart to Shakespeare's plot." In the Shakespearean play Miranda is represented as having seen but two men prior to her meeting with Ferdinand, who is, as she confesses [Act I, sc. ii], "the first That e'er I sighed for."

since their arrival in their island abode. A ship founders upon the shore. Miranda sees the disaster, and makes report:

> . . . . Sister, I have . . . . news to tell you:
> In this great creature [*sc.* the ship] there were other creatures;
> And shortly we may chance to see that thing
> Which you have heard my father call a man.
>
> [Act I, sc. ii.]

Eventually Hippolito and the sisters meet; Miranda retires, and Hippolito and Dorinda enter into conversation.

In the *Noah*, Japhet, who has never set eyes upon a woman, chances upon Sipha's three daughters; two of them withdraw, and Japhet enters into conversation with the third.[1]

The most notable of Bodmer's specific borrowings from Dryden's play are listed below. The English passages have been arranged in the order of their occurrence; opposite each will be found the German parallel passage or passages.

The Tempest[2]	*Noah*[3]
Act I, sc. ii	
Mir. . . . . I have heard My father say, we women were made for him [*sc.* man]. [P. 128.]	. . . . die Liebe, den lezten, den göttlichsten Abdruck, Die hat der Schöpfer dem Adam tief in sein Herz eingegraben: Für ihn ausgeschaffen bracht Gott ihm die Mutter der Menschen. [III, 103–5.]
	Eben die Liebe hat Gott auch in unser Herz eingegraben, Für uns ausgeschaffen bringt Gott uns die Töchter des Sipha. [III, 110–11.]

[1] It appears highly probable that Wieland's *Zemin und Gulindy* is indebted to this episode of Japhet and Sipha's daughter as contained in the *Noah*—a relation which was overlooked by Budde in his *Wieland und Bodmer* (cf. p. 140). The motif in Wieland's poem is the same; nor are verbal correspondences between the two poems lacking.

[2] The quotations are from the edition mentioned in note 3 on p. 248.

[3] The quotations are from the edition of 1750; see note 2 on p. 247. In this edition the borrowed passages are at times closer to the text of the *Tempest* than they are in later editions.

The Tempest

Act II, sc. ii

Hip. Sir, I have often heard you say, no creature
Lived in this isle, but those which man was lord of.
Why, then, should I fear?
Prosp. But here are creatures which I named not to thee,
Who share man's sovereignty by nature's laws,
And oft depose him from it.
[P. 138.]

Prosp. Imagine something between young men and angels;
Fatally beauteous, and have killing eyes:
Their voices charm beyond the nightingale's;
They are all enchantment: Those, who once behold them
Are made their slaves for ever.
[P. 138.]

Noah

Wahrlich ein Mädchen muss eine besiegende Macht in sich haben,
Dass es den Ernst und den höhern Verstand des Mannes bezwinget,
Welcher bey seiner Anmuth den kürzern zieht und verschwindet.
[III, 28–30.]

Nichtsdestoweniger geh ich mit vollem Vertrauen hinüber,
Diesem schönen Geschlecht zu begegnen, und von ihm zu kommen,
Ohne dass unter dem Liebreiz die Hoheit des Mannes erliege.
Erstlich zwar hoff ich des Sipha Töchter seyn besser erzogen,
Als den Himmel der Schönheit zum Fall der Weisheit zu brauchen,
Welche der Schöpfer dem Mann zum Merkmal der Herrschaft ertheilt hat.
[III, 34–39.]

Sie sind ein Mittelding zwischen dem Jüngling und Engel.
[III, 62.]

. . . . Mädchen der unteren Erde, von welchen mein Vater
Warnend sagte, sie tödteten mit den verletzenden Augen,
Und mit Worten hauchten sie Gift in der Jünglinge Herzen.
[I, 169–71.]

. . . . In Wahrheit weiss ich nicht
Was das ist, mit den Augen umbringen, mit Worten vergiften.
[I, 174–75.]

Dieses Entzücken . . . .
Scheinet mir eine natürliche Zauberey, die uns verstricket.
[III, 206, 212.]

The Tempest	*Noah*
Hip. Are they so beautiful?	Ist sie so gross als man sagt, ist die Schönheit der Mädchen so mächtig? [III, 44.]
Prosp. Calm sleep is not so soft; nor winter suns, Nor summer shades, so pleasant.	Weder der sanfte Schlaf ist so sanft, noch der Sommerlaube Kühlende Schatten so lieblich. [III, 63–64.]
Hip. Can they be fairer than the plumes of swans? Or more delightful than the peacock's feathers? Or than the gloss upon the necks of doves? Or have more various beauty than the rainbow?— These I have seen, and, without danger, wondered at. [P. 139.]	Können sie heller seyn, als die weissen Federn der Schwäne; Oder anmuthiger als der Glanz an dem Nacken der Tauben; Oder sind ihre Farben verschiedner und feiner vertheilet, Als der vielfärbigte Bogen in einem treufelnden Staube, Welchen ein Wasserfall sprützt, den die Sonnen-Stralen gebrochen? Dieses sind Schönheiten, welche man ohne Gefährlichkeit siehet. [III, 45–50.]
Prosp. But all the danger lies in a wild young man. [P. 140.]	Was für ein Loos steht euch von den wildern Männern zu fürchten! [III, 819.]
Act II, sc. iii	
Dor. Though I die for it, I must have the other peep. [P. 143.]	Aber wie grosse Gefahr der Anblick der Mädchen begleitet, Könnt ich der Neugier nicht widerstehn das Wunder zu sehen. [III, 51–52.]
Dor. . . . . I'm told I am A woman; do not hurt me, pray, fair thing. *Hip.* I'd sooner tear my eyes out, than consent To do you any harm. [P. 143.]	. . . . du kömmst nicht uns zu verletzen. An statt dich verletzen zu wollen, Bin ich bereit mein Leben mit deinem Blut zu verweben. [I, 147–49.]

The Tempest

Dor. I've touched my father's and my sister's hands,
And felt no pain; but now, alas! there's something,
When I touch yours, which makes me sigh.
[P. 144.]

Noah

Aber vornemlich durchlief mich ein zärtlich pochendes Fühlen
Mit so lieblichen Schlägen, dass ich von starker Empfindung
Seufzete, da ich die Hand des einen Mädchens ergriffen.
[III, 71–73.]

Act III, sc. ii

Prosp. . . . . you shall see
Another of this kind, the full-blown flower,
Of which this youth was but the opening bud.
[P. 153.]

Sonderbar eine von ihnen, die deren Hand ich ergriffen,
Eine nicht völlig entwickelte Rosen-Knospe: sie blickt erst
Mit halb verhülltem Antlitz aus ihrem deckenden Flohre.
Lasset mir diese, und theilet euch in die übrigen beyden,
Zwo ausgebreitete Rosen in ihrer vollkommenen Blüte.
[III, 77–81.]

Dor. That dangerous man runs ever in my mind.
[P. 155.]

Und das Gefühl ist mir seitdem immer geblieben, abwesend
Schweben die lieblichen Bilder mir vor dem Gesicht, sie besuchen
Mich nicht bloss in den Stunden mitternächtlichen Schlafes.
[III, 74–76.]

Dor. . . . . it looked so lovely,
That when I would have fled away, my feet
Seemed fastened to the ground.
[P. 156.]

Dieses Entzücken, das uns beym Anblick der weiblichen Schönheit
Mit so starker Gewalt überfiel, das unsere Füsse
An den Boden befestigt'.
[III, 207–9.]

Dor. . . . . touching
His hand again, my heart did beat so strong,
As I lacked breath to answer what he asked.
[P. 156.]

Dieses Pochen und Zittern in unserm schwerathmenden Busen,
Dieses Entzücken, das . . . .
. . . . uns der Sprache beraubte.
[III, 206–9.]

The Tempest	*Noah*
Act III, sc. v	
Mir. There's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple: If the evil spirit hath so fair a house, Good things will strive to dwell with it. [P. 171.]	Mich bedünkt es nicht glaublich, dass solch ein Himmel der Schönheit Schuldige Geister besitzet. [III, 66–67.]
	Aber wo so viel Schönheit wohnt, wohnt auch gewiss so viel Tugend. Sollte das Böse solch eine schöne Behausung besitzen, O so würde das Gute versucht, Platz bey ihm zu nehmen. [III, 222–24.]
Act III, sc. vi	
Ferd. All beauties are not pleasing alike to all. [P. 177.]	Jegliche Schönheit thut nicht den gleichen Eindruck auf alle. [III, 149.]

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LORENZO DE' MEDICI AND BOETHIUS

Among the *Rime spirituali* of Lorenzo de' Medici are five *capitoli*, which begin respectively as follows:

I Magno Iddio, per la cui costante legge.
II Grazie a te, sommo, esuperante Nume.
III Santo Iddio, padre di ciò che 'l mondo empie.
IV Oda quest' inno tutta la natura.
V Beato chi nel concilio non va.[1]

Some years ago Bonardi pointed out that the last four of these poems are free translations of Latin Platonic or biblical originals. Nos. II, III, and IV represent certain hymns of Hermes Trismegistus as translated by Marsilio Ficino: No. II the final hymn of the *Asclepius*, No. III the hymn at the end of the second chapter of the *Pimander*, and No. IV the hymn in *Pimander*, XIII. No. V is the First Psalm.[2]

Bonardi suggests that the one remaining *capitolo* (No. IV in his numbering) is probably of similar origin:

> Io credo che, cercando, si troverebbe ch' è parafrasi di qualche altro passo d' autore latino anche l' Orazione IV:
>
> Magno Dio, per la cui costante legge.

Lorenzo's poem is, in fact, a paraphrase of the ninth *metrum* of the third book of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*. I quote in evidence the opening and closing portions of the two poems:

Magno Iddio, per la cui costante legge
e sotto il cui perpetuo governo
questo universo si conserva e regge;
del tutto Creator, che dallo eterno
punto comandi corra il tempo labile,
come rota faria su fisso perno;
quieto sempre, e giamai non mutabile,
fai e muti ogni cosa, e tutto muove
da te, fermo motore infaticabile . . . .

O qui perpetua mundum
ratione gubernas

Terrarum caelique sator
qui tempus ab aeuo
Ire iubes
stabilisque manens
das cuncta moueri . . . .

[1] I follow the numbering and the text of the Simioni edition, Bari, II (1913), 119 ff.

[2] C. Bonardi, "Le orazioni di Lorenzo il Magnifico e l' inno finale della Circe di G. B. Gelli," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXIII (1899), 77–82.

Concedi, o Padre, l' alta e sacra sede
monti la mente, e vegga il vivo fonte,
fonte ver, bene onde ogni ben procede.
Mostra la luce vera alla mia fronte,
e, poi ch' è conosciuto il tuo bel Sole,
dell' alma ferma in lui le luci pronte.
Fuga le nebbie e la terrestre mole
leva da me, e splendi in la tua luce:
tu se' quel sommo Ben che ciascun vuole.
A te dolce riposo si conduce,
e te, come suo fin, vede ogni pio,
tu se' principio, portatore e duce,
la via e 'l termin tu, sol magno Iddio.

Da pater augustam menti
conscendere sedem,
Da fontem lustrare boni,
da luce reperta
In te conspicuos animi
defigere uisus.
Dissice terrenae nebulas
et pondera molis
Atque tuo splendore mica:
tu namque serenum
Tu requies tranquilla piis,
te cernere finis
Principium uector dux
semita terminus idem.[1]

This *capitolo*, like Nos. II, III, and IV, is Platonic in character, for the poem of Boethius is itself a summary of the first half of the *Timaeus*.

Scarano, failing to perceive the relation of Lorenzo's poem either to Boethius or to the *Timaeus*, calls it an instance of pantheistic syncretism:

In queste terzine apparisce ancora più qual sincretismo filosofico, quasi panteistico, fosse quello del Ficino e quindi de' suoi discepoli: non mancano qui gli esemplari platonici, le forme d' Aristotele, l' amore e la bontà di Dio.[2]

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[1] I quote from the edition by Peiper, Leipzig, 1871.

[2] N. Scarano, "Il platonismo nelle poesie di Lorenzo de' Medici," *Nuova antologia*, CXXX (=Ser. III, Vol. XLVI), 1893 (August 15), 627.

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ROSSETTI'S *HOUSE OF LIFE*

Dante Gabriel Rossetti was one of the most mysterious personalities of the nineteenth century. The public has never quite understood his strange life. Genial and sympathetic by nature, he formed ardent friendships which were later given up or lost without apparently adequate cause. He was the acknowledged leader of a school of art which gradually won its way into public favor; but he came to live a life of melancholy and embittered seclusion apart even from those who had been his most devoted followers. The apparent reasons were that a few hostile critics led by Robert Buchanan had maligned him as the sensual leader of the "Fleshly School of Poetry," that his wife had died of an accidental overdose of laudanum, and that the use of chloral and alcohol in latter days had impaired the strength of his mind. No one, however, has been quite satisfied with these explanations. The use of chloral seems more a result than a cause. Buchanan's attack, though bitter and unjust, was afterward recanted, and, from the first, public appreciation far outweighed the hostile criticism. Although the loss of his wife was so great a shock that in a passion of grief and tenderness he caused to be buried with her a manuscript volume of his poems, either, as Hall Caine explains, "because they were written to her and for her and must go with her,"[1] or, according to William Michael Rossetti, out of remorse that "he had been working at them when

[1] T. Hall Caine, *My Story* (1909), p. 85.

she was ill and suffering and he might have been attending her";[1] yet, seven years later, for the sake of poetic fame, he allowed the body to be exhumed in order that the manuscript might be recovered and published, and thus destroyed much of the grace of his great renunciation. Could these events have produced the bitterness, melancholy, and despair which clouded the poet's life? Was he really so "weak, wayward, and uncertain," or has the inner life of the poet never been quite understood?

Strangely enough, no one has hitherto attempted to throw light on the mystery by a critical study of the sonnet sequence *The House of Life*. This work long ago outlived the charge of immorality. Even Buchanan, as I have said, went so far as to retract his criticism.[2] Indeed the sequence as a whole has been adjudged by many the best product of late nineteenth-century Romanticism. Still it has very generally been considered obscure, and its profound human interest as showing the development of the poet's emotional life has not been widely recognized. Rossetti himself felt that his sonnets were not understood; and he once told Charles Fairfax Murray that he was inclined to write and publish some sort of exposition of the series, though he never carried out his purpose.[3] Also the poet's brother, William Michael Rossetti, having been told repeatedly that *The House of Life* was obscure, wrote a paraphrase in prose, which he appended to his book called *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer* (1888); but this paraphrase attempts little beyond clearing up obscurities in the text; it does not connect the sonnets with the poet's intellectual and spiritual development. They are not arranged chronologically, and no one has taken the trouble to establish the various dates of composition, in order to bring them into close connection with the poet's life. Such a study ought both to throw light on the mystery of the poet's life and also to help clear up some of the obscurities of the sonnets.

The subject-matter has to do with profound emotional experiences: the birth of human love, its growth, its satisfaction, the conflicting power of a new love springing up by the side of the old,

[1] W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir*, I, 225.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 301.

[3] W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 180.

the sorrow of parted love, the anguish of loss, regret over unused opportunities and unrealized ambitions, doubt, remorse, despair. And the experiences must be largely autobiographical. William Michael Rossetti says:

> The sonnets are mostly of the kind which we call "occasional"; some incident happened, or some emotion was dominant, and the author wrote a sonnet regarding it. When a good number had been written, they came to form, if considered collectively, a sort of record of his feelings and experiences . . . . he certainly never professed, nor do I consider that he ever wished his readers to assume, that all the items had been primarily planned to form one connected and indivisible whole.[1]

The poet himself once told W. B. Scott that he hardly ever produced a sonnet "except on some basis of special momentary emotion,"[2] and in speaking to Hall Caine of the sonnet entitled "Without Her," he said, "I cannot tell you at what terrible moment it was wrung from me."[3] Again in a letter to Hall Caine he said, "'Lost Days' might be equally a favorite with me [as 'Known in Vain' and 'Stillborn Love'] if I did not remember at what but too opportune juncture it was wrung out of me."[4] Moreover, his method of composition is explained in the sonnets themselves.

THE SONG-THROE

By thine own tears thy song must tears beget
O Singer! Magic mirror thou hast none
Except thy manifest heart; and save thine own
Anguish or ardor, else no amulet.
Cisterned in Pride, verse is a feathery jet
Of soulless air-flung fountains; nay, more dry
Than the Dead Sea for throats that thirst and sigh,
That song o'er which no singer's lids grew wet.
The Song-god—He the Sun-god—is no slave
Of thine: thy hunter he, who for thy soul
Fledges his shaft; to no august control
Of thy skilled hand his quivering store he gave:
But if thy lips' loud cry leap to his smart,
The inspir'd recoil shall pierce thy brother's heart.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 181–82.
[2] W. B. Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, II, 150.
[3] T. Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 221.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

The exact chronology of the sonnets is not easily determined. William Michael Rossetti in a note in his two-volume edition of Rossetti's *Poems* has set down for us a provisional order, but he gives no exact dates and admits that the order must be far from correct. He says, "I am far from having a clear idea or definite information as to the true date of the sonnets. But I think the reader is entitled to some sort of guidance regarding them . . . . and therefore, keeping in view the line of demarcation above referred to, I append here a rough suggestion of what may have been their sequence in point of date."[1] I have been able to correct the order in many particulars and to fix a considerable number of dates. A search through published memoirs, letters, and recollections has established definitely the dates of about half the number, and most of the others may be approximately dated by inference from the various external evidences and from the internal evidences found in the public editions of 1870 and 1881, in the privately printed edition of 1869, and in the sheets added to this private edition before the publication of the edition of 1870. The most desirable piece of evidence, i.e., the manuscript volume buried in 1862 and recovered from Mrs. Rossetti's grave in 1869, seems to have been destroyed.[2]

The following dates have been definitely determined:

1847. Retro me, Sathana.[3]
1847–48. The Choice (three sonnets).[3]
1848–49. Old and New Art (three sonnets).[4]
1853. Known in Vain.[5]
1853. The Hill Summit.[6]
1854. Lost on Both Sides.[7]

[1] Rossetti's *Works* (1886), I, 517.

[2] Arthur C. Benson, *Rossetti*, p. 55.

[3] "The sonnet *Retro Me Sathana* must belong to 1847, being intended to pair with his picture of the same name. The trio of sonnets named *The Choice* appertain to the same year, or perhaps to an early date in 1848."—*Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir*, ed. W. M. R., I, 107–8.

[4] "The second and third—bearing the titles *Not as These* and *The Husbandman*—were written in 1848; the first, *St. Luke the Painter*, in 1849."—*Ibid.*, I, 144.

[5] "The sonnet *Known in Vain* was written in January, 1853."—*Ibid.*, I, 167.

[6] Included in a letter from Rossetti to William Allingham in August, 1854, with the remark, "Here's one I remember writing in great glory on the top of a hill which I reached one day, after sunset in Warwickshire last year."—*Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, p. 45.

[7] Included in a letter of July 14, 1854, with the remark, "I'll add my last sonnet made two days ago."—*Ibid.*, p. 31.

1854. The Birth-bond.[1]
1855. A Dark Day.[2]
1865–68. Body's Beauty.[3]
1865–68. Soul's Beauty.[3]
1868. Willow-wood (four sonnets).[4]
1869. A Superscription.[5]
1869. Autumn Idleness.[6]
1869. Vain Virtues.[7]
1869. Farewell to the Glen.[8]
1871. The Dark Glass.[9]
1871. The Lovers' Walk.[9]
1871. Heart's Haven.[9]
1871. Through Death to Love.[9]
1879. Ardour and Memory.[10]
1880. Introductory Sonnet.[11]
1880. Pride of Youth.[12]

[1] Included in a letter of August, 1854, with the remark, "Here's a sonnet written only two or three days ago."—*Ibid.*, p. 46.

[2] Called his last sonnet in a letter of January 23, 1855.—*Ibid.*, p. 102.

[3] "In the spring of 1868 Rossetti had already made an appearance in public print as a poet; introducing, into a pamphlet review of pictures of that year, three sonnets recently written for paintings of his own—*Lady Lilith*, *Sibylla Palmifera*, and *Venus Verticordia*. The two former have since been entitled *Body's Beauty* and *Soul's Beauty*." —*Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir*, I, 270–71. See also *Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 145. "Lilith" was begun in 1864. Miss Alexa Wilding, who sat for the "Sibyl," began sitting for Rossetti in 1865. Both pictures were finished by 1868.

[4] William Michael Rossetti's diary under date of December 18, 1868, says, "Gabriel has just written a series of four sonnets—Willow-wood."—*Rossetti Papers*, ed. by W.M. R. (1903), p. 339.

[5] "Gabriel has written another sonnet, *A Superscription*, has selected 16 sonnets, and sent them to the Fortnightly for the March number. He thinks he must have by him at least 50 sonnets which he would be willing to publish."—Diary of W. M. R. under January 24, 1869, *Rossetti Papers*, p. 380.

[6] W. M. Rossetti, *Rossetti Papers*, p. 468.

[7] "Gabriel has done two new sonnets, *Pandora* (for his picture now in progress) and *Vain Virtues*."—Diary of W. M. R., March 18, 1869, *Rossetti Papers*, p. 386.

[8] "It was written on the 27th of Sept., 1869, at Penkill Castle and Rossetti left next day, never again to revisit the place where in 1868 the rebirth of his poetic powers had gradually taken place."—William Sharp, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1882), p. 429.

[9] These sonnets were included in a letter from Dante Gabriel Rossetti to W. B. Scott, August 13, 1871. Rossetti says, "I have now 30 new ones in MS. for the *House of Life* since printing last year."—*Autobiographical Notes of W. B. Scott*, II, 143.

[10] Written "Xmas 1879," as appears from the signature of the facsimile copy in Sharp's *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 426.

[11] Written in February, 1880. See T. Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, pp. 120–21.

[12] W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 171; Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, pp. 254–55 (published in the *Athenaeum*, September 3, 1881).

1881. Michelangelo's Kiss.[1]
1881. True Woman (three sonnets).[2]

In the chronological table of the poet's writings appended to *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, W. M. Rossetti sets down the following additional dates with question marks. No reasons for these dates are given, but the mere remembrance of the brother has some value, for, except possibly in the case of the most intimate love sonnets, he would naturally learn of them soon after their composition.

1858. Lost Days.
1860. Inclusiveness.
1868. Nuptial Sleep.
1868. The Love-moon.
1869. Stillborn Love.
1869. Broken Music.
1869. The One Hope.
1869. Newborn Death.
1871. Love and Hope.
1871. Cloud and Wind.
1874. The Heart of the Night.
1874. Memorial Thresholds.

Further information comes from the various editions which appeared during the poet's lifetime. In the complete edition of 1881, *The House of Life* contained 102 sonnets; in the edition of 1870, 50 sonnets;[3] in the privately printed edition of 1869, 32 sonnets.

The edition of 1869 is not accessible to me, but W. M. Rossetti has kindly furnished me with the following information:

I enclose a list of the sonnets which appeared in the privately printed sheets of 1869, before the recovery of the buried MS. and also of those which were added in sheets of the *Poems* of 1870 before publication of that volume.

[1] Written and sent to Christina Rossetti in January, 1881.—W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 171. See also *Family Letters of Christina Rossetti*, ed. by W. M. R., p. 92.

[2] W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 171: "In writing to our mother on 15th September [1881] he spoke of them as written 'quite lately.'" See *Letters and Memoir*, II, 386.

[3] Besides six sonnets afterward included: "St. Luke and the Painter," "Lilith," 'Sibylla Palmifera," "Autumn Idleness," "Farewell to the Glen," "The Monochord."

IN THE PRIVATELY PRINTED POEMS 1869

Inclusiveness	The Kiss
Known in Vain	Nuptial Sleep
The Landmark	Love's Lovers
A Dark Day	Nearest Kindred
Vain Virtues	Winged Hours
Lost Days	The Love-moon
Retro me, Sathana	The Morrow's Message
Lost on Both Sides	Sleepless Dreams
The Sun's Shame	Secret Parting
Run and Won	Parted Love
Newborn Death (2)	Broken Music
Bridal Birth	Death in Love
Flammifera	Willow-wood (4)
Love-sight	A Superscription

ADDED IN SHEETS PRIOR TO THE PUBLICATION OF 1870

Supreme Surrender	Life in Love
The Birth-bond	Stillborn Love
The Portrait	The Choice (3)
Passion and Worship	Hoarded Joy
A Day of Love	Death Songsters
Love's Baubles	The One Hope

These lists contain all the titles of the 1870 edition except "The Love-letter," "Love's Redemption," "The Hill Summit," "Barren Spring," "He and I," "Love-sweetness," and "The Vase of Life." They contain three titles which do not appear at all in later editions, i.e., "Run and Won," "Flammifera," and "Nearest Kindred." Of these "Run and Won" is the same sonnet as "The Vase of Life."[1] In an unpublished letter W. M. Rossetti says, "'Flammifera' (I am as good as sure) is the same as 'Love's Redemption,' and 'Nearest Kindred' as 'The Birth-bond.'"

Of these forty-five sonnets, twenty have already been dated. Can anything be said of the rest except that they were written as early as 1869 or 1870? No evidence is available except internal evidence which is more or less unsatisfactory. Yet certain probabilities are worth noting. "The Landmark" probably refers to

[1] W. M. Rossetti, *Bibliography of the Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1905), p. 15; also *Fortnightly Review* for 1869.

Rossetti's resolution in 1853 to give up poetry and devote his entire attention to painting. "Death-in-love" seems to express premonitions of Miss Siddal's death, fears of which first became manifest about 1854. The fact that fourteen of these sonnets were added in sheets to the edition of 1869 before publication of the 1870 volume does not mean that they were written after the 1869 sheets were printed. Indeed we know that "The Birth-bond" was written in 1854 and "The Choice" in 1847–48. The others may have been written in 1869 or they may have been in the manuscript volume recovered from Mrs. Rossetti's grave between the time of the edition of 1869 and the edition of 1870. In the latter case they must have been written before 1862, and this is probably true of some of them at least. We know that the poet was in the habit of writing sonnets between 1853 and 1862. In a letter to William Allingham in 1854, he said, "Of short pieces I have seldom or never done anything tolerable, except perhaps sonnets,"[1] and, "But my sonnets are not generally finished till I see them again after forgetting them."[2] Again, in another letter of the same year, he writes, "I've referred to my note book for the above alteration and therein are various sonnets and beginnings of sonnets written at crises of happy inspiration."[3] Not many of these sonnets, however, can go back beyond 1853, for the poet himself made the following note in the edition of 1869: "Most of these poems [in the 1869 volume] were written between 1847 and 1853; and are here printed, if not without revision, yet generally much in their original state. They are a few among many then written, but of the others I have no complete copies. *The Sonnets and Songs are chiefly more recent work.*"[4]

Individual sonnets cannot, perhaps, be assigned to the early period with certainty, but there are considerations which make the earlier date probable in the case of certain ones. In the first place, some of them are more strikingly sensuous than the others. They treat of the immediate joy of triumphant love. They emphasize the physical aspects of love. The emotion is not so reflective, not so clearly spiritualized, as in the sonnets which we know to have been

[1] *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, p. 30.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[4] W. M. Rossetti, *Bibliography to the Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 16.

written after 1870. An illustration will make the point clear. Compare for example the following sonnets:

LOVE-SWEETNESS

Sweet dimness of her loosened hair's downfall
About thy face; her sweet hands round thy head
In gracious fostering union garlanded;
Her tremulous smiles; her gracious sweet recall
Of love; her murmuring sighs memorial;
Her mouth's culled sweetness by thy kisses shed
On cheeks and neck and eyelids, and so led
Back to her mouth which answers there for all:—

What sweeter than these things, except the thing
In lacking which all these would lose their sweet:—
The confident heart's still fervour: the swift beat
And soft subsidence of the spirit's wing,
Then when it feels, in cloud-girt wayfaring,
The breath of kindred plumes against its feet?

MID-RAPTURE

Thou lovely and beloved, thou my love;
Whose kiss seems still the first; whose summoning eyes,
Even now, as for our love-world's new sunrise,
Shed very dawn; whose voice, attuned above
All modulation of the deep-bowered dove,
Is like a hand laid softly on the soul;
Whose hand is like a sweet voice to control
Those worn tired brows it hath the keeping of:—

What word can answer to thy word—what gaze
To thine, which now absorbs within its sphere
My worshiping face, till I am mirrored there
Light-circled in a heaven of deep-drawn rays?
What clasp, what kiss mine inmost heart can prove,
O lovely and beloved, O my love?

It is true that any sonnet-sequence on the subject of love would naturally begin with the physical aspects and develop toward the spiritual; and Rossetti, after conceiving the idea of putting his sonnets into such a sequence, might very well have added sonnets of physical passion to the early part of the series; yet it is significant that none of the sonnets added to the early part after the edition of 1870 emphasizes this aspect.

Another consideration lies in the fact that certain sonnets contain much of the conventional imagery of the god of Love after the Dante manner, a fact most likely to apply in the years between 1853 and 1862, when Rossetti was particularly interested in the study of Dante and was preparing his volume *The Early Italian Poets* (later called *Dante and his Circle*), published in 1861. To be sure, there are many suggestions of Dante in the poet's later work, but not so many conventional references to Cupid and the machinery of his worship, and scant use of conventional Dantesque poetic conceits like "the spirits of the eyes." For example, "Love's Testament," "Love-sight," and "Bridal Birth" seem conventionally Dantesque.

LOVE'S TESTAMENT

O thou who at Love's hour ecstatically
Unto my heart dost evermore present,
Clothed with his fire, thy heart his testament[1]
Whom I have neared and felt thy breath to be
The inmost incense of his sanctuary;
Who without speech hast owned him, and, intent
Upon his will, thy life with mine hast blent,
And murmured, "I am thine, thou'rt one with me!"

O what from thee the grace, to me the prize,
And what to Love the glory,—when the whole
Of the deep stair thou treadst to the dim shoal
And weary water of the place of sighs,
And there dost work deliverance, as *thine eyes*
Draw up my prisoned spirit to thy soul!

LOVE-SIGHT

When do I see thee most, beloved one?
When in the light the *spirits of mine eyes*
Before thy face, their altar, solemnize
The worship of that Love through thee made known?

BRIDAL BIRTH

As when desire, long darkling, dawns, and first
The mother looks upon the newborn child,
Even so my Lady stood at gaze and smiled
When her soul knew at length the Love it nursed.

[1] The italics indicate the most striking Dantesque imagery.

Born with her life, creature of poignant thirst
And exquisite hunger, at her heart Love lay
Quickening in darkness, till a voice that day
Cried on him, and the bonds of birth were burst.

Now, shadowed by his wings, our faces yearn
Together, as his full-grown feet now range
The grove, and his warm hands our couch prepare;
Till to his song our bodiless souls in turn
Be born his children, when Death's nuptial change
Leaves for light the halo of his hair.

In the late sonnets Love is personified, but not so conventionally visualized.

A still further mark of difference lies in the use of nature imagery. To be sure, Rossetti was far from being a nature poet. He never loved her with the intimate and philosophical sympathy of Wordsworth. He never saw the beauty of nature as he saw the beauty of the human face. Indeed, before 1868, he lived but little outside the city and did not come into close contact with nature. However, the summers of 1868 and 1869 were spent at Penkill Castle in Ayershire, and the summer of 1871 at Kelmscott Manor in Oxfordshire. At this time he became so alive to the influences of nature that much of the imagery of the later group of sonnets is nature imagery. Examples are "The Lovers' Walk," "Youth's Spring Tribute," "Silent Noon," "Gracious Moonlight," "Farewell to the Glen," "Last Fire," "Through Death to Love," and "Love and Hope." Sonnets known to be early contain almost no genuine nature imagery.

It is true that tests like these we have been considering must be used with great caution; but I suggest a probability that the following sonnets belong to the period prior to 1862. These sonnets are either very sensuous or conventionally Dantesque or both, and they contain almost no intimate nature imagery.

Bridal Birth
Love's Redemption
Love-sight
The Kiss
Nuptial Sleep
Love's Lovers
Supreme Surrender
The Portrait[1]
The Love-letter
A Day of Love
Love-sweetness

[1] Rossetti made at least three pictures of Mrs. Rossetti during 1860–61. See *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, Chronological Index.

Between 1870 and 1881 *The House of Life* was increased from fifty to one hundred and two sonnets. Of the new fifty-two, twenty-one have already been dated. To the six set down for 1871, at least twenty-four more must be added, for Rossetti, writing to W. B. Scott under date of August 13 of this year, says, "I have thirty new ones [sonnets] in manuscript for *The House of Life* since printing last year."[1] This leaves only six unaccounted for.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE[2]

Retro me, Sathana (90) 1847
The Choice (71–73) 1848
Old and New Art (74–76) 1848–49
Known in Vain (65) 1853
The Hill Summit (70) 1853
The Landmark (67) (1853–54)
Lost on Both Sides (91) 1854
The Birth-bond (15) 1854
A Dark Day (68) 1855
Death-in-love (48) (1854–55)
Lost Days (86) 1858?
Inclusiveness (63) 1860?
The Portrait (10) (1860–61)
Bridal Birth (2) (Between 1851 and 1862)
Love's Testament (3) (Between 1853 and 1862)
(Love's Redemption)
Love-sight (4) (Between 1853 and 1862)
The Kiss (6) (Between 1853 and 1862)
Nuptial Sleep (Between 1853 and 1862)
Love's Lovers (8) (Between 1853 and 1862)
Supreme Surrender (7) (Between 1853 and 1862)
The Love-letter (11) (Between 1853 and 1862)
A Day of Love (16) (Between 1853 and 1862)
Love-sweetness (21) (Between 1853 and 1862)
Body's Beauty (78) (1864–68)
Soul's Beauty (77) (1864–68)
The Love-moon (37) 1868?
Willow-wood (49–52) 1868
Autumn Idleness (69) 1869
A Superscription (97) 1869
Vain Virtues (85) 1869
Farewell to the Glen (84) 1869
Newborn Death (99–100) 1869?
The One Hope (101) 1869?
Broken Music (47) 1869?
Sleepless Dreams (39) (1868–69)
The Morrow's Message (38) (1868–69)
Secret Parting (45) (1868–69)
Parted Love (46) (1868–69)
Winged Hours (25) (1868–69)
The Vase of Life (95) (1868–69)
Passion and Worship (9) (1868–70)
Love's Baubles (23) (1868–70)
Stillborn Love (55) (1868–70)
Life-in-love (36) (1868–70)
Hoarded Joy (82) (1868–70)
Barren Spring (83) (1868–70)
The Monochord (79) (1868–70)
He and I (98) (1868–70)

[1] W. B. Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, II, 143.

[2] The dates in parentheses are based upon probabilities only. The dates followed by a question mark represent the uncertain remembrance of William Michael Rossetti.

Death's Songsters (87) (1868–70)
The Sun's Shame (92) (1868–70)
The Dark Glass (34) 1871
The Lovers' Walk (12) 1871

The Moonstar (29)[1]
Last Fire (30)
Her Gifts (31)
Equal Troth (32)
Venus Victrix (33)
The Lamp's Shine (35)
Gracious Moonlight (20)
Love Enthroned (1)
Heart's Hope (5)
Youth's Antiphony (13)
Youth's Spring-tribute (14)
Beauty's Pageant (17)
Genius in Beauty (18)
Silent Noon (19)
Mid-rapture (26)

The Heart of the Night (66) 1874?
Memorial Thresholds (81) 1874?
Ardour and Memory (64) 1879
Introductory Sonnet 1880

Heart's Haven (22) 1871
Through Death to Love (41) 1871
Love and Hope (43) 1871?
Cloud and Wind (44) 1871?

Heart's Compass (27)
Soul-light (28)
Hope Overtaken (42)
Without Her (53)
Love's Fatality (54)
From Dawn to Noon (80)
Transfigured Life (60)
Life the Beloved (96)
Severed Selves (40)
Hero's Lamp (88)
The Trees of the Garden (89)
The Sun's Shame 2 (93)
The Song-throe (61)
The Soul's Sphere (62)
Love's Last Gift (59)[1]

Pride of Youth (24) 1880
Michelangelo's Kiss (94) 1881
True Woman (56–58) 1881

If this suggested chronology is approximately correct, the known facts of the poet's life ought to give some clue to the interpretation of the sonnets written at a particular period, and the sonnets in turn ought to throw light on the inner and more profound emotional experiences of the poet. Let us consider this relationship a little in detail.

"Old and New Art," three sonnets written in 1848–49, and "The Choice," three sonnets written in 1848, belong to the beginning of Rossetti's career, when he was the acknowledged leader of the so-called Pre-Raphaelite Movement, a revolt against conventionalities in painting, a renaissance in poetry of the mediaeval spirit of wonder. Much has been written of the aims and ideas of this school, but I doubt if a better statement of the principles can be found within the same compass than the sonnets on "Old and New Art." Art shall

[1] At least twenty-four of these undated sonnets belong to 1871.

again be the handmaid of religion. The true painter and the true poet are not as those "for whom only rhyme wins fame as poets, only paint as painters." Their eyes

> see on and far
> Into the lights of the great Past, new lit
> Fair for the Future's track.

God sent the great artists of the past into his vineyard; they bore the worst burden of the heat and the dry thirst; and none such as these were have since been found to do their work like them. Yet

> because of this
> Stand not ye idle in the market place.
> Which of you knoweth he is not that last
> Who may be first by faith and will? Yea his
> The hand which after the appointed days
> And hours shall give a Future to their Past.

The three sonnets entitled "The Choice" begin in turn:

> "Eat thou and drink; tomorrow thou shalt die."
> "Watch thou and fear; tomorrow thou shalt die."
> "Think thou and act; tomorrow thou shalt die."

They explain remarkably well the three characteristics which distinguished Rossetti in this early period: a sensuous love of beauty, a reverence for religious mysticism, and a belief that man has not yet achieved his high destiny. Taken together with the sonnets on "Old and New Art," they give a fairly adequate and intimate picture of Rossetti at the beginning of his career.

The early fifties were years of struggle. His pictures were not appreciated; it seemed impossible to live by his art. Even the famous "Annunciation," now in the Tate Gallery of London, remained long upon his hands unsold—"a blessed white daub," as he himself called it. He began now to realize his technical limitations. He had revolted against the routine of the drawing school; he had avoided the tedious training of the life school; he had painted with protest and disgust the "pickle jars" which Ford Madox Brown put before him; he had insisted on beginning with a real picture in the studio of Holman Hunt. Technical difficulties now balked the adequate expression of his genius. He was distracted, too, by the double interest of painting and poetry. He found himself writing

verse when he felt that he ought to be struggling with his painting, and yet neither art was able to put money in his purse.

This state of mind is reflected in the sonnets of that period. In "Known in Vain" (1853) he bewails the time

> When Work and Will awake too late, to gaze
> After their life sailed by, and hold their breath.
> Ah! who shall dare to search through what sad maze
> Thenceforth their incommunicable ways
> Follow the desultory feet of death?

"Lost on Both Sides" (1854) tells that "as when two men have loved a woman well" and both have lost her,

> So separate hopes, which in a soul had wooed
> The one same Peace, strove with each other long,
> And Peace before their faces perished since;
> So through that soul in restless brotherhood,
> They roam together now, and wind among
> Its by-streets, knocking at the dusty inns.

But the most poignant expression is in "Lost Days" (1858?), which must be quoted entire.

> The lost days of my life until today,
> What were they, could I see them on the street
> Lie as they fell? Would they be ears of wheat
> Sown once for food, but trodden into clay?
> Or golden coins squandered and still to pay?
> Or drops of blood dabbling the guilty feet?
> Or such spilt water as in dreams must cheat
> The undying throats of Hell, athirst alway?
>
> I do not see them here; but after death
> God knows I know the faces I shall see,
> Each one a murdered self, with low last breath,
> "I am thyself—what hast thou done to me?"
> "And I—and I—thyself," (lo! each one saith.)
> "And thou thyself to all eternity."

But there were still more important experiences during these years. In 1850 Rossetti met Miss Siddal, and they were engaged, perhaps as early as 1851, to be married. The first years of their association were joyful; for he was an ardent, devoted lover; they were much together reading and painting; and her nature expanded

and blossomed under his influence. Their marriage, however, was delayed until 1860 partly on account of straitened finances, partly on account of Miss Siddal's failing health, partly perhaps on account of a new and disturbing element which entered into Rossetti's experience about 1857 and which we shall presently consider. Their married life was not altogether happy, and it ended, after a brief two years, in Mrs. Rossetti's pathetic death. Love was for them a mingled romance and tragedy.

The love sonnets reflect very clearly the peculiarities of Rossetti's emotional life at this period. He was emphatically a painter with the painter's habit of visualizing emotion. It was natural for him to confuse spiritual and concrete beauty, to emphasize the physical aspect of love, to think of the spiritual as an accident of the physical. Buchanan's criticism is easily understood. It was unjust and was afterward retracted, but it was not wholly without excuse. Rossetti's mind was not sensual; but it was distinctly sensuous and that too with an Italian sensuousness which might well seem indelicate to the characteristic English reserve. "Nuptial Sleep" was very judiciously omitted from the later editions. "Supreme Surrender," which was retained, is perhaps over-voluptuous. Still there was from the beginning a spirituality that lifted his work above mere animalism. The octave of "Love-sweetness" is exceedingly sensuous, but the fine image of the sestet lifts the sonnet above the merely sensual.

For six or seven years after the death of his wife, Rossetti devoted himself assiduously to painting, writing scarcely a line of poetry except a few sonnets for pictures; but, in 1868, when trouble with his eyes forced him for a time to give up painting, he went into the country, and through the persuasions of friends, he entered upon his second period of poetic production. Between 1868 and 1871 nearly half of the sonnets of *The House of Life* were written.

By this time his experience had been idealized by reflection. To be sure, this was no Wordsworthian case of "emotion recollected in tranquility," rather of passion recollected in anguish, love shackled with vain longing and despair. Sorrow had deepened, remorse had darkened, the poet's emotional life. Yet the passion had been chastened by reflection, nay it had been transformed into a more idealized, more spiritual love. Nothing could quite change the

poet's sensuous nature, yet the emphasis had been shifted from the physical to the spiritual, and the imaginative texture of the emotion had become closer and more delicate. The sonnet "Mid-rapture," already quoted, exemplifies this. "Heart's Compass" (1871) is another typical example:

Sometimes thou seem'st not as thyself alone,
  But as the meaning of all things that are;
  A breathless wonder, shadowing forth afar
Some heavenly solstice hushed and halcyon;
Whose unstirred lips are music's visible tone;
  Whose eyes the sun-gate of the soul unbar,
  Being of its furthest fires oracular;—
The evident heart of all life sown and mown.

Even such is love; and is not thy name Love?
  Yea, by thy hand the Love-god rends apart
  All gathering clouds of Night's ambiguous art;
Flings them far down, and sets thine eyes above;
And simply, as some gage of flower or glove,
  Stakes with a smile the world against thy heart.

The later sonnets, however, are prevailingly melancholy. They tell of regret, disappointment, doubt, despair, the anguish of a broken, remorseful life, the cry of a spirit that has suffered deeply and not found solace. Here is a sonnet of which Rossetti said to Hall Caine, "I cannot tell you at what terrible moment it was wrung from me":

WITHOUT HER

What of her glass without her? the blank gray
  There where the pool is blind of the moon's face.
  Her dress without her? The tossed empty space
Of cloud-rack whence the moon has passed away.
Her paths without her? Day's appointed sway
  Usurped by desolate night. Her pillowed place
  Without her? Tears, ah me! for love's good grace,
And cold forgetfulness of night or day.
What of the heart without her? Nay, poor heart,
  Of thee what word remains ere speech be still?
  A wayfarer by barren ways and chill,
Steep ways and weary, without her thou art,
Where the long cloud, the long wood's counterpart,
  Sheds double darkness up the laboring hill.

Even night brings no solace, only sleepless anguish:

O lonely night art thou not known to me
A thicket hung with masks of mockery
And watered with the wasteful warmth of tears.

But this is not all. These sonnets tell of more than the common sorrow of bereavement; they suggest a more complicated spiritual tragedy. They tell of a new love by the side of the old and of the inner conflict between the old love and the new. This conflict of loves is the subject of "The Love-moon":

When that dead face, bowered in the furthest years,
Which once was all the life years held for thee,
Can now scarce bid the tides of memory
Cast on thy soul a little spray of tears,
How canst thou gaze into these eyes of hers
Whom now thy heart delights in, and not see
Within each orb Love's philtred euphrasy
Make them of buried troth remembrancers?
Nay, pitiful Love, nay, loving Pity! Well
Thou knowest that in these twain I have confessed
Two very voices of the summoning bell.
Nay, Master, shall not Death make manifest
In these the culminating changes which approve
The love-moon that must light my soul to love?

"Stillborn Love" tells of the despair of this new unsatisfied love:

The hour which might have been yet might not be,
Which man's and woman's heart conceived and bore
Yet whereof life was barren, on what shore
Bides it the breaking of Time's weary sea?
Bondchild of all consummate joys set free,
It somewhere sighs and serves, and mute before
The house of Love, hears through the echoing door
His hours elect in choral consonancy.
But lo! what wedded souls now hand in hand
Together tread at last the immortal strand
With eyes where burning memory lights love home?
Lo! how the little outcast hour has turned
And leaped to them and in their faces yearned:
"I am thy child: O parents, ye have come!"

"Love's Fatality" and "Life-in-love" may, perhaps, point to the same experience.

It is true that of these sonnets having to do with a new love "The Love-moon" and "Life-in-love" have some general similarities to two sonnets in Dante's *Vita Nuova*.[1] Dante tells how the new feeling for the lady of compassion threatens to dim the loving memory of his blessed lady Beatrice, and in two sonnets chides the eyes and chides the heart for yielding to the new love. But the Rossetti sonnets are like Dante's only in the general conception, not in detailed workmanship. They may owe something to Dante, yet there is reason to believe that they are not mere literary exercises, but represent a real experience of the poet, the tragedy of conflicting loves. Lady Burne-Jones, in speaking of her first meeting with the Rossettis in 1860, said, "I then received an impression which never wore away, of romance and tragedy between her and her husband."[2] And Holman Hunt has referred to an experience of Rossetti with another woman than Miss Siddal about 1857.[3] But these are only vague references. Hall Caine is more specific. In speaking of the change which came into the poet's life in the late fifties, when he became intimate with Burne-Jones, Swinburne, and the Morrises, he says:

> What effect these new friendships, any or all of them, may have had on the relation in which he still stood to Miss Siddal, it would perhaps be hard to say, but I think that evidences are not wanting in the poems written about this period of a new disturbing element, a painful and even tragic awakening, a sense of great passion coming too late, and above all a struggle between love and duty which augured less than well for the happiness of the marriage that was to come.[4]

He tells further that in the long journey in 1881 when he was bringing Rossetti home from Cumberland to London, as both thought to die, the poet revealed to him the secret of his life. Mr. Caine does not quote the poet's words, but says that if he were to reconstruct his character from the conversation of that night—

> it would be the figure of a man who, after engaging himself to one woman in all honor and good faith, had fallen in love with another and then gone on to marry the first out of a mistaken sense of loyalty and a fear of giving pain instead of stopping, as he must have done if his will had been stronger and his heart sterner, at the door of the church itself. It would be the figure of a man who realized that the good woman he had married was reading his secret in spite of his efforts to conceal it, and thereby losing all joy and

[1] D. G. Rossetti, *Collected Works*, I, 88, 90.
[2] Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, I, 208.
[3] W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir*, p. 201.
[4] T. Hall Caine, *My Story* (1909), pp. 81–82.

interest in life. It would be the figure of a man who, coming home late at night to find his wife dying, probably by her own hand, was overwhelmed by remorse, not perhaps for any unkindness, any want of attention, still less any act of infidelity on his part, but for the far deeper wrong of failure of affection for the one being to whom affection was most due.[1]

These sonnets, then, rightly understood, take on a profound human interest and make more clear and intelligible the poet's melancholy and desolation and despair. We see him no longer as simply weak, wayward, uncertain, performing a supreme act of renunciation for love of his wife, dead by accident, then repenting of his action and undoing it; and afterward isolating himself from life and intimate friends and giving himself up to the influence of a drug, because, forsooth, a rival poet had been jealous of his success. We see him rather a pathetic, even a tragic, figure speaking to us out of the depths of real suffering and remorse. The sonnets are a genuine expression of romance and tragedy, of joy and sorrow and futility, in an essentially noble life gifted above most, but with common human frailty. Rossetti never quite reached spiritual heights of serenity and peace. He saw no beatific vision. *The House of Life* does not solve any great intellectual problem; it does not show the triumph of religious faith; but its appeal to the human heart is poignant and sincere, and it shows that the poet's life was not utterly futile and morbid. He did gradually purify and idealize his emotional life. There is even a note of resignation at the last in sonnets like "The Heart of the Night," written in 1874:

> From child to youth; from youth to arduous man;
> From lethargy to fever of the heart;
> From faithful life to dream-dowered days apart;
> From trust to doubt; from doubt to brink of ban;—
> Thus much of change in one swift cycle ran
> Till now. Alas, the soul! how soon must she
> Accept her primal immortality,
> The flesh resume its dust whence it began?
> O Lord of work and peace! O Lord of life!
> O Lord, the awful Lord of will! though late
> Even yet renew this soul with duteous breath;
> That when the peace is garnered in from strife,
> The work retrieved, the will regenerate,
> This soul may see thy face, O Lord of death!

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[1] T. Hall Caine, *My Story*, pp. 196–97.

SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR JONSON'S *UNDERWOODS* AND MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

Up to the present time it cannot be said that we know a great deal about the sources of the *Underwoods*. Gifford and Whalley marked a few classical passages that Jonson utilized; Amos, in *Martial and the Moderns*, pointed out a good many borrowings from that poet, while occasionally in *Notes and Queries* and elsewhere a stray bit of indebtedness is indicated. An immense amount, however, remains to be done before we shall be able to understand just what Jonson's poetry amounts to, just what he himself contributed, just what he took from others. In the following pages something is done, I hope, toward elucidating this point,[1] but no discussion is attempted of the bearing the facts brought forward have upon our estimate of Jonson's verse. I am not at present inclined to think that this estimate will be much lowered, though it doubtless will be somewhat changed.

The pieces in *Underwoods* are referred to in accordance with Cunningham's nine-volume reissue of Gifford, but the text is taken directly from the Folio. I have made no intentional changes in the passages quoted, but have given the original with all its misprints and mispunctuations. The Latin texts quoted have been those nearest at hand.

I. UNDERWOODS

Underwoods, "Charis," No. 2: The central situation is supplied by Hieronymus Angerianus, *Carm. Illustrium Poet. Ital.*, 1719, I, 292:

De Caelia, & Cupidine.
Vidit Amor dominam, stupuit; cecidere sagittae.
Armavit sese Caelia, fugit Amor.

Underwoods, "Charis," No. 6: Tibullus iv. 2. 7 ff., may have supplied the theme, though Jonson has developed it after his own fashion.

[1] Something of a similar nature is attempted for the *Epigrams* and *Forest* in an article published in *Classical Philology*, XI, pp. 169 ff.

Illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movit,
componit furtim subsequiturque Decor.
seu solvit crines, etc.

Cf. also Propertius ii. 1. 4–16, where a similar thought is worked out.

Und. iii: See below under lvii.

Und. viii: I have pointed out the source of the last line in my article in *Modern Philology*, X, 573 ff.

Und. x:

'Tis true, he could not reprehend
His very Manners, taught t' amend,
They were so even, grave, and holy;
No stubbornnesse so stiffe, nor folly
To licence ever was so light,
As twice to trespasse in his sight,
His lookes would so correct it, when
It chid the vice, yet not the Men.
Much from him I professe I wonne,
And more, and more, I should have done,
But that I understood him scant.

Jonson seems to have remembered something of the description of the philosopher Euphrates in Pliny *Epist.* i. 10:

est enim obvius et expositus plenusque humanitate, quam praecipit. atque utinam sic ipse quam spem tunc ille de me concepit impleverim, ut ille multum virtutibus suis addidit! aut ego nunc illas magis miror, quia magis intellego. quamquam ne nunc quidem satis intellego. . . . . nullus horror in cultu, nulla tristitia, multum severitatis: reverearis occursum, non reformides. vitae sanctitas summa, comitas par: insectatur vitia, non homines, nec castigat errantes, sed emendat.

Und. xii: The main critical doctrine enunciated by Jonson in this piece is that nature and art must co-operate. He is of course directly inspired by Horace *De arte poetica* 408:

Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte,
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium: alterius sic
altera poscit opem et coniurat amice.

So Jonson's simile of the anvil was suggested by the same author, *ibid.* 440:

delere iubebat
et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.

But these wayes
Were not the paths I meant unto thy praise:
For seeliest Ignorance on these may light,
Which, when it sounds at best, but eccho's right;
Or blinde Affection, which doth ne're advance
The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance;
Or crafty Malice, might pretend this praise,
And thinke to ruine, where it seem'd to raise.

Bacon, Essay LIII, "Of Praise":

There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery. . . . . Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy toward them; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;* insomuch that it was a proverb among the Grecians, that he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose; as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie. Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Salomon saith, He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse.

This doctrine of moderate praise will explain why Jonson's language has appeared to various readers as "sparing and invidious." Note in this connection the passages cited below under *Und.* xxxi.

In reading Jonson's tribute to Shakespeare, I have been rather puzzled as to just what he meant by the expression,

turne the same,
(And himselfe with it), etc.

Why is the poet to turn himself? How can he turn himself in anything like the same way as that in which the verse is turned? The general idea is perhaps clear enough, but the language is remarkable, and I have come to the conclusion that almost every strange expression in Jonson has its special explanation. In Latin *torqueo* means to turn, and Horace uses the word in a passage (*Epist.* ii. 2. 124) in which he is discussing precisely the same topic that Jonson is here occupied with. The poet who wishes to write a *legitimum poema* (cf. "Who casts to write a living line"),

ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui
nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.

He will turn and twist himself like a mime. As one commentator puts it: "The idea is that grace and ease of style comes through slow

and diligent training, just as the apparently simple movements of the dance. As *ludere* may mean *to dance*, and *torqueri, to turn oneself*, the comparison of the next verse is readily suggested." It would seem then that Jonson expects his readers to recognize the allusion to the Horatian passage and to vary the meaning of the word "turn" accordingly.

Und. xxx: I pointed out, before I knew of Castelain's discussion in his edition of *Discoveries*, pp. 143 ff., most of the Senecan sources of this piece in *Modern Philology*, X, 573 ff. My excuse for returning to the subject here is that there are still one or two passages worth quoting from Seneca, while Castelain, though he quotes Plutarch, overlooks a number of places where Jonson was unquestionably making use of that author. Thus Jonson's full indebtedness has not yet been brought out.

enquire
Like Money-brokers; after Names.

Horace *Serm.* i. 2. 16:

nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili.

I have the lyst of mine owne faults to know,
Looke too and cure; Hee's not a man hath none,
But like to be, that every day mends one,
And feeles it; Else he tarries by the Beast,
Can I discerne how shadowes are decreast,
Or growne; by height or lownesse of the Sunne?
And can I lesse of substance? when I runne,
Ride, saile, am coach'd, know I how farre I have gone,
And my minds motion not? or have I none:
No! he must feele and know, that I will advance
Men have beene great, but never good by chance,
Or on the sudden. . . . .
'Tis by degrees that men arrive at glad
Profit in ought each day some little adde,
In time 'twill be a heape; This is not true
Alone in money, but in manners too.
Yet we must more then move still, or goe on,
We must accomplish; 'Tis the last Key-stone
That makes the Arch, The rest that there were put
Are nothing till that comes to bind and shut.
Then stands it a triumphall marke! then Men
Observe the strength, the height, the why, and when,

It was erected; and still walking under
Meet some new matter to looke up and wonder!
Such Notes are vertuous men! they live as fast
As they are high; are rooted and will last.
They need no stilts, nor rise upon their toes,
As if they would belie their stature, those
Are Dwarfes of Honour, and have neither weight
Nor fashion. . . . .

114–25. *De vita beata* xvii. 3:

non sum sapiens . . . . nec ero . . . . hoc mihi satis est, cotidie aliquid ex vitiis meis demere.

In more than one place Seneca points out that no human being can attain the ideal state of wisdom and virtue, i.e., he's not a man (for he is more than a man) that hath no faults.

124–25. I compared in my article Juvenal ii. 83. Better parallels are these from Seneca *Epist.* xlii. 1:

vir bonus tam cito nec fieri potest nec intellegi;

and xxiii. 16:

Nemo est casu bonus. discenda virtus est.

118–25, 130–34. Plutarch, *How a Man May Be Sensible of His Progress in Virtue*, trans. of 1870, ii. 449:

You know the art of navigation; when the seamen hoist sail for the main ocean, they give judgment of their voyage by observing together the space of time and the force of the wind that driveth them, and compute that, in all probability, in so many months, with such a gale, they have gone forward to such or such a place. Just so it is in the study of philosophy. . . . . He that is always at his business, constantly upon the road, never makes any stops or halts, nor meets with obstacles and lets in the way, but under the conduct of right reason travels smoothly, securely, and quietly along, may be assured that he has one true sign of the proficient. This of the poet,

Add many lesser numbers in account,
Your total will to a vast sum amount,

not only holds true as to the increase of money, but also may serve as a rule to the knowledge of the advance of everything else, especially of proficiency in virtue.

The quotation, according to the note given, is from Hesiod *Works and Days* 361.

136–38. Plut., *ibid.*, 474:

But the proficients in virtue, who have already laid the golden solid foundation of a virtuous life, as of a sacred and royal building, take especial care of the whole work, examine and model every part of it according to the rule of reason, believing that it was well said by Polycletus that the hardest work remained for them to do whose nails must touch the clay—that is, to lay the top stone is the great business and masterpiece of the work. The last stroke gives beauty and perfection to the whole piece.

145–46. Sen. *Epist.* cxi. 3:

talis est . . . . verus . . . . philosophus . . . . non exsurgit in plantas nec summis ambulat digitis eorum more, qui mendacio staturam adiuvant longioresque quam sunt videri volunt: contentus est magnitudine sua.

Und. xxxi: When Jonson remarks that there is not a more pernicious enemy to study than injudicious praise, he perhaps is recalling some such passage as that in Seneca *Ep.* cii. 16:

et cum aeque antiquus poeta ait: *laus alit artes*, non laudationem dicit, quae corrumpit artes. nihil enim aeque et eloquentiam et omne aliud studium auribus deditum vitiavit quam popularis adsensio.

Not flie the Crime, but the Suspition too.

This and the lines following it, in which Jonson carefully explains why what he does in this poem differs somewhat from his former practice, should be compared with Bacon, Essay XI:

And avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion [of bribery]. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change; and do not think to steal it.

With Jonson's explanation of the reason why he praised some men too much, compare Bacon, Essay LIII:

Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando praecipere*, when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be.

Since being deceiv'd, I turne a sharper eye
Upon my selfe, and aske to whom? and why?
And what I write? and vexe it many dayes
Before men get a verse: much lesse a Praise.

Horace *Epist.* i. 18. 68, 76:

> quid de quoque viro et cui dicas, saepe videto. . . . .
> Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice.

> I wonder'd at the richnesse, but am lost
> To see the workmanship so exceed the cost!

Ovid: *Met.* ii. 5:

> Materiam superabat opus.

With the latter part of the poem compare the following passage from Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, I:

Books (such as are worthy the name of books) ought to have no patrons but truth and reason; and the ancient custom was to dedicate them only to private and equal friends, or to intitle the books with their names; or if to kings and great persons, it was to some such as the argument of the book was fit and proper for.

With Jonson's commendation of the dedication to Heywood and his explanation of why the dedication was suitable, compare from Selden's own dedication (I quote from the edition of 1631, as the first is not accessible):

DEER SIR. You are one that can rightly esteeme a worke and iudge both of it, and of the ability that begets it. And to such only are these kind of gifts to be thus presented. Loue and Honor are best testified by what fits the quality to which you giue them. . . . . But the truly Generous soule well knowes and freely vses its owne strength, not only in prudently gaining and iudging of what it selfe selects and loues best within the vast Circle of knowledge [which may have suggested Jonson's own use of the phrase earlier in the poem], but in iustly valuing also what another chuses there. . . . . I confesse, Sir, your Nobler Contemplations, of Nature and the Mathematiques, are farre remote from the Subiect I giue you. Yet there is habitude euen betweene it and them also. . . . . Thus some parts of your own Studies, may perhaps be sometimes pleased with it.

Und. xxxii:

> Bought Flatteries, the issue of his purse.

Juv. x. 46:

> niveos ad frena Quirites,
> defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.

Here of course the purse belongs to the flatterer, not to the flattered; but a passage recalled vaguely would easily suffer such a change.

> lay his fortune out to show
> Till envie wound, or maime it at a blow!

Ibid. 56–58:

> quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
> invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum
> pagina

> See him, that's call'd, and thought the happiest man,
> Honour'd at once, and envi'd (if it can
> Be honour is so mixt) by such as would
> For all their spight be like him if they could.

Sen. *De ben.* i. 9. 2: "colunt enim detestanturque felicem et, si potuerint, eadem facturi, odere facientem."

> Where Pittes, or Wright, or Modet would not venter.

So Lesbia, in Martial i. 34, is more immodest than a prostitute:

> A Chione saltem vel ab Iade disce pudorem.

> Adulteries now, are not so hid, or strange,
> They're growne Commoditie upon Exchange;
> He that will follow but anothers wife,
> Is lov'd, though he let out his owne for life:
> The Husband now's call'd churlish, or a poore
> Nature, that will not let his Wife be a whore;
> Or use all arts, or haunt all Companies
> That may corrupt her, even in his eyes.
> The brother trades a sister; and the friend
> Lives to the Lord, but to the Ladies end.
> Lesse must not be thought on then Mistresse: or
> If it be thought kild like her Embrions; for,
> Whom no great Mistresse, hath as yet infam'd
> A fellow of course Letcherie, is nam'd
> The Servant of the Serving-woman in scorne,
> Ne're came to taste the plenteous Mariage-horne.
> Thus they doe talke. And are these objects fit
> For man to spend his money on? his wit?
> His time? health? soule? will he for these goe throw
> Those thousands on his back, shall after blow
> His body to the Counters, or the Fleete?
> Is it for these that fine man meets the street
> Coach'd, or on foot-cloth, thrice chang'd every day,
> To teach each suit, he has the ready way
> From Hide-Parke to the Stage, where at the last
> His deare and borrow'd Bravery he must cast?
> When not his Combes, his Curling-irons, his Glasse,

Sweet bags, sweet Powders, nor sweet words will passe
For lesse Securitie? O for these
Is it that man pulls on himselfe Disease?
Surfet? and Quarrell? drinkes the tother health?
Or by Damnation voids it? or by stealth?
What furie of late is crept into our Feasts?
What honour given to the drunkennest Guests?
What reputation to beare one Glasse more?
When oft the Bearer, is borne out of dore?
This hath our ill-us'd freedome, and soft peace
Brought on us, and will every houre increase
Our vices, doe not tarry in a place,
But being in Motion still (or rather in race)
Tilt one upon another, and now beare
This way, now that, as if their number were
More then themselves, or then our lives could take,
But both fell prest under the load they make.

This whole passage is chiefly based on *De ben.* i. 9. 3–4; 10. 2–3:

Coniugibus alienis ne clam quidem, sed aperte ludibrio aditis suas aliis permisere. Rusticus, inhumanus ac mali moris et inter matronas abominanda condicio est, si quis coniugem suam in sella prostare vetuit et volgo admissis inspectoribus vehi perspicuam undique. Si quis nulla se amica fecit insignem nec alienae uxori annuum praestat, hunc matronae humilem et sordidae libidinis et ancillariolum vocant. Decentissimum sponsaliorum genus est adulterium. et in consensu vidui caelibatus nemo uxorem duxit, nisi qui abduxit . . . . nunc cultus corporum nimius et formae cura prae se ferens animi deformitatem. nunc in petulantiam et audaciam erumpet male dispensata libertas. nunc in crudelitatem privatam ac publicam ibitur bellorumque civilium insaniam, qua omne sanctum ac sacrum profanetur. habebitur aliquando ebrietati honor et plurimum meri cepisse virtus erit. Non expectant uno loco vitia, sed mobilia et inter se dissidentia tumultuantur, pellunt invicem fuganturque: ceterum idem semper de nobis pronuntiare debebimus, malos esse nos, malos fuisse, invitus adiciam et futuros esse.

When he wrote about the evils of soft peace, Jonson had more or less consciously in mind the "nunc patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis" of Juv. vi. 292, as well as the "male dispensata libertas" of Seneca.

He that no more for Age, Cramps, Palsies, can
Now use the bones, we see doth hire a man
To take the box up for him; and pursues
The Dice with glassen eyes.

Horace *Serm.* ii. 7. 15–18:

> Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra
> contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
> mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
> conductum pavit.

Erasmus uses this passage also in the *Praise of Folly.*

> or have we got
> In this, and like, an itch of Vanitie,
> That scratching now's our best Felicitie?

Sen. *De tranq. animi.* ii. 11–12:

grata omnis illi excitandi se abstrahendique materia est, gratior pessimis quibusque ingeniis, quae occupationibus libenter deterunter, ut ulcera quaedam nocituras manus adpetant et tactu gaudent et foedam corporum scabiem delectat, quicquid exasperat: non aliter dixerim his mentibus, in quas cupiditates velut mala ulcera eruperunt, voluptati esse laborem vexationemque.

Und. xxxv:

> I can helpe that with boldnesse; And love sware,
> And fortune once, t'assist the spirits that dare.

It may very well be that Jonson had in mind the two proverbs that Gifford speaks of, but it is worth noting that the two proverbs had already been joined by a writer with whom Jonson was very familiar; Ovid has, *Ars amatoria* i. 607 ff., the following lines:

> fuge rustica longe
> Hinc Pudor! audentem Forsque Venusque iuvat.

The addition of the third idea (boldness=*fuge Pudor*) makes the borrowing practically certain.

Und. xxxvi:

> By those bright Eyes, at whose immortall fires
> Love lights his torches to inflame desires.

Tibullus iv. 2. 5–6:

> illius ex oculis, cum vult exurere divos,
> accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor.

Und. xli:

> Minds that are great and free,
> Should not on fortune pause,
> 'Tis crowne enough to vertue still, her owne applause.

Sen. *De vita beata.* ix:

non enim hanc [voluptatem] praestat [virtus], sed et hanc, nec huic laborat, sed labor eius, quamvis aliud petat, hoc quoque adsequetur. . . . . Itaque erras, cum interrogas, quid sit illud propter quod virtutem petam: quaeris enim aliquid supra summum. interrogas, quid petam ex virtute? ipsam. nihil enim habet melius, ipse pretium est.

So *De Clementia* i. 1: "quamvis enim recte factorum verus fructus sit fecisse," and see *Epist.* lxxxi. 19, and Claudian *De cons. Manl. Theod. Paneg.* 1–3.

Und. xlii: Gifford rightly noted that this poem cannot well be understood without a reference to the frontispiece which it describes, but he did not feel that it was any part of his editorial duty to furnish the reader with the requisite information. I give here a description before pointing out the source of the poem. At the top is the eye of Providence; just below is the world, on either side of which stand Fama Mala and Fama Bona. The world rests in the upturned hands of Magistra Vitae, i.e., History, who in turn has one foot upon a skeleton, Mors, the other upon Oblivio. On one side of History stands, in a niche between two pillars, Experientia, with her wand and plummet; one of the pillars, inscribed Testis Temporum, is adorned with figures of books; the other, entitled Nuncia Vetustatis, bears various symbols, some of a mathematical, others apparently of an astrological, character. In a corresponding niche on the other side stands Veritas, naked of course, and with her upraised right hand encircled with flames; her pillars are: Lux Veritatis, adorned with flames; Vita Memoriae, bearing a flourishing vine. Thus every line of the poem refers to a particular part of the frontispiece, which was engraved by Elstrack. The source of Jonson's poem and of the design of the engraving is found in Cicero *De or.* ii. 9:

Eadem facultate et fraus hominum ad perniciem, et integritas ad salutem, vocatur. Quis cohortari ad virtutem ardentius, quis a vitiis acrius revocare, quis vituperare improbos asperius, quis laudare bonos ornatius, quis cupititatem vehementius frangere accusando, potest? quis moerorem levare mitius consolando? Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuncia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi oratoris, immortalitati commendatur?

Und. xlv: Gifford notes the quotation from Horace, but the poem as a whole was evidently suggested by Propertius ii. 34. 85 ff.:

haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,
Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae.
haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli,
Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.
haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,
cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae.
et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus
mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua!
Cynthia quin etiam versu laudata Properti,
hos inter si me ponere Fama volet.

Und. li: Gifford has noted the quotation from Lucan, but the main sources of the piece he overlooked. Some lines are suggested by a poem by Dousa. There is no edition accessible to me at the moment, but Burton in the *Anatomy* quotes twice from him in dealing with the topic of lawyers (see pp. 46, 205, of the ordinary one-volume edition of the *Anatomy*). In the second reference Burton cites "Ja. Dousa Epodon. lib. 2. car. 2.", and quotes as follows:

Quibus loquacis affatim arrogantiae est,
Peritiae parum aut nihil,
Nec ulla mica literarii salis,
Crumenimulga natio:
Loquuteleia turba, litium strophae,
Maligna litigantium cohors, togati vultures,
Lavernae alumni, Agyrtes, &c.

Compare Jonson:

But when I read or heare the names so rife
Of hirelings, wranglers, stitchers-to of strife,
Hook-handed Harpies, gowned vultures, put
Upon the reverend Pleaders.

Such is what Jonson calls, a line or two farther on, "Dogs eloquence." The phrase is from Quintilian xii. 9. 9. This fact leads me to point out that Jonson praises his counselor in accordance with the qualifications Quintilian demands that he should possess. He must of course be a good and learned man. He should be careful what causes he undertakes, and must even on examination refuse to carry

on a case already accepted if he think it unjust; ll. 16–22 of Jonson are apparently based on xii. 7. 6 and 7 of Quintilian.

Another author borrowed from is Tacitus.

> As if the generall store thou didst command
> Of Argument, still drawing forth the best,
> And not being borrowed by thee, but possest.
> So comm'st thou like a Chiefe into the Court
> Arm'd at all peeces . . . .
> Then com'st thou off with Victorie and Palme,
> Thy Hearers Nectar. . . . .

Dial. de orat. 32:

primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur . . . . idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit ac statim ita laude prosequitur, ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo, nisi eum, qui tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit.

Und. lv: "Mix spirits" is a Latinism; cf. Cicero *De amic.* xxi; and for the doctrine of Jonson's poem, cf. *ibid.* xxiii–xxvi.

Und. lvi: Who but Jonson would ever have thought of making a love elegy out of a number of scraps from Seneca's *De Clementia?* All my quotations are from the first book.

15–18. xxi. 3:

Hoc est etiam ex victoria sua triumphare testarique nihil se quod dignum esset victore apud victos invenisse.

And the doctrine of the whole chapter is to the effect that one should not wantonly revenge.

28–30. xxi. 2:

quisquis ex alto ad inimici pedes abiectus alienam de capite regnoque sententiam expectavit, in servatoris sui gloriam vivit plusque nomini eius confert incolumis, quam si ex oculis ablatus est.

40–50. xiv:

Quod ergo officium eius est? quod bonorum parentum, qui obiurgare liberos nonnumquam blande, nonnumquam minaciter solent, aliquando admonere etiam verberibus. Numquid aliquis sanus filium a prima offensa exheredat? nisi magnae et multae iniuriae patientiam evicerint, nisi plus est quod timet quam quod damnat, non accedit ad decretorium

stilum. multa ante temptat, quibus dubiam indolem et peiore loco iam positam revocet: simul deploratum est, ultima experitur. nemo ad supplicia exigenda pervenit, nisi qui remedia consumpsit. . . . . Tarde sibi pater membra sua abscidat. etiam cum absciderit, reponere cupiat et in abscindendo gemat cunctatus multum diuque.

51–52. xvii. 2:

Mali medici est desperare . . . . agat princeps curam non tantum salutis, sed etiam honestae cicatricis.

67 ff. vii. 1–3:

Quoniam deorum feci mentionem, optime hoc exemplum principi constituam, ad quod formetur, ut se talem esse civibus, quales sibi deos velit. Expedit ergo habere inexorabilia peccatis atque erroribus numina? expedit usque ad ultimam infesta perniciem? et quis regum erit tutus, cuius non membra haruspices colligant? Quod si di placabiles et aequi delicta potentium non statim fulminibus persequuntur, quanto aequius est hominem hominibus praepositum miti animo exercere imperium et cogitare, utrum mundi status gratior oculis pulchriorque sit sereno et puro die an quum fragoribus crebris omnia quatiuntur et ignes hinc atque illinc micant? atqui non alia facies est quieti moratique imperii quam sereni coeli et nitentis. Crudele regnum turbidum tenebrisque obscurum est, inter trementes et ad repentinum sonitum expavescentes ne eo quidem qui omnia perturbat inconcusso. Facilius privatis ignoscitur pertinaciter se vindicantibus. possunt enim laedi dolorque eorum ab iniuria venit. timent praeterea contemptum, et non retulisse laedentibus gratiam infirmitas videtur, non clementia.

And viii. 5:

Ut fulmina paucorum periculo cadunt, omnium metu, sic animadversiones magnarum potestatum terrent latius quam nocent.

99–104. Plut., *How a Young Man Ought to Hear Poems*, trans. 1870, ii. 76:

For which purpose Plato teacheth us that we ought to inure ouselves to fear blame and disgrace more than labor and danger.

105–6. xxii. 3:

Constituit bonos mores civitati princeps et vitia eius facilius reprimit, si patiens eorum est, non tamquam probet, sed tamquam invitus et cum magno tormento ad castigandum veniat: verecundiam peccandi facit ipsa clementia regentis.

Und. lvii:

Are vowes so cheape with women? or the matter
Whereof they are made, that they are writ in water?

Catullus lxx:

> dicit: sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti,
> in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.

> Who could have thought so many accents sweet . . . . .
> . . . . could now prove emptie blisses?
> Did you draw bonds to forfeit?

Tibullus iii. 4. 83–84:

> nec tibi crediderim votis contraria vota
> nec tantum crimen pectore inesse tuo.

> Sooner I'le thinke the Sunne would cease to cheare
> The teeming Earth, and that forget to beare;
> Sooner that Rivers would run back, or Thames
> With ribs of Ice in June would bind his streames:
> Or Nature, by whose strength the world indures,
> Would change her course, before you alter yours.

This form of adjuration is common enough to all poetry, from classical times down, and I cannot point out a special passage from which this one might have been taken. Two bits in Propertius are, however, apt:

i. 15. 29–30:

> muta prius vasto labentur flumina ponto,
> annus et inversas duxerit ante vices,
> quam, etc.

iii. 19. 5 ff.:

> flamma per incensas citius sedetur aristas
> fluminaque ad fontis sint reditura caput, etc.

> like Painters that doe take
> Delight, not in made workes, but whilst they make.

Seneca *Epist.* ix. 7:

> Attalus philosophus dicere solebat: "iucundius esse amicum facere quam habere. quomodo artifici iucundius pingere est quam pinxisse." Illa in opere suo occupata sollicitudo ingens oblectamentum habet in ipsa occupatione. non aeque delectatur, qui ab opere perfecto removit manum. iam fructu artis suae fruitur: ipsa fruebatur arte, cum pingeret.

This passage of Seneca was also utilized in *Und.* iv.

> Love in your eyes, that gave my tongue the Law
> To like what you lik'd, and at Masques, or Playes,
> Commend the selfe-same Actors, the same wayes
> Aske how you did? and often with intent
> Of being officious, grow impertinent.

Ovid *Ars amatoria* ii. 197 ff.:

> Cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis;
> Fac modo, quas partis illa iubebit, agas!
> Arguet: arguito; quidquid probat illa, probato;
> Quod dicet, dicas; quod negat illa, neges!
> Riserit: adride; si flebit, flere memento!

Cf. *ibid.* i. 145–46, 151–52:

> Cuius equi veniant, facito studiose requiras,
> Nec mora, quisquis erit, cui favet illa, fave! . . . .
> Et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum:
> Quaelibet officio causa sit apta tuo.

The curse in ll. 39 ff. of Jonson's poem reminds one of the curse toward the end of *Und.* lxi and of that in iii, 5, of *Epicoene.* With this play, iv. 1. 121–22, "like what she likes, praise whom she praises," compare the lines above. With the line "He first desire you false, would wish you just," compare "Then I will study falsehood, to be true," from the preceding piece (for I daresay that, after what I have pointed out above as to the sources of that elegy, no one will now embrace Fleay's opinion that it was by Donne). These are some, but by no means all, of the reasons why I think that editors of Donne should examine the matter far more carefully than they appear to have done as yet before they consider the authorship of this piece a settled question. For instance, the evidence of the manuscripts has, it seems to me, nothing like the force attributed to it by Grierson, and I believe the canon of the Folio text of *Underwoods* is trustworthy, partly because it was edited by Digby, partly because of internal evidence. I cannot, however, go into the point at length here.

Und. lviii:

> But ever without Blazon, or least shade
> Of vowes so sacred, and in silence made;
> For though Love thrive, and may grow up with cheare,
> And free societie, hee's borne else-where,
> And must be bred, so to conceale his birth, etc.

Propertius ii. 25. 29–33:

> tu tamen interea, quamvis te diligat illa,
> in tacito cohibe gaudia clausa sinu:
> namque in amore suo semper sua maxima cuique
> nescio quo pacto verba nocere solent.

Tibullus iv. 13. 7–8:

> nil opus invidia est, procul absit gloria vulgi:
> qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu.

Und. lx:

> Let me be what I am, as Virgil cold
> As Horace fat; or as Anacreon old;
> No poets verses yet did ever move,
> Whose Readers did not thinke he was in love.

Jonson is here expressing one of the fundamental doctrines of classical aesthetic theory; cf. Cicero *De or.* ii. 45:

> Neque fieri potest, ut doleat is qui audit . . . . nisi omnes ii motus, quos orator adhibere volet judici, in ipso oratore impressi atque inusti videbuntur.

So Horace *De arte poet.* 102, and cf. Sidney, *Apologie*, ed. Arber, 67:

> But truely many of such writings, as come vnder the banner of vnresistable loue, if I were a Mistress, would neuer perswade mee they were in loue: so coldely they apply fiery speeches [etc.].

Other critical writings of the period dilate on the topic.

Und. lxii: "A speach according to Horace." Castelain (*Ben Jonson*, p. 793) has called attention to the fact that in this title "speech" translates *sermo*, and we may take the occasion to point out that Jonson seems in this poem to be imitating more or less the restrained irony of Horace rather than, as usual, the vehemence of Juvenal. For that reason this piece stands out as unique among Jonson's satirical poems. In spite of that fact, however, Jonson has

Juvenal in mind, so far as part of the subject-matter is concerned, as anyone will readily observe who chooses to compare the eighth satire. That satire is devoted to the general theme that virtue is the true nobility. Juvenal emphasizes, as Jonson does, the principle that honorable descent is of value only if oneself maintain the ancestral virtue. Juvenal's lines, 44 f.:

> 'vos humiles' inquis 'volgi pars ultima nostri,
> quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis,
> ast ego Cecropides,'

seem to have suggested to Jonson the lines that he puts into the mouth of the worthless noble. Another passage, 134,

> de quocumque voles proavum tibi sumito libro,

apparently suggested the words:

> Wee,
> Descended in a rope of Titles, be
> From Guy, or Bevis, Arthur, or from whom
> The Herald will.

For the vices of the Roman degenerates Jonson naturally substitutes their equivalents in the life of contemporary London.

The last third of this speech may owe something in thought to the speech of Marius to the Roman citizens, Sall. *Iug.* lxxxv. 37 ff.:

> Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos, illorum aemulos, contemnit; et omnes honores, non ex merito, sed quasi debitos, a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. "Sordidum me et incultis moribus" aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neques pluris pretii coquum quam villicum habeo. Quae mihi libet confiteri, Quirites, nam ex parente meo, et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire; omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum aestimant, id semper faciant; ament, potent: ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis: sodorem, pulverem, et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita: nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt, reipublicae innoxiae cladi sunt.

It seems, however, more likely that Jonson is drawing from the Dutch scholar Lipsius, for I find in Burton, pp. 208–9 of the ordinary one-volume edition, a passage apparently quoted from Lipsius and very closely parallel to the latter part of Jonson's poem. As I have not access to an edition of Lipsius, I can do no more than refer to the passage in the *Anatomy*.

Und. lxiii:

> I neither am, nor art thou one of those
> That hearkens to a Jacks-pulse, when it goes.
> Nor ever trusted to that friendship yet
> Was issue of the Taverne, or the Spit.

Plut., *Of the Folly of Seeking Many Friends*, trans. 1870, i. 466–67:

The palaces of noble men and princes appear guarded with splendid retinues of diligent obsequious servants, and every room is crowded with a throng of visitors . . . . and it may be thought, I confess, at first sight, that such are very fortunate in having so many cordial, real friends at their command. . . . . Change the scene, and you may observe a far greater number of flies as industriously busy in their kitchens; and as these would vanish, were the dishes empty, and clean, so neither would that other sort of insect pay any further respect, were nothing to be got by it.

And Martial ix. 14:

> Hunc, quem mensa tibi, quem cena paravit amicum,
> Esse putas fidae pectus amicitiae?
> Aprum amat, etc.

> And as within your Office, you doe take
> No piece of money, but you know, or make
> Inquirie of the worth: So must we doe,
> First weigh a friend, then touch, and trie him too.

Plut., *ibid.*, 467:

Whoever without due trial put themselves upon us for friends we examine as bad money; and the cheat being discovered, etc.

Plut., 468:

He that would secure a lasting friendship and acquaintance must first deliberately judge and thoroughly try its worth, before he settles it.

So in *How to Know a Flatterer from a Friend*, ii. 102:

And therefore we should rather try our friend, as we do our money, whether or not he be passable and current, before we need him.

> 'Tis vertue alone, or nothing that knits friends.

Plut., 466:

That which procures love and friendship in the world is a sweet and obliging temper of mind, a lively readiness in doing good offices, together with a constant habit of virtue.

Men have Masques and nets,
But these with wearing will themselves unfold:
They cannot last. No lie grew ever old.

Sen. *Epist.* lxxix. 18:

Nihil simulatio proficit. paucis imponit leviter extrinsecus inducta facies: veritas in omnem sui partem eadem est. Quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi. tenue est mendacium: perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris.

See also *De clem.* i. 1. 6:

Nemo enim potest personam diu ferre.

In *Disc.* (No. 60, ed. Castelain; p. 20, ed. Schelling) Jonson attributes the saying "No lie grew ever old," to Euripides, but Castelain says nothing about the attribution, and Schelling remarks that he has not been able to verify it. In the same passage, Jonson says "nothing is lasting that is fain'd," and this looks very much like a reminiscence of the "quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi," above. Compare, however, Cic. *De off.* ii. 12:

Nec simulatum potest quicquam esse diuturnum.

looke, if he be
Friend to himselfe, that would be friend to thee.
For that is first requir'd, A man be his owne.

Sen. *Epist.* vi. 7:

Interim quoniam diurnam tibi mercedulam debeo, quid me hodie apud Hecatonem delectaverit dicam. "Quaeris, inquit, quid profecerim? amicus esse mihi." Multum profecit: numquam erit solus. scito hunc amicum omnibus esse.

This is likewise Aristotelian doctrine. In discussing the problem whether a man may be his own friend, he remarks that we "must make it our ambition to be virtuous; for then we shall stand in a friendly relation to ourselves, and shall become the friends of others." And farther on: "But these conditions and all such others as are characteristic of friendship are best realized in the relation of a man to himself; for it has been said that all the characteristics of friendship

in the relation of a man to other men are derived from his relation to himself" (*Ethics*, Welldon, pp. 293, 300).

Und. lxix:

> Whose even Thred the Fates spinne round, and full,
> Out of their Choysest, and their whitest wooll.

Cf. Juvenal xii. 64–65:

> postquam Parcae meliora benigna
> pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi
> lanificae.

For other parallels see Friedlaender, *ad loc.*

Und. lxxxii:

> How happy were the Subject! if he knew
> Most pious King, but his owne good in you!

So in *Loves Wel-come* (at Bolsover): "Which is, that first the Peoples love would let that People know their owne happinesse." The idea is of course from the "sua si bona norint," *Georgics* ii. 458.

Und. lxxxiii:

> To compare small with great.

Virgil *Georgics* iv. 176:

> si parva licet componere magnis.

Und. lxxxvi:

> But as the wretched Painter, who so ill
> Painted a Dog, that now his subtler skill
> Was, t' have a Boy stand with a Club, and fright
> All live dogs from the lane, and his shops sight.
> Till he had sold his Piece, drawne so unlike:
> So doth the flattrer, with farre cunning strike
> At a Friends freedome, proves all circling meanes
> To keepe him off; and how-so-e're he gleanes
> Some of his formes, he lets him not come neere
> Where he would fixe, for the distinctions feare.

Plut., *How to Know a Flatterer*, ii. 136:

> There remains yet another way to discover him by his inclinations towards your intimates and familiars. . . . . Therefore this light and empty counterfeit, finding he wants weight when put into the balance against a solid and substantial friend, endeavors to remove him as far as he can, like him who, having painted a cock extremely ill, commanded his servant to take the original out of sight.

When Jonson speaks of the flatterer as gleaning some of the forms of the friend, he is simply summarizing Plutarch's whole essay, the theme of which is the fact that a flatterer looks like and imitates a friend, but can be distinguished on close inspection.

Und. lxxxvii: Besides the source marked down by Whalley, note that the middle part of this poem is based on Seneca, and the last stanza but one on Aristotle. The whole of Seneca's ninety-third epistle should be compared. I extract the more interesting parts:

> Non ut diu vivamus curandum est, sed ut satis. . . . . Longa est vita, si plena est. . . . . Quid illum octoginta anni iuvant per inertiam exacti? non vixit iste, sed in vita moratus est, nec sero mortuus est, sed diu. "Octoginta annis vixit." Immo octoginta annis fuit, nisi forte sic vixisse eum dicis, quomodo dicuntur arbores vivere. . . . . "At ille obiit viridis." sed officia boni civis, boni amici, boni filii exsecutus est: in nulla parte cessavit. licet aetas eius imperfecta sit, vita perfecta est . . . . actu illam metiamur, non tempore. Vis scire, quid inter hunc intersit, vegetum contemptoremque fortunae, functum omnibus vitae humanae stipendiis atque in summum bonum eius evectum, et illum, cui multi anni transmissi sunt? alter post mortem quoque est, alter ante mortem periit. Laudemus itaque et in numero felicium reponamus eum, cui quantulumcumque temporis contigit, bene conlocatum est. . . . . Quemadmodum in minore corporis habitu potest homo esse perfectus, sic et in minore temporis modo potest vita esse perfecta . . . . qualis quantusque esset ostendit: si quid adiecisset, fuisset simile praeterito. . . . . "Non tam multis vixit annis quam potuit." Et paucorum versuum liber est et quidem laudandus et utilis.

The same sentiments are in Plutarch's *Consolation to Apollonius*, i. 317–19, but it is Seneca that Jonson is using. Similar ideas occur elsewhere in Seneca.

The doctrine of the origin of friendship out of virtue is Aristotelian; see *Ethics*, Welldon, 294–95, where Aristotle is discussing good will as "the germ of friendship," and cf. Cicero *De amic.* vi. With the next to the last stanza, cf. Aristotle *ibid.* 314:

> But the friendship of the virtuous is virtuous; it grows as their intercourse grows, and they seem to be morally elevated by the exercise of their activity and by the correction of each other's faults; for each models himself upon the pleasing features of the other's character, whence the saying,
>
> From good men learn good life.

The saying is attributed to Theognis.

The expression "dead sea" of life is also from Seneca *Epist.* lxvii. 14:

Hoc loco mihi Demetrius noster occurrit, qui vitam securam et sine ullis fortunae occursionibus "mare mortuum" vocat.

When at the beginning of the sixth stanza Jonson says, "Goe now," etc., he is making use, of course, of a Latinism of which he was rather fond, as it occurs several times in his various pieces. *I nunc* is constantly employed by the Latin poets in this ironical fashion.

> Who, ere the first downe bloomed on the chin,
> Had sow'd these fruits, and got the harvest in.

An interesting parallel, though perhaps not a source, is found in Claudian *In Olyb. et Prob. cons.* 67 ff.:

> primordia vestra
> Vix pauci meruere senes metasque tenetis,
> Ante genas dulces quam flos invenilis inumbret
> Oraque ridenti lanugine vestiat aetas.

Und. lxxxviii:

> the Law
> Of daring, not to doe a wrong, is true
> Valour! to sleight it, being done to you!
> To know the heads of danger! where 'tis fit
> To bend, to breake, provoke, or suffer it!

Sen. *De ben.* ii. 34. 3:

Fortitudo est virtus pericula iusta contemnens aut scientia periculorum repellandorum, excipiendorum, provocandorum.

For Jonson's doctrine of true valor, see the article in *Modern Philology* already cited.

Und. xc: See below, under "Miscellaneous A."

Und. ci:

> Had I a thousand Mouthes, as many Tongues,
> And voyce to raise them from my brazen Lungs.

Virgil *Georgics* ii. 42–43 (repeated in *Aeneid* vi. 625):

> non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
> ferrea vox.

Compare *Iliad* ii. 489.

> Her sweetnesse, Softnesse, her faire Courtesie,
> Her wary guardes, her wise simplicitie,

Were like a ring of Vertues. . . . .
. . . . when they urg'd the Cure
Of her disease, how did her soule assure
Her suffrings, as the body had beene away!
And to the Torturers (her Doctors) say,
Stick on your Cupping-glasses, feare not, put
Your hottest Causticks to, burne, lance, or cut: . . . .
Then comforted her Lord! and blest her Sonne!
Chear'd her faire Sisters in her race to runne!
With gladnesse temper'd her sad Parents teares!
Made her friends joyes, to get above their feares!
And, in her last act, taught the Standers-by,
With admiration, and applause to die!

One cannot be certain that Jonson here had Pliny in mind, but on reading the latter's account of the death of the thirteen-year-old daughter of his friend Fundanus, one cannot refrain from noticing resemblances that have a real significance when one takes into consideration how intimately Jonson knew Pliny and how much he took from him. *Epist.* v. 16:

nondum annos quattuordecim impleverat, et iam illi anilis prudentia, matronalis gravitas erat, et tamen suavitas puellaris cum virginali verecundia. ut illa patris cervicibus inhaerebat! . . . . qua illa temperantia, qua patientia, qua etiam constantia novissimam valetudinem tulit! medicis obsequabatur, sororem, patrem adhortabatur ipsamque se destitutam corporis viribus vigore animi sustinebat. duravit hic illi usque ad extremum nec aut spatio valedudinis aut metu mortis infractus est, quo plures gravioresque nobis causas relinqueret et desiderii et doloris.

Let Angels sing her glories, who did call
Her spirit home, to her originall!
Who saw the way was made it! and were sent
To carry, and conduct the Complement
'Twixt death and life! Where her mortalitie
Became her Birth-day to Eternitie!
And now, through circumfused light, she lookes
On Natures secrets, there, as her owne bookes:
Speakes Heavens Language! and discovereth free
To every Order, ev'ry Hierarchie!
Beholds her Maker! and, in him, doth see
What the beginnings of all beauties be;
And all beatitudes, that thence doe flow:
Which they that have the Crowne are sure to know!

Goe now, her happy Parents, and be sad
If you not understand, what Child you had.
If you dare grudge at Heaven, and repent
T' have paid againe a blessing was but lent,
And trusted so, as it deposited lay
At pleasure, to be call'd for, every day!
If you can envie your owne Daughters blisse,
And wish her state lesse happie then it is!
If you can cast about your either eye,
And see all dead here, or about to dye!
The Starres, that are the Jewels of the Night,
And Day, deceasing! with the Prince of light,
The Sunne! great Kings! and mightiest Kingdomes fall!
Whole Nations! nay Mankind! the World, with all
That ever had beginning there, to 'ave end!
With what injustice should one soule pretend
T' escape this common knowne necessitie,
When we were all borne, we began to die;
And, but for that Contention, and brave strife
The Christian hath t' enjoy the future life,
Hee were the wretched'st of the race of men.

At first sight there is apparently little in this passage to suggest a classical source; yet it seems to be in the main an expression, so to speak, in Christianized language of ideas to be found in two consolatory addresses of Seneca. Compare the following extracts from the *Cons. ad Marciam* and the *Cons. ad Polybium.*

Ad Marc. xxv–vi:

Proinde non est quod ad sepulcrum filii tui curras: pessima eius et ipsi molestissima istic iacent, ossa cineresque, non magis illius partes quam vestes aliaque tegumenta corporum. Integer ille nihilque in terris relinquens sui fugit et totus excessit paulumque supra nos commoratus, dum expurgatur et inhaerentia vitia situmque omnem mortalis aevi excutit, deinde ad excelsa sublatus inter felices currit animas excepit illum coetus sacer, Scipiones Catonesque, interque contemptatores vitae et mortis beneficio liberos. Parens tuus, Marcia, illic nepotem suum, quamquam illic omnibus omne cognatum est, adplicat sibi nova luce gaudentem et vicinorum siderum meatus docet, nec ex coniectura sed omnium ex vero peritus in arcana naturae libens ducit. utque ignotarum urbium monstrator hospiti gratus est, ita sciscitanti coelestium causas domesticus interpres. iuvat enim ex alto relicta respicere et in profunda terrarum permittere aciem. . . . . In aeterna rerum per libera et vasta spatia dimissos non illos interfusa maria discludunt nec altitudo montium aut inviae valles aut incertarum vada Syrtium: tramites

omnium plani et ex facili mobiles et expediti et invicem pervii sunt intermixtique sideribus. . . . . In parte ultima mundi et inter paucissimos gesta: tot secula, tot aetatum contextum, seriem, quicquid annorum est, licet visere. licet surrectura, licet ruitura regna prospicere et magnarum urbium lapsus et maris novos cursus. Nam si tibi potest solatio esse desiderii tui commune fatum, nihil quo stat loco stabit, omnia sternet abducetque vetustas, nec hominibus solum, sed locis, sed regionibus, sed mundi partibus ludet.

With ll. 80–82, cf. *Ad. Pol.* x. 4–5:

Rerum natura illum tibi sicut ceteris fratribus suis non mancipio dedit, sed commodavit: cum visum est deinde, repetiit nec tuam in eo satietatem secuta est, sed suam legem. . . . . Natura suo iure usa, a quo voluit, debitum suum citius exegit.

(See under Epigram xlv in the article in *Classical Philology, u.s.*) For line 89, cf. *ibid.* xi. 4: "tota cum regibus regna populique cum regentibus tulere fatum suum: omnes, immo omnia in ultimum diem spectant." With line 92, cf. Seneca *Epist.* xxx. 11: "Mors necessitatem habet aequam et invictam: quis queri potest in ea condicione se esse, in qua nemo non est?" With 94, *Ad. Marc.* xxi. 6: "ex illo quo primum lucem vidit, iter mortis ingressus est accessitque fato propior et illi ipsi qui adiciebantur adulescentiae anni, vitae detrahebantur." (Cf. also *Epist.* i. 2; xxiv. 20.) With 95 ff., cf. I Cor., 15:19: "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable."

With 85 ff., cf. also Statius *Sylv.* ii. 209:

omnia functa
aut moritura vides: obeunt noctesque diesque
astraque nec solidis prodest sua machina terris.

Incidentally it might be remarked that a comparison of this elegy on Lady Winchester (together with the later one on Lady Digby) with the formula given by C. H. Moore from Vollmer (on "The Epicedia of Statius," *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge,* 1913, p. 129) would show that Jonson, *mutatis mutandis,* not improbably had Statius as his model.

Und., "Eupheme," title: Absolute in all numbers (cf. absolute in their numbers, in the "Address to the Readers," in the Shakespeare Folio). This interesting expression apparently comes directly from Pliny *Epist.* ix. 38: "legi enim librum omnibus numeris absolutum."

Note that in the Folio of 1623 the expression is applied to Shakespeare's plays, i.e., as in Pliny, to a book, a fact which adds something to the argument supporting the Jonsonian authorship of this piece, since, as is shown in these pages and in the article just referred to, Jonson used Pliny's letters freely. In "Eupheme" Jonson applies the phrase to a man. It is worth noting that similar expressions are used of men by Valerius Maximus ii. 10. 8, "omnibus numeris perfecta virtus"; iv. 1. Ext. 2, "cunctosque uirtutis numeros"; and viii. 15. 2, "omnibus numeris uirtutis diuitem."

Und., "Eupheme," Nos. 3 and 4: I suspect these to be indebted, as respects their general design, to Lucian's *Portrait-Study*. First, with the help of painters and statuaries he depicts the body of the wife of Abradatas; then, dismissing the artists, he depicts her mind. There are, however, no particular agreements in detail.

> Thou entertaining in thy brest,
> But such a mind, mak'st God thy Guest.

Seneca *Epist.* xxxi. 11:

> animus, sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. quid aliud voces hunc quam deum in corpore humano hospitantem?

In *Disc.*, ed. Schelling, p. 40, the saying is attributed to Euripides, but Schelling was unable to identify it, as in the case of the quotation from Euripides formerly noticed. Castelain says nothing. It will be noticed that in the former instance the substance of the idea that Jonson attributed to Euripides is likewise to be found in Seneca, though not, as here, the exact language. See above, under *Und.* lxiii.

Und., "Eupheme," No. 8 (?):

> Boast not these Titles of your Ancestors;
> (Brave Youths) th' are their possessions, none of yours.

Ovid. *Met.* xiii. 140:

> Nam genus et proavos et quae non fecimus ipsi,
> Vix ea nostra voco.

II. MISCELLANEOUS

A. "A Panegyre on the Happie Entrance of Iames," etc.: This piece derives its inspiration chiefly from Pliny's *Panegyricus* on Trajan and from several pieces of Claudian, while a hint or two was

taken from Martial and Seneca. I find that Castelain (*Discoveries*, p. 154) has touched upon the use of Pliny by Jonson, but he seems to have caught only one parallel and not to have perceived that more than a single passage was involved. The other writers mentioned above he does not notice. I have included the parallel he gives in what follows.

Ll. 3 ff.: Againe, the glory of our Westerne world
Unfolds himself: & from his eyes are hoorl'd
(To day) a thousand radiant lights, etc.

Claudian *De IV cons. Honor.* 1 ff.:

Auspiciis iterum sese regalibus annus
Induit et nota fruitur iactantior aula,
Limina nec passi circum privata morari
Exsultant reduces Augusto consule fasces.

In ll. 30 ff., 56 ff., Jonson describes the joy of the crowds through which James passed. Pliny xxii has many parallels.

Ac primum qui dies ille, quo exspectatus desideratusque urbem tuam ingressus es! iam hoc ipsum, quod ingressus es, quam mirum laetumque! nam priores invehi et importari solebant, non dico quadriiugo curru et albentibus equis, sed umeris hominum, quod arrogantius erat. tu sola corporis proceritate elatior aliis et excelsior non de patentia nostra quendam triumphum, sed de superbia principum egisti. ergo non aetas quemquam, non valetudo, non sexus retardavit quo minus oculos insolito spectaculo impleret. te parvuli noscere, ostentare iuvenes, mirari senes, aegri quoque neglecto medentium imperio ad conspectum tui quasi ad salutem sanitatemque prorepere. inde alii se satis vixisse te viso, te recepto, alii nunc magis esse vivendum praedicabant. feminas etiam tunc fecunditatis suae maxima voluptas subiit, cum cernerent cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperissent. videres referta tecta ac laborantia ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non nisi suspensum et instabile vestigium caperet, oppletas undique vias angustumque tramitem relictum tibi, alacrem hinc atque inde populum, ubique par gaudium paremque clamorem. tam aequalis ab omnibus ex adventu tuo laetitia percepta est, quam omnibus venisti; quae tamen ipsa cum ingressu tuo crevit ac prope in singulos gradus adaucta est.

Old men were glad, their fates till now did last.

Martial x. 6:

Felices, quibus urna dedit spectare coruscum . . . .
ducem.

This was the peoples love, with which did strive
The Nobles zeale.

Claudian *De cons. Stil.* iii. 49–50:

laetatur eques plauditque senator
Votaque patricio certant plebeia favori.

the reverend Themis drawes aside
The Kings obeying will, from taking pride
In these vaine stirres, and to his mind suggests
How he may triumph in his subiects brests
With better pompe.

Ibid. 28–29:

Strepitus fastidit inanes
Inque animis hominum pompa meliore triumphat.

She tells him first, that Kings
Are here on earth the most conspicuous things:
That they, by Heauen, are plac'd upon his throne,
To rule like Heauen. . . . .
. . . . That all they doe
Though hid at home, abroad is search'd into:
And, being once found out, discouer'd lies
Unto as many enuies, there, as eyes.
That princes, since they know it is their fate,
Oft-times, to haue the secrets of their state
Betraid to fame, should take more care, and feare
In publique acts what face and forme they beare.

Claudian *De IV cons. Honor.* 269–75:

Hoc te praeterea crebro sermone monebo
Ut te totius medio telluris in ore
Vivere cognoscas, cunctis tua gentibus esse
Facta palam, nec posse dari regalibus umquam
Secretum vitiis; nam lux altissima fati
Occultum nihil esse sinit latebrasque per omnes
Intrat et abstrusos explorat fama recessus.

and haue no more, their owne,
As they are men, then men.

Pliny 2:

quod unum exnobis putat nec minus hominem se quam hominibus praeesse meminit.

Claudian *ibid.* 303–4:

His tamen effectis neu fastidire minores,
Neu pete praescriptos homini transcendere fines.

In ll. 90 ff. Themis calls to the king's mind the good and evil deeds of his predecessors. Claudian does the same, ll. 311 ff., 401 ff. It is worth observing that Claudian puts the good advice that he gives to Honorius into his own mouth, whereas Jonson makes Themis the speaker; and further that the praise which Gifford bestows on Jonson for his frankness and outspokenness should be likewise bestowed on the Latin poet by whose example Jonson was inspired.

> And that no wretch was more vnblest then he,
> Whose necessary good t'was now to be
> An euill king; And so must such be still,
> Who once haue got the habit to doe ill.
> One wickednesse another must defend;
> For vice is safe, while she hath vice to friend.

Seneca *De Clem.* i. 13. 2:

> eo perductus, ut non liceat illi mutare mores. hoc enim inter cetera vel pessimum habet crudelitas: perseverandum est nec ad meliora patet regressus. Scelera enim sceleribus tuenda sunt: quid autem eo infelicius, cui iam esse malo necesse est?

And cf. Claudian *ibid.* 278–80, 290–94.

For ll. 121–27, beginning, "He knew, that those, who would, with loue, command," see the quotation from Pliny given under Epigram xxxv in the article in *Classical Philology* previously mentioned, and compare Claudian *ibid.* 297 ff.:

> Tunc observantior aequi
> Fit populus nec ferre negat, cum viderit ipsum
> Auctorem parere sibi: componitur orbis
> Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus
> Humanos edicta valent, quam vita regentis.
> Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

> She told them, what a fate
> was gently falne from Heauen vpon this state.

Pliny 8: Trajan was chosen by the gods to rule over Rome.

> How deare a father they did now enioy
> That came to saue, what discord would destroy.

Pliny 5 and 6: Trajan, by his accession to the throne, quelled tumults and saved the state.

> The temp'rance of a priuate man did bring.

Pliny everywhere celebrates the moderation and temperance of Trajan, and the way in which, though prince, he comported himself as a private man. See, for instance, 23: "inde tu in palatium quidem, sed eo vultu, ea moderatione, ut si privatam domum peteres."

> And was not hot, or couetous to be crown'd
> Before mens hearts had crown'd him.

Pliny 9 and 10: Trajan was not in a hurry to be emperor, and he was the choice of the people before he was chosen by Nerva.

> Who (vnlike
> Those greater bodies of the sky, that strike
> The lesser fiers dim) in his accesse
> Brighter then all, hath yet made no one lesse;
> Though many greater: and the most, the best.
> Wherein, his choice was happie with the rest
> Of his great actions, first to see, and do
> What all mens wishes did aspire vnto.

Pliny 19:

est haec natura sideribus, ut parva et exilia validiorum exortus obscuret: similiter imperatoris adventu legatorum dignitas inumbratur. tu tamen maior omnibus quidem eras, sed sine ullius deminutione maior: eandem auctoritatem praesente te quisque retinebat; quin etiam plerisque ex eo reverentia accesserat, quod tu quoque illos reverebare . . . . felices illos, quorum fides et industria non per internuntios et interpretes, sed ab ipso te, nec auribus tuis, sed oculis probabantur!

And Claudian *De cons. Stil.* i. 89–90:

> Felix arbitrii princeps, qui congrua mundo
> Iudicat, et primus censet quod cernimus omnes.

> Neuer had land more reason to reioyce.
> Nor to her blisse, could ought now added bee,
> Saue, that shee might the same perpetuall see.
> Which, when time, nature, and the fates deny'd. . . . .

Pliny 94:

In fine orationis praesides custodesque imperii deos ego consul pro rebus humanis ac te praecipue, Capitoline Iuppiter, precor ut beneficiis tuis faveas tantisque muneribus addas perpetuitatem . . . . aut si hoc fato negatur. . . . .

> Yet, let blest Brittaine aske (without your wrong)
> Still to haue such a king, and this king long [cf. *Und.* xc].

Martial xii. 6. 5–6:

> Hoc populi gentesque tuae, pia Roma, precantur:
> Dux tibi sit semper talis, et iste diu.

The Latin line that Jonson places at the end, "Solus rex," etc., is from the proverbial

> Consulesque fiunt quotannis & novi Proconsules:
> Solus aut Rex aut Poeta non quotannis nascitur.

These lines are first given in Binetus' 1579 edition of Petronius, p. 20, under the heading: *Floridi de Qualitate Vitae.* He explains the term "floridi," p. 17: "qui loci sunt insignes ex variis auctoribus descripti, qui & aurei dicebantur, sicut floridorum quatuor libri ex Apuleij scriptis excerpti extant hodie." But in Burmann's *Anthology*, ed. 1835, and in Buecheler and Riese the lines, together with others given by Binet under this heading, are attributed to a certain Florus. For Jonson's fondness for this particular bit, see note on Epigram lxxix in *Classical Philology, u.s.*

B. "Lines to Somerset," Gifford, ed. Cunningham, ix, 338:

> So, be your Concord, still, as deepe, as mute;
> And eve'ry joy, in mariage, turne a fruite.
> So, may those Mariage-Pledges, comforts prove:
> And ev'ery birth encrease the heate of Love . . . .
> And when your yeares rise more, then would be told,
> Yet neyther of you seeme to th' other old.

Martial iv. 13:

> Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto,
> Tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo.
> Diligat illa senem quondam, sed et ipsa marito
> Tum quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus.

And Ausonius *Ad uxorem*, Teubner ed. of Ausonius, p. 327:

> Vxor, uiuamus, quod uiximus, et teneamus
> Nomina, quae primo sumpsimus in thalamo:
> Nec ferat ulla dies, ut commutemur in aeuo;
> Quin tibi sim iuuenis tuque puella mihi.
> Nestore sim quamuis prouectior aemulaque annis
> Vincas Cumanam tu quoque Deiphoben;
> Nos ignoremus, quid sit matura senectus.
> Scire aeui meritum, non numerare decet.

C. "Epigram upon Inigo Jones," Gifford, ed. Cunningham, viii, 113: Gifford in his note remarks, "This is undoubtedly Jonson's," as if the authorship of the piece had been questioned. Were there any uncertainty, it would be removed by observing that the piece is a close adaptation of Martial, xii. 61. I give Jonson's poem from my transcript of Harl. 4955, 176 verso (there is another copy in Harl. 6057, 19, which differs slightly).

TO A FREIND AN EPIGRAM OF HIM.

Sr; Inigo doth feare it, as I heare,
(And labours to seeme worthy of that feare)
That I should write upon him some sharpe verse,
Able to eate into his bones, and peirce
The marrow! wretch! I quit thee of thy paine.
Thou 'art too ambitious, and dost feare in vaine!
The lybian lion hunts no butter-flies!
Hee makes the Camell, & dull asse his prise!
If thou be so desirous, to be read;
Seeke out some hungrie painter, that for bread,
With rotten chalke, or cole, upon a Wall
Will well designe thee; to be veiw'd of all
That sitt upon the common draught; or Strand;
Thy forehead is too narrow, for my brand.

Versus et breve vividumque carmen
In te ne faciam, times, Ligurra,
Et dignus cupis hoc metu videri.
Sed frustra metuis cupisque frustra.
In tauros Libyci ruunt leones,
Non sunt papilionibus molesti.
Quaeras, censeo, si legi laboras,
Nigri fornicis ebrium poetam,
Qui carbone rudi putrique creta
Scribit carmina, quae legunt cacantes.
Frons haec stigmate non meo notanda est.

And cf. Claudian *De cons. Stil.* ii. 20–22.

D. In the *Athenaeum* for June 13, 1914, I printed a poem from Harl. 4064, which I thought to be Jonson's. I am the more convinced of the truth of the attribution as I find that almost the whole of the poem was inspired by the seventh satire of Juvenal and that some lines are directly borrowed.

The main thought is the same. It is not now as it was with poets in the old days when great men patronized them gladly. Then it was worth while to write verse. Cf. Juvenal 90–97:

> quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos
> et baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
> praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
> haut tamen invideas vati quem pulpita pascunt.
> quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
> aut Fabius? quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?
> tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis
> pallere et vinum toto nescire decembri.

Stanza 3 of the poem runs:

> Breake then thy quills, blot out
> thie long watch'd verse
> And rather to the ffyer, then to the rout
> theire labor'd tunes reherse
> whose ayre will sooner Hell, then their dull sences peirce
> Thou that dost spend thie dayes
> to get thee a leane face
> and come forth worthy Ivy or the bayes
> and in this age, canst hope no other grace.

Juvenal 24 ff.:

> lignorum aliquid posce ocius et quae
> componis, dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,
> aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
> frange miser calamum vigilataque proelia dele,
> qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,
> ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
> spes nulla ulterior.

Cf. the *frange leves calamos* of Martial ix. 73.

E. When in *Conversations*, sec. iv, Jonson adjudged Du Bartas to be no poet because he wrote no fiction, he probably had in mind such a principle as that in Plutarch, *How a Young Man Ought to Hear Poems*, trans. 1870, ii. 46:

Wherefore Socrates, being induced by some dreams to attempt something in poetry, and finding himself unapt, by reason that he had all his lifetime been the champion of severe truth, to hammer out of his own invention a likely fiction, made choice of Aesop's fables to turn into verse; as judging nothing to be true poetry that had in it nothing of falsehood. For though we have known some sacrifices performed without pipes and dances, yet we

own no poetry which is utterly destitute of fable and fiction. Whence the verses of Empedocles and Parmenides, the Theriaca of Nicander, and the sentences of Theognis, are rather to be accounted speeches than poems, which, that they might not walk contemptibly on foot, have borrowed from poetry the chariot of verse, to convey them the more creditably through the world.

If we are to classify poems on this principle, there is no question of what would happen to Du Bartas.

F. "Masque of Queens," dedicated to Prince Henry (text from Gifford):

For which singular bounty, if my *fate* . . . . shall reserve me to the age of your actions, whether in the camp or the council-chamber, that I may write, at nights, the deeds of your days; I will then labour to bring forth some work as worthy of your fame, as my ambition therein is of your pardon.

Cf. Propertius ii. 10. 5–6, 19–20:

quod si deficiant vires, audacia certe
laus erit: in magnis et voluisse sat est. . . . .
haec ego castra sequar. vates tua castra canendo
magnus ero. servent hunc mihi fata diem!

G. "Ode on New Inn," last stanza:

But, when they heare thee sing
The glories of thy King,
His zeale to God, and his just awe o're men;
They may, blood-shaken, then,
Feele such a flesh-quake to possess their powers:
As they shall cry, like ours
In sound of peace, or warres,
No Harpe ere hit the starres;
In tuning forth the acts of his sweet raigne:
And raysing Charles his Chariot, 'bove his Waine.

See various lines in the early part of the third Georgic:

temptanda via est, qua me quoque passim
tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora . . . .
Invidia infelix furias amnemque severum
Cocyti metuet . . . .
mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas
Caesaris. . . . .

H. "Part of the King's Entertainment": Martial viii. 15, speaks of the people, the knights, and the senators, as longing for and

welcoming the return of the prince, and congratulates the prince that he can trust in the sincerity of his people's love, ending with the line:

Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos.

Jonson makes use of all these ideas, and translates the quoted line as follows:

In a prince it is
No little virtue, to know who are his.

I. *Epig.* xiv:

Camden, most reuerend head, to whom I owe
All that I am in arts, all that I know.
(How nothing's that?)

Cic. *Pro Archia.* 1:

Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum . . . . aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta . . . . earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere suo jure debet. Nam . . . . hunc video mihi principem, et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum, exstitisse.

J. *Epig.* cx: Caesar "wrote, with the same spirit that he fought." See Quintilian *Inst.* x. 1. 114:

Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem anime dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat.

K. Mallory, p. 141 of his edition of *Poetaster*, is of the opinion that Jonson may have been indebted to the play of *Mucedorus* for the suggestion of the figure of Envy. Whoever compares these two descriptions, however, and then turns to Ovid *Met.* ii. 760–82, will see at once that Jonson derived his figure of Envy from Ovid's Invidia. There is no resemblance between the *Poetaster* and the *Mucedorus* passages. Cowley, in the passage spoken of by Mallory, also had Ovid in mind.

L. *Epig.* Dedication:

But, if I be falne into those times, wherein, for the likenesse of vice, and facts, euery one thinks anothers ill deeds obiected to him.

Tacitus *Ann.* iv. 33:

utque familiae ipsae iam extinctae sunt, reperies qui ob similitudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent.

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DAME NATURE AND LADY LIFE

The relation between the stately and beautiful alliterative poem, *Death and Liffe*, in the Percy Folio Manuscript, and *Piers Plowman* has long been recognized. The central idea of a spiritual conflict in which Death is vanquished by Eternal Life in Christ is embodied in a passage in the vision of Dobet (B XVIII, 27–36; C XXI, 26–35), and there are detailed resemblances which warrant the inclusion of *Death and Liffe* among the poems that continue the tradition of *Piers Plowman* through the succeeding century.[1] But it is only for the last part of the debate, where Life appears in her theological rôle as salvation, that *Piers Plowman* affords an adequate explanation. The earlier and more winsome conception of Life as a personification of the joy of living things and of the kindly power that nourishes them is not to be found in *Piers Plowman* and is entirely foreign to its somber religious atmosphere.

Skeat affirms that the prototype of Lady Liffe is Lady Anima in the vision of Dowel (*Piers Plowman* A, Passus X, 1 ff., etc.), and the latter figure does indeed appear to have furnished the author of *Death and Liffe* with a suggestion. Anima is represented, according to the conventional allegory, as a lady dwelling in the castle of the body. She is the vital spirit or the soul of man. The senses are inclosed in the castle "for love of that ladi that Lyf is i-nempnet," a detail suggestive of the affection which all creatures have toward Lady Liffe. But Lady Liffe is, after all, obviously a different being from Lady Anima, different also from the masculine figure Lyf, who, elsewhere in *Piers Plowman* (B XX, 166 ff.; C XXII, 167 ff.), flies in vain to Fisick for aid against Elde and Deth. She is a goddess, the *magna parens* of living things. The true key to her origin is not to be found in the allegorical psychology of Hugo of Saint Victor, or in the literature of mortification, but on that new Olympus where the mediævalized deities of the pagan mythology hold their state. Her

[1] See Skeat's preface to *Death and Liffe* in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, edited by Hales and Furnivall, III, 49 ff.; also Manly in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 46.

own words, addressed to the destroyer Death, clearly show with which one of these divinities she is to be associated.

> & as a theefe in a rout · thou throngeth them to death,
> *that neither nature, nor I* · ffor none of thy deeds
> may bring up our bearnes.
>
> [*Death and Liffe*, 251–53.]

Dame Liffe is, indeed, but a hypostasis of Dame Nature, a being to whom the Middle Ages, borrowing for her some of the traits and functions of the classical Venus, had given vivid reality as the embodiment of God's creative power. Closer examination of the Anima passage in *Piers Plowman* will reveal the source from which the author of *Death and Liffe* must have derived the first suggestion for a transferal to Life of the attributes of Nature. The castle of Anima was made by Kind. "What sort of thing is this Kind?" asks the poet. Kind, replies Wit,

> is creatour · of alle kunne beestes,
> Fader and foormere · the furste of all thing;
> That is the grete god · that bigynnyng hedde nevere,
> The lord of lyf and of liht · of lisse and of peyne.
> Angeles and alle thing · arn at his wille,
> Bote mon is him most lyk · of marke and of schap;
> For with word that he warp · woxen forth beestes,
> And alle thing at his wille · was wrought with a speche.
>
> [A-text, X, 27–34.]

Having once adopted, from the hint afforded in this passage, the idea of associating the figures of Life and Nature, the *Death and Liffe* poet did not rely on *Piers Plowman* for the details of his picture. He turned rather to the richer image of Nature in the well-known *De Planctu Naturæ* of Alanus de Insulis,[1] a work which had furnished Jean de Meung, Chaucer, and many others with the materials of their descriptions of the Goddess of Kind.[2]

[1] Reprinted in Wright's *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, Vol. I. My quotations are from the English translation by Douglas M. Moffat, *Yale Studies in English*.

[2] Miss Edith Scamman, whose interesting study of the alliterative *Death and Liffe* (Radcliffe *Studies in English and Comparative Literature*) I did not see until this article was in proof, has noted that certain details in the account of the honor paid to Lady Liffe by living things are paralleled in Dunbar's description of Nature in *The Golden Targe* (93 ff.) and *The Thistle and the Rose* (73 ff.). The explanation of these resemblances is not, as Miss Scamman infers, that the author of *Death and Liffe* knew Dunbar, but that both poets were drawing independently from a common source in *De Planctu Naturæ*, the *Death and Liffe* poet much more extensively than the other. The allusion in *Death and Liffe* to the mysterious mantle (discussed below) is alone

Natura, with Alanus, is the parent of living things. Like Lady Liffe, she appears to the poet in a vision, radiant and goddess-like, crowned with a heavenly diadem. Her neck and breasts are described in terms closely paralleled in the debate. Special emphasis is laid throughout the work on her love function, a characteristic which reappears in the picture of Lady Liffe. At the approach of Natura the instinct of life and love springs up in all things. "The earth, lately stripped of its adornments by the thieving winter, through the generosity of spring donned a purple tunic of flowers." So also as Liffe draws near

> blossomes & burgens · breathed ffull sweete,
> fflowers fflourished in the frith · where shee fforth stepedd,
> & the grasse *that* was gray · greened beliue.
>
> [70–72.]

The similarity of detail at this point in the two descriptions leaves no doubt that the author of *Death and Liffe* is following the account in *De Planctu*. In both poems the fish express their joy; in both the trees bend their branches in honor at the goddess' approach.

> These lowered their leaves and with a sort of bowed veneration, as if they were bending their knees, offered her their prayers.
>
> [*De Planctu*, Prose II.]

> the boughes eche one
> they lowted to that Ladye · & layd forth their branches.
>
> [*Death and Liffe*, 69–70.]

Even more conclusive is the following. The garment of Nature is allegorically described by Alanus after the model of Boethius, whose *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* he is following throughout. It is ever changing, elusive to the eye, and of a supernatural substance. Similarly the author of *Death and Liffe*, quite unintelligibly, except on the hypothesis that he is echoing Alanus, invests his goddess in a mysterious mantle.

> In kirtle & Mantle
> of goodlyest greene · that ever groome wore
> *ffor the kind of that cloth · can noe clarke tell.*
>
> [83–85.]

sufficient to prove that the material came to the alliterative poet directly rather than through the medium of Dunbar. The failure of the argument for Dunbar as a probable influence in *Death and Liffe* disposes of Miss Scamman's further conclusion that the poem must be dated after 1503.

Indeed, the whole passage describing the approach of Liffe (*Death and Liffe*, 57–141) is but an elaboration of suggestions in *De Planctu Naturæ*. In the subsequent narrative of the poet's meeting with Lady Liffe there is also a general similarity with Alanus' work. Not recognizing Liffe at first, he is enlightened by Sir Comfort, as the wondering author of the Complaint is enlightened by Natura herself. Says Comfort:

> shee hath ffostered and ffed thee · sith thou wast first borne,
> and yett beffore thou wast borne · shee bred in thy hart.
>
> [127–28.]

Similarly Natura:

> Why has recognition of my face strayed from thy memory? Thou in whom my gifts bespeak me, who have blessed thee with such abundant favor and kindness; who, from thy early age, as vice regent of God the creator, have ordered by sure management thy life's proper course; who in times past brought the fluctuating material of thy body out from the impure essence of primordial matter into true being.
>
> [Prose III.]

In view of the substantial identity of Lady Liffe and Alanus' Natura it becomes unnecessary to resort, as Skeat does, to vaguer parallels with the descriptions in *Piers Plowman* of Lady Meed and Holichurche. Thus the crown and gorgeous clothing of Lady Meed are less likely to have been the model of Liffe's jeweled garments than the more elaborately described apparel of Natura, with its wealth of allegorical gems. "And the crown on her head was carven in heaven," says the author of *Death and Liffe*, obviously thinking of the divine origin of Natura "in the inner palace of the impassible heavens." Again, the poet's awe of Lady Liffe and Sir Comfort's "she has fostered and fed thee"[1] are probably derived from the passage already referred to in *De Planctu* rather than from the meeting with Holichurche in *Piers Plowman*.

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[1] The specific phrase in *Death and Liffe* is apparently an echo from *Wynnere and Wastoure*, I, 206. The relations of *Death and Liffe* to this poem and to other alliterative pieces will be dealt with in the introduction to an edition of *Death and Liffe* which Dr. J. M. Stedman and I are preparing for publication in the University of North Carolina *Studies in Philology*.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Du Transcendantalisme considéré essentiellement dans sa définition et ses origines françaises. Par WILLIAM GIRARD. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. IV, No. 3 (October 18, 1916), pp. 351–498.

The subject of this monograph is so difficult of treatment that, if our knowledge is even slightly increased thereby, we should be grateful. How shall we derive from book sources an intuitional philosophy? And how define a movement that called itself indefinable? The subject is enormous as well as difficult. Mr. Girard apologizes for attempting so much, and probably most readers will feel that a survey of American thought down to 1840, together with argumentative summaries and comparisons of the transcendental thinking of England, Germany, and France, could hardly be given with much thoroughness in a hundred and fifty rather verbose pages.

The main thesis of the study concerns the derivation of the movement. Mr. Girard in his most conciliatory moments holds that the transcendentalists "ont retrouvé chez les grands idéalistes allemands un état d'âme qui était plus ou moins le leur, ce qui explique l'intérêt qu'ils portèrent à leur philosophie, tandis qu'ils ont emprunté aux spiritualistes français, en particulier, des formes qui se trouvèrent exprimer de la façon la plus satisfaisante, des idées et des conceptions qu'ils devaient beaucoup plus à ce qu'ils etaient eux-mêmes qu'à ce qu'avaient été les écrivains qu'ils lurent, apprécièrent et comprirent" (p. 357). In the heat of argument he seems at times to be defending a thesis much like Brownson's hasty statement: "Germany reaches us only through France" (p. 474). Consistently he aims to show that the influence of Germany on the movement has been much overestimated, while that of France has been neglected. His success is partial.

The method of the argument is open to severe criticism. Having given a historical survey of earlier American thought, Mr. Girard, after reaching 1825, drops the historical method and considers his facts in a topical arrangement that is not illuminating. No logical separation of the philosophical and the religious thinking of the group can be made. Mr. Girard's methods enable him, furthermore, to mistreat individuals easily. Not knowing what to make of Emerson, he obliterates him from the discussion.[1] He neglects Hedge's Germanism most unwarrantably.[2] He stresses Ripley's

[1] See pp. 383, note, 395, and 482, note.

[2] Cf. p. 397 with G. W. Cooke, *Introduction to the Dial*, II, 72–73.

choice of French material for the early volumes of his *Specimens of Foreign Literature*, but neglects entirely Ripley's controversy with Andrews Norton and the *Letters on the Latest Form of Infidelity* resulting from it. These little known letters are highly important in the history of transcendentalism, and they show an indisputable and strong German influence on Ripley's thinking. Casual journalistic utterances Mr. Girard sometimes takes with naïve seriousness, and seeming proofs are not always carefully weighed. In part proof of the proposition, "Que la philosophie des idéalistes allemands n'ait exercé, directement, aucune influence notable sur la pensée religeuse libérale de la Nouvelle-Angleterre," the following statements are made (p. 403): "G. Ripley nous déclare à son tour qu'il n'a rien lu de Kant et qu'il doit ce qu'il sait des doctrines de ce philosophe à l'un de ses interprètes anglais (*Dial*, II, 91). Margaret Fuller avoue ne rien comprendre à ce qu'elle lit de Fichte, quoiqu'elle étudie ce dernier d'après un traité destiné à en simplifier la doctrine, et se déclare, en outre, incapable de comprendre, dans son ensemble, le système de Jacobi." The *Dial* article here ascribed to Ripley is assigned by Cooke to J. A. Saxton;[1] on what ground does Mr. Girard assign it to Ripley? Frequent favorable references to Kant scattered through Ripley's work, together with the fact that he was an excellent scholar in German theology and possessed a good German library containing "much of Kant,"[2] would certainly tend to establish an acquaintance on his part with Kant. With regard to Miss Fuller the fact that she said she could not understand Fichte is far from proving that she was uninfluenced by him. A comic moment is reported[3] when Mme de Staël upon meeting Fichte said: "Now, Mons. *Fichté*, could you be so kind as to give me, in fifteen minutes or so, a sort of idea or *aperçu* of your system, so that I may know clearly what you mean by your *ich*, your *moi*, for I am entirely in the dark about it." Although Mr. Girard seems to think that such statements as Miss Fuller's and Parker's (that Kant is most difficult reading; see p. 442) are evidence for lack of German influence on transcendentalism, they demonstrate, on the contrary, earnest American attempts to fathom German thought. If Americans had professed a clear understanding of German idealism, then indeed we should have reason to believe that they studied it second hand.

Mr. Girard is at his best when collecting evidence of American fondness for French philosophers. It is here that he gives us his most important results. And yet the present reviewer would interpret this evidence in a manner different from Mr. Girard's. The more aggressive transcendentalists—Hedge, Ripley, Parker, Follen, and perhaps Brownson—were, with the probable exception of the last-named, first stimulated by German thinking. They desired to popularize their highly unpopular transcendentalism, but could not do so by use of German sources because of the horror

[1] *Introduction to the Dial*, II, 115.

[2] Cf. Girard, p. 402, with Frothingham, *Ripley*, p. 46.

[3] *Life of George Ticknor* (1876), I, 497–98.

most of the clergy felt for all German theology[1] and, more especially, because of obvious rhetorical difficulties. Hence they turned to the admirable French simplifications of the Germans and commended them habitually for those unskilled in German or in philosophy. The influence of Mme de Staël in attracting Americans to a further study of German thought is undoubted; but it is certain that before the *Critique of Pure Reason* was translated in 1838 several New Englanders and some transcendentalists had studied the work in the original. Mr. Girard is then justified in assuming an immediate French origin for the thinking of some minor transcendentalists, but not in trying to emphasize such an origin for the thought of the leaders of the movement, other than possibly W. E. Channing and Brownson. Since Brownson is praised so much—and very likely deservedly—by Mr. Girard, it is worth while to quote Hedge's statement concerning the members of the famous Transcendental Club: "Orestes Brownson met with us once or twice, but became unbearable, and was not afterward invited."[2] Channing had as early as 1816 sent inquiries to Ticknor concerning German metaphysics,[3] and later was further influenced by Follen to admire the Germans, whom he could not read.

The reviewer's notion that the French writers with whom we are concerned were valued usually as potential popularizers fits in perfectly with passages of praise of them quoted by Mr. Girard.[4] Especially is it clear that the writer quoted on p. 454 regards Degerando as best suited to the tired (New England!) business man in his family hours. Other passages might have been quoted to show regard for French writing and its popularizing power. S. Osgood, reviewing Ripley's *Specimens* in the *Christian Examiner* (XXVIII, 138), says: "The French, indeed, are masters of the intellectual mint; they understand how to give thought such shape that it will pass current. Commend us to the Germans for skill, ardor, and patience in digging out the precious metal from its depths, and to the English for readiness and talent to use it in actual business; but it must first pass through the French mint and take the form and beauty that fit it for practical purposes." This seems to present the usual view and to explain perhaps why Ripley's early *Specimens* were from French rather than German philosophers.

Mr. Girard is usually least happy in his anti-German efforts. He does succeed in showing that it is easy to overemphasize—and, for that matter, to underemphasize—direct influence from Kant and the greater German idealists. But it remains true that the movement is stamped "made in Germany." Mr. Girard seems to come close to a really important emphasis —and a rather new one—when he thinks the diffusion of German idealism in America due to such men as Herder, Schleiermacher, and De Wette

[1] See Rev. Daniel Dana in the *American Quarterly Register*, XI (August, 1838), 59; also Howe, *Life of Bancroft*, I, 55, 65, etc.

[2] Cooke, *Introduction to the Dial*, II, 73.

[3] *Life of George Ticknor* (1876), I, 96.

[4] Pp. 443, 454, 474, 477.

(p. 400). Portions of the works of all three of these were translated by New Englanders and were used in transcendental arguments. Ripley's account of the last two in his *Letters on the Latest Forms of Infidelity* is notably enthusiastic, and he published articles on all three men in the *Christian Examiner*. George Bancroft when in Berlin had been very intimate with Schleiermacher, whose abilities he greatly admired, while Follen and De Wette had worked in close association on the faculty of the University of Basle. But the greater Germans must have had influence as well—if not so much direct influence. Follen's outspoken praise of Kant in his "Inaugural" (1831), Hedge's important commendation of him in the *Christian Examiner* (XIV [March, 1833], 119–127), as well as Parker's opinion that Kant was "one of the profoundest thinkers in the world, though one of the worst writers, even of Germany"[1]—all are conclusive as to the direct influence of Kant on some transcendentalists. It may have been difficult, as Clarke is quoted as saying (p. 398, note), to buy German books in Boston. No one has ever thought that German metaphysicians or theologians had a large public in New England, but it is certain that Hedge, Francis, Ripley, Parker, and a few others[2] would have all the books that need be presupposed. The predilection of Boston and Cambridge for things German was well enough known by 1825 so that Lafayette could call the region "la portion des Etats Unis où la litérature allemande est le plus en honneur."[3]

We must go back to the method of dealing carefully with the transcendentalists one by one. Then we shall find that their ideas came from many diverse places. W. E. Channing and Emerson derive perhaps from the least usual sources. Bancroft, Follen, Francis, Hedge, and Ripley were so steeped in German that it is useless to deny their Teutonic origins. Brownson is the loudest of the Gallophile group; while Margaret Fuller, though a faithful student of German literature, may well stand as representative of a class who were inspired and taught mainly by Americans. It is unnecessary to assume, with Mr. Girard, that only thinkers who held religious views entirely acceptable to transcendentalists influenced them; William Penn and even Jonathan Edwards[4] were among those whose thinking was found to contain germs of intuitionalism.

Mr. Girard, while taking an unwarrantably extreme position as to German influence on the transcendentalism of New England, has thrown definite light on the interesting part French influence played in the movement. For those who believe the movement essentially obscurantist it will be possible to give the Germans their due weight of influence without violating any present patriotic sensibilities.

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[1] Weiss, *Life of Parker*, II, 454.

[2] See Appendix to Professor H. C. Goddard, *Studies in New England Transcendentalism*.

[3] E. L. Follen, *Life of Charles Follen*, p. 92.

[4] See Howe, *Life of George Bancroft*, I, 223, and Weiss, *Life of Parker*, I, 112, 141.

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LESSINGS *EMILIA GALOTTI* UND GOETHES *WERTHER*

Im Berichte über den Tod Werthers finden wir im drittletzten Absatz von Goethes Roman die Worte: "Emilia Galotti lag auf dem Pulte aufgeschlagen." Wie kam Goethe dazu, Lessings Drama an so bedeutender Stelle zu erwähnen? Die gewöhnliche Erklärung ist die: "Es handelt sich . . . . um einen uneingeschmolzenen Lebensrest: nach Kestners Bericht lag die *Emilia* auf dem Pult des toten Jerusalem, der ein grosser Lessingverehrer gewesen war."[1] R. M. Meyer in seiner Goethebiographie geht sogar so weit, aus diesem "Fehler" Goethes den innern Zwiespalt, ja die Unwahrheit des Werkes abzuleiten.[2] Das scheint mir hingegen eine gewagte Hypothese, besonders wenn man bedenkt, mit welcher feinen Wahl Goethe rein biographische Details, selbst wenn sie an sich poetisch sind, sichtet und ausscheidet, sogar unter Zügen, welche die Gedächtnisauslese passiert haben.[3] Und nun erst an dieser Stelle, wo er den Kestnerbericht mit genialster künstlerischer Ökonomie behandelt.

Mit dem Leben Jerusalems steht die *Emilia* allerdings in klarer Beziehung. Er ist ein Freund Lessings und durchaus Mensch der Aufklärung mit nur spärlichen empfindsamen Zügen.

Er las viele Romane und hat selbst gesagt, dass kaum ein Roman sein würde, den er nicht gelesen hätte. Die fürchterlichsten Trauerspiele waren

[1] Max Herrmann in *Goethes sämtliche Werke.* Jubiläumsausgabe, **16**, 395.

[2] Berlin, 1898², pp. 111 f.

[3] Vgl. Feise, "Zu Entstehung, Problem und Technik von Goethes *Werther*," *Journal of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, XIII, 1, pp. 4 und 29–36.

ihm die liebsten. Er las ferner philosophische Schriftsteller mit grossem Eifer und grübelte darüber. Er hat auch verschiedene philosophische Aufsäze gemacht, die Kielmannsegge gelesen und sehr von andern Meinungen abweichend gefunden hat; unter andern auch einen besondern Aufsatz, worin er den Selbstmord vertheidigte. Oft beklagte er sich gegen Kielmannsegge über die engen Gränzen, welche dem menschlichen Verstande gesetzt wären, wenigstens dem Seinigen; er konnte äusserst betrübt werden, wenn er davon sprach, was er wissen möchte, was er nicht ergründen könne, etc. [Hier die Berührung mit Werther!] . . . . Mendelssohns Phädon war seine liebste Lectüre; in der Materie vom Selbstmorde war er aber immer mit ihm unzufrieden; wobey zu bemerken ist, dass er denselben auch bey der Gewissheit von der Unsterblichkeit der Seele, die er glaubte, erlaubt hielt. Leibnitzen's Werke las er mit grossem Fleisse.[1]

Und am Schlusse des Kestnerberichtes:

Von dem Wein hatte er nur ein Glas getrunken. Hin und wieder lagen Bücher und von seinen eignen schriftlichen Aufsätzen. *Emilia Galotti* lag auf einem Pult am Fenster aufgeschlagen; daneben ein Manuscript ohngefähr fingerdick in Quart, philosophischen Inhalts, der erste Theyl oder Brief war überschrieben: Von der Freyheit, es war darin von der moralischen Freyheit die Rede. Ich blätterte zwar darin, um zu sehen, ob der Inhalt auf seine letzte Handlung einen Bezug habe, fand es aber nicht; ich war aber so bewegt und consternirt, dass ich mich nichts daraus besinne, noch die Scene, welche von der Emilia Galotti aufgeschlagen war, weiss, ohngeachtet ich mit Fleiss darnach sah.[2]

Statt der hier erwähnten, systematischen Beschäftigung mit der Philosophie haben wir bei Werther das gefühlsmässig intuitive Erschauen dessen, "was die Welt im Innersten zusammenhält." Den Unterschied beider erkennt Goethe ganz klar: Jerusalems "verschiedene philosophische Aufsäze" und "das Manuscript ohngefähr fingerdick" werden beim impulsiv-emotionellen Werther zu "kleinen Aufsäzzen, abgerissenen Gedanken," die er vor dem letzten Briefe ("nach eilfe") versiegelt. Daraus ergibt sich, scheint mir, dass die Erklärung, die Emiliastelle sei einfach auf Kestners Bericht zurückzuführen, nicht genügt. Wir verlangen einen innern Grund, der aus einem Verhältnis Goethes zu Lessing oder Werthers zu *Emilia* hervorgeht.

[1] Kestner, *Goethe und Werther* (Stuttgart u. Berlin: Cottasche Handbibliothek) (Zitiert als *G.W.*), p. 48.

[2] *G.W.*, pp. 54–55.

Unangebracht wäre eine solche literarische Anspielung im Werther an und für sich nicht. Werther lebt in und mit seiner Zeit. Er ist durchaus in seiner Umgebung als Moderner charakterisiert, als Genie, allem Regelkram des Rationalismus entgegen, allem, was "Kenntnisse" besitzt und zur Schau trägt, feind; so dem jungen V., dessen Wissensdurst so weit geht, dass er Sulzers *Encyklopädie* von vorn bis hinten durchliest, so Albert, dem ein "bischen Verstand" mehr oder weniger einen Art-unterschied der Menschen ausmacht.[1] So fühlt er wohl auch auf der andern Seite, dass die "verzerrten Originale," deren Freundschaftsbezeigungen ihm unerträglich sind, die neue Bewegung kompromittieren. Selbst der Fürst, der zwar ein Mann von Verstand ist, unterhält ihn auf die Dauer nicht mehr, als wenn er ein wohlgeschriebenes Buch liest (11. Junius). Zwar fühlt dieser in der Kunst, "und würde noch stärker fühlen, wenn er nicht durch das garstige, wissenschaftliche Wesen, und durch die gewöhnliche Terminologie eingeschränkt wäre."[2] "Auch schätzt er meinen Verstand und Talente mehr als dies Herz, das doch mein einziger Stolz ist. . . . . Ach was ich weis, kann jeder wissen.— Mein Herz hab ich allein."[3]

So kann es uns also nicht überraschen, wenn wir über Werther an bestimmten Vertretern der widersprechenden Geistesrichtungen orientiert werden. Batteux und Wood, de Piles und Winckelmann werden von ihm erwähnt, auch Heyne, doch ohne Wort der Stellungnahme. Dagegen scheint ihm Sulzers Art, Kunstfragen alphabetisch am Schnürchen aufzuziehn, wenig zu behagen. Namen deutscher Romanschriftsteller werden unterdrückt, weil Lob oder Tadel sie verletzen könnte (so sagt der Herausgeber); doch bewegt ihn Lottes Bewunderung des *Landpriesters von Wakefield* dermassen, dass er "ganz ausser sich kam und ihr alles sagte, was er musste" (nicht "wusste," wie auch *D.j.G.* druckt; wie charakteristisch ist gerade der Unterschied dieser beiden Worte!).[4] Und so finden sich denn edle Seelen im Werke und Namen Klopstock—ein Name, der Werther "in dem Strome von Empfindungen" versinken lässt, "den sie in dieser Loosung über mich ausgoss."[5] Nicht Werther selbst,

[1] Ich zitiere nach Morris, *Der junge Goethe.* Leipzig: Inselverlag, 1909 ff. (=*D.j.G.*); hier IV, 263.

[2] *D.j.G.*, IV, 288. [3] *D.j.G.*, IV, 287. [4] *D.j.G.*, IV, 235. [5] *D.j.G.*, IV, 240.

sondern der Herausgeber erwähnt Lavaters Buch *Jonas* bei Gelegenheit des Wunsches des Pfarrers, "dass man gegen die üble Laune vom Predigtstuhle" arbeiten solle.[1] Dagegen charakterisiert es für ihn die Pfarrersfrau, "ein hageres, kränkliches Thier," dass sie "sich abgiebt gelehrt zu seyn, sich in die Untersuchung des Canons meliert, gar viel an der neumodischen moralisch-kritischen Reformation des Christenthums arbeitet, und über Lavaters Schwärmereyen die Achseln zuckt," "Kennikot, Semler und Michaelis, gegen einander abwiegt."[2] Wie ein guter und böser Genius aber schweben über Werthers Haupte Homer, dessen einfache, patriarchalische, kindliche Menschen ihn locken, es ihnen nachzutun, sich der Einschränkung zu ergeben, der sein empörtes Blut zur Ruhe lullt wie Wiegengesang,—und Ossian, der Düstere, der "immer neue schmerzlich glühende Freuden in der kraftlosen Gegenwart der Schatten seiner Abgeschiedenen einsaugt, und nach der kalten Erde, dem hohen wehenden Grase niedersieht, und ausruft: Der Wandrer wird kommen, kommen, der mich kannte in meiner Schönheit, und fragen, wo ist der Sänger, Fingals treflicher Sohn? Sein Fusstritt geht über mein Grab hin, und er fragt vergebens nach mir auf der Erde."[3]

Dazu kommen ungenannt und stets geahnt: Rousseau, dessen Seele einen grossen Teil des Werkes erfüllt, und Shakespeare mit dem Geist des *Hamlet*, von der Scene des Irren an bis zum Ende, mit wiederholten Anklängen an "Sein oder Nichtsein."[4] Leibniz spielt in der Gottesauffassung Werthers eine Rolle, wird jedoch auch nicht genannt.

Und nun zur Stellung des jungen Goethe zu Lessing. In Morris Ausgabe sind von den lebenden Grössen jener Zeit dem Register nach Lessing (21mal), Herder (31mal), und Wieland (41mal) am häufigsten in Goethes Briefen, Gesprächen und Werken erwähnt. Qualitativ ist damit natürlich noch nichts gesagt. Von Lessing entfallen nämlich, während der Zeit vom Dezember 1765 bis zum Februar 1769, dreizehn Stellen auf Aufführungen der *Sara* und *Minna* und entsprechende Reminiszenzen. In einer Kritik der *Frankfurter gelehrten Anzeigen* im Jahre 1772 erwähnt er dann

[1] *D.j.G.*, IV, 246.
[2] *D.j.G.*, IV, 291 f.
[3] *D.j.G.*, IV, 292.
[4] Vgl. Feise, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 f.

Lessing neben Klopstock, Kleist, Wieland, Gessner, Gleim und Gerstenberg, die der Autor des besprochenen Buches "weder im Guten noch im Bösen nennen hören."[1] Alle diese Stellen sind also von wenig Bedeutung für Goethes Haltung Lessing gegenüber. Bleiben nunmehr sieben weitere, die näher zu betrachten sind.

Am 13. Februar 1769, an Friederike Oeser: Nach einem zweifelhaften Lobe Gerstenbergs fährt Goethe fort:

Grazie und das hohe Pathos sind heterogen; und niemand wird sie vereinigen dass sie ein würdig Sujet einer edlen Kunst werden, da nicht einmal das hohe Pathos ein Sujet für die Mahlerey dem Probierstein der Grazie; und die Poesie hat gar nicht eben Ursache ihre Gränzen so auszudehnen, wie ihr Advocat meynt. Er ist ein erfahrener Sachwalter; lieber ein wenig zu viel als zu wenig; ist seine Art zu dencken. Ich kann, ich darf mich nicht weiter erklären, Sie werden mich schon verstehen. Wenn man anders als grosse Geister denckt, so ist es gemeiniglich das Zeichen eines kleinen Geists. Ich mag nicht gerne, eins und das andre seyn. Ein grosser Geist irrt sich so gut wie ein kleiner, jener weil er keine Schrancken kennt, und dieser weil er seinen Horizont, für die Welt nimmt. O, meine Freundinn, das Licht ist die Wahrheit, doch die Sonne ist nicht die Wahrheit, von der doch das Licht quillt. Die Nacht ist Unwahrheit. Und was ist Schönheit? Sie ist nicht Licht und nicht Nacht. Dämmerung: eine Gebuhrt von Wahrheit und Unwahrheit. Ein Mittelding. In ihrem Reiche liegt ein Scheideweg so zweydeutig, so schielend, ein Herkules unter den Philosophen könnte sich vergreiffen. . . . . Meine gegenwärtige Lebensart ist der Philosophie gewiedmet. Eingesperrt, allein, Circkel, Papier, Feder und Dinte, und zwey Bücher, mein ganzes Rüstzeug. Und auf diesem einfachen Wege, komme ich in der Erkenntniss der Wahrheit, oft so weit, und weiter, als andre mit ihrer Bibliothekarwissenschafft.[2]

Hier vergleicht also der junge Goethe Lessing einem schlauen Advokaten, der lieber zu viel als zu wenig für sich reklamiert. Aber, entgegen der spätern Darstellung der Wirkung des *Laokoon* (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, II, 8), dass das Erscheinen des *Laokoon* eine Befreiung der Jünglinge bedeutet habe, indem es dem Dichter erlaubt habe, "sich wohl mit dem Hässlichen noch abzufinden," da er für die Einbildungskraft arbeite,[3] steht hier der Schüler Oesers und Winkelmanns auf dem Standpunkte des *Ut pictura poesis:* "Die Mahlerey ist der Probierstein der Grazie," und Grazie wird auch vom Dichter

[1] *D.j.G.*, II, 282.

[2] *D.j.G.*, I, 324.

[3] Jubiläumsausgabe, **23**, 123.

gefordert. Und das "clamores horrendas at sidera tollit" (*Laokoon*, IV) des Barden Rhingulph, von dem er zuvor gesprochen, erinnert ihn wohl daran, "dass ein grosses Maul zum Schreien nötig ist, und dass dieses grosse Maul hässlich lässt" (*Laokoon*, IV). Freilich wanken ihm die ästhetischen Grundsätze bereits bedenklich. Ist er hier reaktionär, so nähert er sich mit den folgenden Sätzen schon den Anschauungen der Genieperiode. Eine genaue Interpretation der Stelle ist wohl schwierig, wenn nicht unmöglich. Was ist mit der Sonne gemeint, was mit der Nacht? Aber Dämmerung kennen wir aus Goethes eignem Gebrauch des Wortes: nicht die Stunde klarer logischer, zergliedernder Erkenntnis, sondern die intuitive Gesammtauffassung der Dinge, die Stunde der Schönheit, der Dichtung. Und *cavete philosophi!* sie gehört dem Künstler. Und nun beschreibt er seine eigne Art, der Wahrheit auf den Grund zu kommen, eben durch die Erfahrung, die Gesammtauffassung bedeutet. Und ob da nicht "die andern mit ihrer Bibliothekarwissenschaft" ein Stich auf Lessing ist?

Am folgenden Tage, den 14. Februar 1769, schreibt er an Oeser, und diese Stelle lässt uns die vorhergehende in neuem Lichte erscheinen. Es ist eine Antwort auf Oesers folgendes Schreiben:

. . . . Lassen Sie uns diese Wohllust immer erweitern, und wir wollen über die grossen Gelehrten recht von Herzen lachen, die da glauben, es sei schon genug, wenn man nur viel Sprachen weiss, um durch Nachschlagen und angeführte Stellen ohne praktische Kenntnisse entscheidende Urtheile fällen zu können. Sollte unser gegründetes Lachen auch wohl den grossen Lessing treffen? Sehen Sie, liebster Freund, wie er sich mit des Plinius Worten herumschmeisst, und mit allem angewandten Witze erklärt er sie (weil er das Praktische nicht weiss) ganz falsch. Gehen Sie zu dem nächsten Wappensteinschneider, und sehen Sie ihn eine Stunde arbeiten, so werden Ihnen die plinischen Worte "includunter"—"cum feliciter rumpere contingit" ganz anders erscheinen, und ich wette, Sie geraten über Christen, Klotzen und Lessing in ein so lautes Lachen, dass Sie vollkommen gesund werden. Dass Ihnen aber diese Medizin gewiss gedeiht, so will ich ihnen vorhero meine Gedanken aufrichtig sagen. Jeder wahre Kenner, der das Praktische der Steinschneidekunst weiss, wird Ihnen den Unterschied der geschnittenen Steine, welche mit Schmergel oder mit Diamant gearbeitet sind, mit den Fingern zeigen, und wird finden, dass unter den alten Steinen die meisten mit Schmergel geschnitten worden. (Das wahre Kennzeichen ist die Politur; weil der Schmergel weniger schneidet und daher zugleich

poliert; daher kommt es, dass die alten Steine da, wo die neuern matt sind, etwas mehr Glanz haben.) Und ferner schliesse ich aus dem "feliciter rumpere," und vorhero "includuntur," das eingeschlossene glückliche Sprengen ist zu Plinius Zeiten noch ein Geheimniss bei denen meisten Steinschneidern gewesen. Noch ist das Wort Naxium: kann nichts anders, als cyprischer Schmergel sein, und crustas nehmen Sie für die äussere Rinde des Diamants, welche bei dem Schneiden die beste Wirkung thut. Wenn Sie also eine Zeit den Steinschneider arbeiten gesehen, so begehren Sie von ihm, dass er Ihnen das Diamantportmachen weisen soll, und wenn Sie dieses gesehen, so erfolgt gewiss das zur Gesundheit erwünschte Lachen. Hätte sonst der grosse Christ sich mehr um das Praktische bekümmert, so würde er denen plinischen Stellen keine falsche Auslegung gegeben haben, und er hätte vielen und auch einem Lessing keine falschen Begriffe beigebracht. Nichts lächerlicher ist als das mit der Spitze zu schneiden, welches in der alten und neuern Zeit gewiss keinem Künstler eingefallen, weil er weiter nichts, als etwan ein Gekritze, wie man noch heute zu Tage an denen Fenstern ein Verschen findet, herausgebracht haben würde.[1]

Goethe antwortet:

. . . . Ich danke ergebenst für die Nachricht vom Steinschneiden; sie hat mir die Sache klaar gemacht. Lessing! Lessing! wenn er nicht Lessing wäre, ich möchte was sagen. Schreiben mag ich nicht wider ihn, er ist ein Eroberer und wird in Herrn Herders Wäldchen garstig Holz machen, wenn er drüber kömmt. Er ist ein Phänomen von Geist, und in Grunde sind diese Erscheinungen in Teutschland selten. Wer ihm nicht alles glauben will, der ist nicht gezwungen, nur widerlegt ihn nicht. Voltaire hat dem Shakespeare keinen Tort thun können, kein kleinerer Geist wird einen grössern überwinden. Emile bleibt Emile und wenn der Pastor zu Berlin närrisch würde, und kein Abbé wird den Origines verkleinern. . . . . (14. Februar, 1869.)[2]

Meint er mit dem kleinern Geist Herder oder sich? Wohl das Letztere. Trotz der Bewunderung für das "Phänomen von Geist" hat er also doch eine Schwäche an ihm entdeckt, freut sich halb und halb dieser Schwäche, nimmt aber doch seine Partei im Bewusstsein, dass die Grossen(!) zusammenhalten müssen gegen die Pastoren zu Berlin (d.h. die flachen Aufklärer) oder die Abbés.

In den *Ephemerides* von 1772 finden wir ihn vermutlich "aus einer noch zu ermittelnden Quelle" (Morris) folgende Stelle ausschreiben:

Lessings Laock., p. 16. "Wuth und Verzweiflung schändete keines von ihren Wercken. Ich darf behaupten, dass sie nie eine Furie gebildet haben.

[1] *D.j.G.*, VI, 58. [2] *D.j.G.*, I, 328.

In der Note zeigt er dass nicht Furien, sondern Mädge mit Tädis bey der Althäa stehen, und ich binn gerne seyner Meynung, wie auch über den Kopf auf der Scheibe gegen die Mitte, und gleichsam als auf der Gränze. Aber dieser Kopf giebt mir Gelegenheit, den ersten Theil der angeführten Stelle anzufechten. L. bekennt selbst, es sey hefftiger Schmerz und wer es ansieht wird gern mit mir einig seyn dass es würckliche Verzerrung ist. Sollte man wohl Wuth und Verzweifelung stärcker ausdrücken können. Zwar dass der Künstler nicht Meleagern so gebildet hat sondern Gleichsam ein Beywesen, mit dem Hauptgedancken des Stücks verziert, weil er zu schröcklich war, ist ein Beweiss für L. aber nur in so weit ich seiner Meynung bin. Die alten, wie ich anderswo zu beweisen gesucht habe, scheuten nicht so sehr das hässliche als das falsche, und verstunden auch die schröcklichsten Verzerrungen, in schönen Gesichtern, zur Schönheit zu machen. Denn ich will gerne L. zu Liebe glauben dass der Kupferstecher | :ich habe es in Barbaults Werke gesehen: | einige Züge verdorben hat, denn ich weiss ohne das, dass ein Kupferstich ist wie eine Übersetzung, man muss die beste wieder in Gedancken übersetzen, um den Geist des Originals zu fühlen. Aber noch etwas. Nach Lessings Grundsätzen bleibt hier der Künstler unter dem Dichter, denn Ovid sagt: *magnos superat virtute dolores*, und der Künstler hatte nichts von diesem Gefühl. Ovid hat keinen Übergang wie der Künstler von der Wuth zur Mattigkeit und dem Todt. Es ist mir das wieder ein Beweiss dass man die Fürtrefflichkeit der Alten in etwas anders als der Bildung der Schönheit zu suchen hat."[1]

Wir haben es, wie gesagt, hier vermutlich mit einem Auszuge zu tun; aber sollte dieser dem jungen Goethe, dem die klassizistischen Schuppen von den Augen gefallen sind, nicht zu seiner Idee einer charakteristischen Kunst passen? Geht damit also weit über die Anschauungen hinaus, die er an Oeser 1769 äusserte, wo er nicht einmal der Dichtung die Erweiterungen ihrer Grenzen zugestehen wollte.

Es bleiben fünf Stellen übrig, von denen ich diejenige in der Gassnerkritik[2] als nichtssagend ganz übergehen kann. Von den Übrigen bespreche ich die drei letzten zuerst. Ganz sibyllinisch ist der fragmentarische Satz nach Lavaters Tagebuch: "Aus dem Aufsatz: über das was man ist," wo es heisst: "Lessing ist nichts und alles was er seyn will. . . . ."[3] Die beiden andern sprechen

[1] *D.j.G.*, II, 32 f.

[2] *D.j.G.*, II, 305 (nicht im Index!). Hier wäre noch zu erwähnen Stück 10 der *Frf. gel. Anz.* über Brauns *Versuch in prosaischen Fabeln und Erzählungen*, wo gegen Lessings Erklärung der Fabel polemisiert wird, das aber Goethe wohl nicht angehört.

[3] *D.j.G.*, IV, 58.

von Lessing mit Respekt; am 6. Mai (April oder März?) 1774 schreibt Goethe an Langer, der damals in Braunschweig lebte: "Wenn Ihr Lessingen seht so sagt ihm dass ich auf ihn gerechnet hätte, und ich pflegte mich an meinen Leuten nicht zu betrügen."[1] Worauf geht das?

Im Juni 1774 berichtet das Täntchen Johanna Fahlmer in der Wiedergabe des prächtigen Gesprächs mit Goethe über Wielands Götzrezension den folgenden Satz: "An der Stelle, wo er wegen der Vermischung der Sprachen in verschiedenen Jahrhunderten getadelt wird, sagte er [Goethe]: auch recht, auch gut; aber wer Teufel anders, als ein W., Lessing pp. kann mich hierinnen beurtheilen?"[2]

Und nun endlich die wichtigste Ausserung, die über *Emilia Galotti*, im Briefe an Herder vom 19. Juli 1772: "Es [*Götz*] ist alles nur gedacht. das ärgert mich genug. *Emilia Galotti* ist auch nur gedacht, und nicht einmal Zufall oder Kaprice spinnen irgend drein. Mit halbweg Menschenverstand kann man das warum von ieder Scene, von iedem Wort mögt ich sagen auffinden. Drum binn ich dem Stück nicht gut, so ein Meisterstück es sonst ist, und meinem eben so wenig."[3] Wie bekannt, sind gerade diese Worte wieder und wieder mit der Wertherstelle kontrastiert worden.

Die Ergebnisse unsrer Untersuchung bis hierher sind mager. Von einer klaren Stellung des jungen Goethe zu Lessing kann nicht die Rede sein. Respekt ist vorhanden, Wärme nirgends, dagegen hört man hier und da die berühmten "scharrenden Hahnenfüsse" (Herder).

Im Jahre 1774 ist Lessings Einfluss handgreiflich, und zwar, wenn wir zunächst vom *Werther* absehen, im *Clavigo*. Die Züge des bürgerlichen Dramas, die dieses Stück mit denen Lessings gemein hat, liegen auf der Hand. Marie ist eher auf Sara als auf Emilia zurückzuführen. Aber was die andern ähnlichen Charaktere betrifft, so spricht vielleicht gerade mehr der Unterschied von dem Verhältnisse Goethes zu Lessing. Beaumarchais tritt an Stelle Odoardos, doch seine Sprache, seine stürmische Willensstärke ist die der Genieperiode. Clavigo geht über die einseitige Darstellung des

[1] *D.j.G.*, IV, 14.
[2] *D.j.G.*, IV, 81 (nicht im Index!).
[3] *D.j.G.*, II, 295.

Helden als Liebhaber hinaus, indem hier nicht nur der Typus "Liebhaber," sondern das Verhältnis von Liebesgefühlen in ihm zu andern Regungen seines Charakters gezeigt wird. Vor uns steht wieder der Geniemensch, der zwischen der Wahl: "Einschränkung" oder "Ausdehnung" des Ichs schwankt ("zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust") wie Weislingen, Werther, Fernando (*Stella*), Faust. Und endlich können wir für den Fortschritt im Carlos über Marinelli hinaus Goethes eignes Zeugnis anführen: "Der Bösewichter müde, die aus Rache, Hass oder kleinlichen Absichten sich einer edlen Natur entgegensetzen und sie zu Grunde richten, wollt' ich in Carlos den reinen Weltverstand mit wahrer Freundschaft gegen Leidenschaft, Neigung und äussere Bedrängnis wirken lassen, um auch einmal auf diese Weise eine Tragödie zu motivieren."[1]

Clavigo zeigt am besten den Unterschied von Goethes und Lessings Schaffen. Hier geht auch Goethe vom Stoff aus. Aber er erfüllt sich ihm sogleich mit erlebtem Gehalt: er selbst-Clavigo, Freund Merck-Carlos, er selbst vielleicht Beaumarchais mit Hinblick auf seine Schwester. Aber gerade da liegt die Schwäche: hätte er Beaumarchais eliminieren können, das Stück hätte wohl gewonnen, aber dann wäre ihm die Situation im zweiten Akte, um die es ihm wohl hauptsächlich zu tun war, entgangen. So gilt gerade von *Clavigo*, trotz manchem Erlebten, Goethes Kritik an der *Emilia:* Das Stück ist nur gedacht, und gerade deshalb muss er sich in manchen Zügen und besonders—und hierin liegt für uns die Hauptbedeutung—im Technischen an Lessing anlehnen, in Reaktion gegen den *Götz*. Im Fortschritt über die frühern Dramatiker sind es die gemischten Empfindungen, die beiden gemein sind; halten wir das ebenfalls fest.

Und nun zum *Werther*. Hat er mehr mit der *Emilia* gemein als bloss die Tatsache des Selbstmordes?

Betrachten wir zunächst die Motive in beiden Werken. Hier wie dort die Frau zwischen zwei Männern. Der eine, gesetzt, gereift, rechtlich, von gefestigten Grundsätzen; Albert zwar nüchterner, Appiani Melancholiker; jeder aber, wenn auch nicht gerade die Phantasie bestechend, eben wegen eines Mangels an "Fühlbarkeit," so doch ein Mann, auf den eine Frau sich verlassen kann. Auf der andern Seite der anziehende, leidenschaftliche, jüngere

[1] *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, III, 15. Jubiläumsausgabe, **24**, 260.

Mann, interessant freilich aus sehr verschiedenen Gründen, hier durch hohe Stellung, bestrickende Liebenswürdigkeit, äussere blendende Erscheinung und Don Juanerie, dort durch Tiefe und Rätselhaftigkeit. Bei Lessing führt die Leidenschaft des Prinzen zum Morde des Bräutigams, bei Werther bleibt die Tat im Gedanken stecken: "Es ist nicht Verzweiflung, es ist Gewissheit, dass ich ausgetragen habe, und dass ich mich opfere für dich, ja Lotte, warum sollt ich's verschweigen: eins von uns dreyen muss hinweg, und das will ich seyn. O meine Beste, in diesem zerrissenen Herzen ist es wüthend herumgeschlichen, oft—deinen Mann zu ermorden!—dich!—mich!—So sey's denn!—"[1] Und: "Sie liebt mich! Dieser Arm hat sie umfasst, diese Lippen auf ihren Lippen gezittert, dieser Mund am ihrigen gestammelt. Sie ist mein! du bist mein! ja Lotte auf ewig! Und was ist das? dass Albert dein Mann ist! Mann?—das wäre denn für diese Welt—und für diese Welt Sünde? Gut! und ich strafe mich davor: Ich hab sie in ihrer ganzen Himmelswonne geschmeckt diese Sünde, habe Lebensbalsam und Kraft in mein Herz gesaugt, du bist von dem Augenblicke mein! Mein, o Lotte. Ich gehe voran! Geh zu meinem Vater. . . . ."[2]

Hier wird also der Mord zum Selbstmord. Werther übernimmt die Rolle der Emilia. Aber davon später. Die Idee des Mordes, die der elementarere Mensch ausführen würde, wird dann in der zweiten Fassung des *Werther* (1786) noch vertieft durch die Parallelgeschichte des Bauernburschen, der den Nebenbuhler erschlägt, und mit dem sich Werther identifiziert, wenn er sagt: "Du bist nicht zu retten, Unglücklicher! ich sehe wohl, dass wir nicht zu retten sind."[3] (Odoardos Mordgedanken liegen andre Motive zugrunde, so kann er hier füglich übergangen werden.)

Bei der weiteren Vergleichung der beiden Werke können wir uns zunächst nicht der Einsicht verschliessen, dass, was das innere Leben der Menschen betrifft, e i n Unterschied klar zu Tage tritt, das ist die ethische Minderwertigkeit der Lessingschen Charaktere. Lessing kommt vom Rationalismus. Die Tragödie soll durch Beispiele lehren. Das Böse muss verächtlich erscheinen. Da der Wille frei ist, durch Einsicht gebessert werden kann, so ist das Böse—wenigstens im Bösewicht Marinelli—überlegte Willenshandlung.

[1] *D.j.G.*, IV, 310. [2] *D.j.G.*, IV, 322. [3] Jubiläumsausgabe, **16**, 112.

Freilich, der Prinz ist bereits ein Übergangstypus. Bei ihm liegt das Böse in der Schwäche, und die Schuld wird der socialen Ordnung zugeschoben. (Man vergleiche damit Mellefonts Überlegtheit!) Hier liegt das Negative, das Goethe in einer spätern Kritik über Lessing hervorhebt, wenn er sagt: "Auch dass er immerfort polemisch wirkte und wirken musste, lag in der Schlechtigkeit seiner Zeit. In der Emilia Galotti hatte er seine Pike auf die Fürsten, im Nathan auf die Pfaffen" (zu Eckermann, 7. Februar, 1827).

Schon mit Emilia indessen kommen wir in eine neue Welt menschlicher Psychologie, wie die guten Charaktere des Stückes überhaupt mehr oder weniger der neueren Zeit angehören: Schwanken, weil der Wille nicht frei ist; Angst vor den auf dem Grunde der Seele kauernden Gefühlen, deren man nicht Herr ist, die jeden Augenblick aufzüngeln und das Opfer zu umstricken drohen. Lessings Drama wendet zuerst die Theorie Leibnizens von den unterbewussten, den unklaren Gefühlen an. Und damit entziehen sich die Charaktere der kalt rationalistischen Beurteilung und Verantwortlichkeit und steigen sofort auf eine ethisch höhere Stufe. Zwar gilt vielleicht gerade diesem kaum gelungenen ersten Versuche Lessings, aus der Tiefe der Seele heraus zu motivieren, Goethes Vorwurf des Gedachten. Wir wissen nicht, ob Emilia "ein Gänschen oder ein Luderchen ist," aber wir sind doch hier auf dem Wege zu einer Welt, wo uns der Menschheit ganzer Jammer anfasst, wir fühlen mit Schaudern: hier ist Fleisch von unserm Fleisch, denn wir sind allzumal Sünder. Darum packt uns der Werther, weil er "in seinem ängstlichen Bestreben nach Wahrheit und moralischer Güte" (Kielmannsegge über Jerusalem) nicht aus noch ein weiss; darum lässt uns Emilia kalt, die ihre Tat noch in der heftigsten Leidenschaft zu wägen weiss und in eine Sentenz zusammenzufassen. Aber hier ist doch die Brücke geschlagen. Andre gemeinsame Züge treten ganz dahinter zurück, so Geniemässiges im Prinzen, wenn seine Leidenschaft alle andern Gedanken verschlingt, wenn ihm das Regieren Linsen- oder Erbsenzählen ist (allerdings auf anderm ethischen Niveau wie bei Werther); so die Idee des "cultiver son jardin" des Grafen Appiani, der sich vom öffentlichen Leben fern hält; so Odoardos Ansicht vom Hofleben.

Zwei Stellen verdienen vielleicht einen ausführlichen Vergleich. In der *Emilia* (I, 4) glaubt Conti, der Maler, noch an das "corriger

la nature," wenn er sagt: "Auch ist es [das Porträt] nichts mehr geschmeichelt, als die Kunst schmeicheln muss. Die Kunst muss malen, wie sich die plastische Natur,—wenn es eine gibt—das Bild dachte: ohne den Abfall, welchen der widerstehende Stoff unvermeidlich macht, ohne den Verderb, mit welchem die Zeit dagegen ankämpfet." Und der Prinz: "Der denkende Künstler ist noch eins so viel wert."

Dagegen Werthers Entdeckung, als er nach der Natur skizziert, "ohne das mindeste von dem seinen hinzuzuthun": "Das bestärkte mich in meinem Vorsatze, mich künftig allein an die Natur zu halten. Sie allein ist unendlich reich, und sie allein bildet den grossen Künstler."[1]

Aber Conti—wie die Genies—will vom Urteil des "Kenners" nichts wissen: "Und eines jeden Empfindung sollte erst auf den Ausspruch eines Malers warten?—Ins Kloster mit dem, der es von uns lernen will, was schön ist!" Die Tatsache, dass er mit seinem eigenen Können unzufrieden ist und zufrieden mit seiner Unzufriedenheit, macht ihn zu einem Bruder Werthers.

Ha! dass wir nicht unmittelbar mit den Augen malen! [Werther würde sagen: dass wir nicht unmittelbar durch den Tastsinn unsre Eindrücke aufnehmen und direkt so wiedergeben können!] Auf dem langen Wege aus dem Auge durch den Arm in den Pinsel, wie viel geht da verloren!—Aber, wie ich sage, dass ich weiss, was hier verloren gegangen, und warum es verloren gehen müssen: darauf bin ich eben so stolz, und stolzer, als ich auf alles das bin, was ich nicht verloren gehen lassen. Denn aus jenem erkenne ich, mehr als aus diesem, dass ich wirklich ein grosser Maler bin; dass es aber meine Hand nur nicht immer ist.—Oder meinen Sie, Prinz, dass Raffael nicht das grösste malerische Genie gewesen wäre, wenn er unglücklicherweise ohne Hände wäre geboren worden?

Und Werther:

Ich bin so glücklich, mein Bester, so ganz in dem Gefühl von ruhigem Daseyn versunken, dass meine Kunst darunter leidet. Ich könnte jetzt nicht zeichnen, nicht einen Strich, und bin niemalen ein grösserer Mahler gewesen als in diesen Augenblicken . . . . ach könntest du das wieder ausdrücken, könntest dem Papier das einhauchen, was so voll, so warm in dir lebt, dass es würde der Spiegel deiner Seele. . . . . Aber ich gehe darüber zu Grunde, ich erliege unter der Gewalt der Herrlichkeit dieser Erscheinungen.[2]

[1] *D.j.G.*, IV, 228.

[2] *D.j.G.*, IV, 222.

Doch um zu den Hauptzügen zurückzukommen: Lotte wie Emilia stehen zwischen zwei Männern, dem einen verlobt, vom andern geliebt und begehrt und zu ihm wider Willen und uneingestanden hingezogen. Lotte ist der festere, einfachere Charakter. Trotzdem fühlt sie den Zwiespalt in sich:

Ihre Gedanken fielen auf Werthern. Sie schalt ihn, und konnte ihn nicht hassen. Ein geheimer Zug hatte ihr ihn vom Anfange ihrer Bekanntschaft theuer gemacht, und nun, nach so viel Zeit, nach so manchen durch lebten Situationen, musste sein eindruck unauslöschlich in ihrem Herzen seyn. Ihr gepresstes Herz machte sich endlich in Thränen Luft und gieng in eine stille Melancholie über, in der sie sich je länger je tiefer verlohr. Aber wie schlug ihr Herz, als sie Werthern die Treppe heraufkommen und aussen nach ihr fragen hörte. Es war zu spät, sich verläugnen zu lassen, und sie konnte sich nur halb von ihrer Verwirrung ermannen, als er ins Zimmer trat. Sie haben nicht Wort gehalten! rief sie ihm entgegen. Ich habe nichts versprochen, war seine Antwort. So hätten Sie mir wenigstens meine Bitte gewähren sollen, sagte sie, es war Bitte um unserer beyder Ruhe willen.[1]

Um ihrer Ruhe willen also hat Lotte den in den letzten Tagen immer erregteren Werther gebeten, bis zum Weichnachtsabend wegzubleiben und nicht zu kommen während Alberts Abwesenheit.

Emilia geht um ihrer Ruhe willen zur Kirche, denn als sie den Prinzen bei den Grimaldis kennen gelernt hat, "erhob sich so mancher Tumult in meiner Seele, den die strengsten Übungen der Religion kaum in Wochen besänftigen konnten!" (V, 1). In der Kirche sucht sie der Prinz.

Emilia. Da ich mich umwandte, da ich ihn erblickte—
Claudia. Wen, meine Tochter?
Emilia. Raten Sie, meine Mutter, raten Sie—Ich glaubte in die Erde zu sinken—Ihn selbst.
Claudia. Wen, ihn selbst? [II, 6.]

Sie hält es nicht einmal für nötig, der nichtsahnenden Mutter den Namen zu nennen. Und verrät sie nicht durch das "ihn selbst," dass sie an ihn gedacht hat? Als er nun hinter ihr von Liebe flüstert: "Ich wollte tun, als ob ich es nicht hörte.—Was konnt' ich sonst?—Meinen guten Engel bitten, mich mit Taubheit zu schlagen; und wann auch, wenn auch auf immer!—Das bat ich; das war das einzige, was ich beten konnte."

[1] *D.j.G.*, IV, 312.

Lotte unterbricht Werthers Vorlesung durch einen Strom von Tränen, und als Werthers Lippen und Augen an ihrem Arme glühen, überfällt sie ein Schauer. "Sie wollte sich entfernen und es lag all der Schmerz, der Antheil betäubend wie Blei auf ihr." Endlich bittet sie ihn, weiter zu lesen; aber kurz darauf verlieren sie beide die Fassung: "Ihre Sinnen verwirrten sich."[1] Und wie Emilia nicht fähig ist, dem Prinzen "in einem Blicke alle die Verachtung zu bezeigen, die er verdient" (Claudia), so verlässt Lotte "bebend zwischen Liebe und Zorn" das Zimmer, aber "mit dem vollsten Blick der Liebe auf den Elenden." Ihr Zustand am nächsten Tage wird uns folgendermassen geschildert:

> Die liebe Frau hatte die lezte Nacht wenig geschlafen, ihr Blut war in einer fieberhaften Empörung, und tausenderley Empfindungen zerrütteten ihr Herz. Wider ihren Willen fühlte sie tief in ihrer Brust das Feuer von Werthers Umarmungen, und zugleich stellten sich ihr die Tage ihrer unbefangenen Unschuld, des sorglosen Zutrauens auf sich selbst in doppelter Schöne dar, es ängstigten sie schon zum voraus die Blicke ihres Manns, und seine halb verdrüsslich halb spöttische Fragen, wenn er Werthers Besuch erfahren würde; sie hatte sich nie verstellt, sie hatte nie gelogen, und nun sah sie sich zum erstenmal in der unvermeidlichen Nothwendigkeit; der Widerwillen, die Verlegenheit die sie dabey empfand, machte die Schuld in ihren Augen grösser, und doch konnte sie den Urheber davon weder hassen, noch sich versprechen, ihn nie wieder zu sehn.[2]

Albert kommt zurück; sie bewillkommnet ihn mit einer "heftigen Umarmung, die mehr Bestürzung und Reue, als eine auffahrende Freude ausdrückte, und eben dadurch machte sie die Aufmerksamkeit Albertens rege." Die Stimmung wird gespannt; gerade dadurch wird es ihr unmöglich, ihm zu sagen, was vorgefallen ist. Werthers Diener kommt; sie muss ihm die Pistolen reichen. Das befreiende, vielleicht rettende Wort wird nicht gesprochen, und so wird sie indirekt schuld an seinem Tode.

Ähnlich Emilia. Sie, die fühlt, dass "fremdes Laster uns, wider unsern Willen, zum Mitschuldigen machen kann" (II, 6), wird von ihrer Mutter bestimmt, dem Bräutigam nichts von ihrem Erlebnisse mit dem Prinzen zu sagen. Die Motivierung ist hier nicht so fein wie im *Werther*, und die Handlung verliert dadurch. Wie gut hätte Lessing die in der Tat vorhandene und von Emilia bemerkte

[1] *D.j.G.*, IV, 319–20. [2] *D.j.G.*, IV, 323.

feierliche, ernsthafte Stimmung des Grafen Appiani benutzen, durch seine Worte der Bewunderung für Odoardos Tugend das Geständnis Emilias zurückschrecken können. Tatsache ist, dass sie ihm die Begegnung mit dem Prinzen verheimlicht und späterhin fühlt, dass sie vielleicht dadurch an seinem Tode schuldig geworden ist. "Und warum er tot ist! Warum!" sagt sie im letzten Aufzuge (V, 7). Aus diesem Gefühle der Schuld, die sie bereits auf sich geladen, und aus Furcht vor dem Unterliegen, das ihr vielleicht droht von dem dunklen und unbegreiflichen Zug ihrer Sinne, sucht sie den reinigenden Tod.

Hier ist ihr nicht Lotte, hier ist ihr Werther gleich. Schon mit dem 16. Juli beginnt das sinnliche Element in seiner Liebe sich zu zeigen; am 24. November des nächsten Jahres verschwindet ihm bereits "die liebliche Schönheit" und "das Leuchten des treflichen Geistes" der Geliebten unter dem heissen Gefühl des Begehrens; doch schwört er: "Nie will ich's wagen, einen Kuss euch einzudrücken, Lippen, auf denen Geister des Himmels schweben—und doch—ich will—Ha siehst du, das steht wie eine Scheidewand vor meiner Seelen—diese Seligkeit—und da untergegangen, die Sünde abzubüssen—Sünde?"[1] Am 17. Dezember gewährt ihm der Traum, was ihm die Wirklichkeit versagt. "Seine Sinnen verwirren sich."[2] Nach der Verwirrung beider aber bleibt ihm nichts mehr übrig als der Tod. "Sünde? Gut! und ich strafe mich davor."[3] Aber nicht bevor die Harmonie seiner Seele wiederhergestellt ist: die Sterne brechen aus den Wolken des Himmels, und er sieht "die Deichselsterne des Wagens, des liebsten unter allen Gestirnen."[4] "Kann die Seele ohne Sinnen empfinden. Sie wird die erhabne, heilige geistische Gefühle von Schönheit, Ordnung und also von Gott haben,"[5] so schreibt Goethe 1772 in sein Notizbuch aus Mendelssohns *Phädon*, dem Buch, das Jerusalem die liebste Lektüre war.[6] Und in diesem Zustand finden wir Werther vor der Tat, die seinem Leben ein Ende macht.

Ist es nach dieser Betrachtung klar, dass eine mehr als zufällige Verbindung zwischen *Werther* und *Emilia Galotti* besteht? Das braucht nicht zu heissen, dass Goethe von Lessing abhängig sei, oder

[1] *D.j.G.*, IV, 298.
[2] *D.j.G.*, IV, 304.
[3] *D.j.G.*, IV, 322.
[4] *D.j.G.*, IV, 326.
[5] *D.j.G.*, II, 42.
[6] *G.W.*, 48.

dass wir so starke Einflüsse fühlen wie z.B. die Klopstockischen, selbst wo sie nicht von Klopstock selbst kommen, sondern aus dem Sauerteige, der die Seelen jener Zeit durchsetzt. Dafür liegt, wie wir gesehen haben, Lessings Art dem jungen Goethe und seiner Umgebung zu fern. Und die eigentlichen Grundzüge der Handlung im *Werther*, die solchen in Lessings *Emilia* ähneln, ergeben sich aus dem Stoffe und den zu Grunde liegenden Erlebnissen und ihrer Synthese. Aber vielleicht ist es so: Goethe hat sich im Geiste, unzweifelhaft, mit der Emilia im Zusammenhang mit dem Selbstmorde Jerusalems beschäftigt. Wie sollte er nicht, als er das Problem der Tat von allen Seiten zu durchdringen und verstehen suchte. Und hier liegen doch zugleich die Anfänge seines *Werther*. Die Gedankengänge, die zur Konception dieses Werkes führen, ermöglichen ihm wohl bewusst oder unbewusst ein tieferes Einfühlen in das Lessingische Drama, führen ihn zu Lessing und von Lessing hinweg. Und lässt sich der rätselhafte Ausspruch, "Lessing ist nichts und alles was er seyn will," dann so erklären: aus dichterischem Genius heraus, aus dem quellenden, sprudelnden Schöpfergeist, der wie Moses Wasser aus Felsen schlägt, schafft Lessing nichts, an diesem Massstabe gemessen ist er nichts; aber er ist alles, was er sein will, d.h. was er sich vornimmt zu schaffen, das schafft er, denn er ist "ein Phänomen von Geist."[1]

Und gerade die Seite Lessings, der Kunstverstand, ist dann das, was auf Goethe gewirkt hat. Noch später wird er nicht müde, Lessings Meisterschaft in der Exposition, seine Technik zu rühmen. Und die Einwirkung dieser Technik ist auch in seiner Arbeit am *Werther* zu spüren. Vom *Götz* kommend, gibt Goethe zwar nicht den Geist, aber die Form dieses Geniewerkes preis. Was er an *Emilia* tadelt: den ausserordentlichen Kunstverstand, mit der jede Scene, jedes Wort dem Ganzen dient, das macht gerade den Werther zu der genialen und unsterblichen Schöpfung. Hier ist Struktur, umkleidet mit Fleisch und Blut; ohne den soliden Knochenbau wäre der Werther eine Jeremiade geworden, wie so viele seiner Nachkommen. Jeder Brief bedeutet die Lüftung eines Schleiers von diesem problematischen Charakter, einen Schwung weiter in der Flugbahn dieses Meteors. Ich erinnere nur an Goethes Ratschlag

[1] *D.j.G.*, I, 328.

von 31. Januar, als er Frau von La Roche über ihre Arbeit an der *Rosalie* schreibt:

> Der Altar muss erst gebaut, geziert und geweiht seyn eh die Reliquien hineinverwahrt werden, und ich wünschte die ganze Stelle erst weiter hinten, wenn der Charackter und der Sinn Rosaliens sich mehr entfaltet haben, eingepflanzt zu sehn, wie ich denn auch mit der süsen Melankolie von verirrter Empfindung, die den ersten Brief füllt, das Ganze gewürzt sehn möchte, und Sie bitte wenn es nicht zu sehr ausser der Stimmung ihres Vorsatzes liegt, die ersten Briefe mit ganz simplem Detail wo Gefühl und Geist nur durchscheint zu eröffnen.[1]

Diesen Ratschlag hat er selbst im *Werther* befolgt, von dessen Niederschrift uns derselbe Brief berichtet. So führt er Werther ein, so spart er Lottens Auftreten bis für den elften Brief auf, und so gibt er uns selbst da erst den Eindruck, den sie auf Werthers Herz gemacht hat. Und Lessing? Hatte er nicht die Emilia erst im zweiten Akte erscheinen lassen, nachdem wir mit dem Prinzen völlig bekannt geworden sind, und nachdem das Gefühl ihrer Schönheit und des Prinzen Liebe für sie bereits den ersten Akt erfüllt hat?

So können wir verstehen, dass Goethe die bewusste Stelle im Kestnerberichte beibehält: er war sich wohl bewusst dieser Ahnlichkeit seines Werkes mit der *Emilia*, sowohl in einigen äusseren Zügen als auch in einem wichtigen Teile seines innern Gehaltes (Gefühlsverwirrung und ethische Integrität der Helden), und wollte Lessing, den er als Meister in der Kunst der Technik erkannte, seinen schuldigen Dank abstatten, ganz abgesehen von der Wirksamkeit der Erwähnung als Stück realistischen Details. Ob diese Art des Dankes nach Lessings Gusto war—das ist eine andre Frage.

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[1] *D.j.G.*, IV, 8.

THE INFLUENCE OF HANS FOLZ ON HANS SACHS

There is much in common between Sachs and Folz. Both were residents of the city of Nürnberg, though Folz was a native of Worms. Both were interested in the popular side of literature as represented in the mastersong, and Sachs refers to Folz among the great Nürnberg masters as "Hans Foltze, balbirer."[1] Folz is one of the very few early writers of *Fastnacht* plays whose name is authoritatively preserved for us. The exact years of his activity cannot be definitely assigned, but his chief work was in the last half of the fifteenth century, and he was probably dead before Sachs was born.

The influence of the older writer on the younger has been commented on more than once.[2] It is certain that Sachs knew Folz and used him as a source frequently. Goetze[3] lists twelve works by Sachs for which Folz serves as a source. In one case, even, Sachs has been guilty of actual plagiarism in his use of Folz, a fault from which he is remarkably free, especially when the great extent of his composition is taken into consideration. This is in the case of Schwank No. 109, *Die drey frawen mit dem porten.* Even here the actual copying of verses does not exceed a dozen or fifteen, but this is quite contrary to his usual custom. The following parallels show the closeness with which Sachs copied in this case:

Sachs	Folz
drey frawen frey	von dreyen frawen stolcz und frey,
Fůnden ein porten alle drey.	Die ein porten funden all drey,
Nůn wolt ide den porten hon,	nun wollt yde den porten han,
Die erst sprach: "Welche iren man	die ein sprach welche iren man
Am aller sersten mag petôren,	am aller pasten kün bedôrn,
Der selben sol der port gehôren."	Der selben sol der port gehôrn.

[1] Goedeke, *Grundriss*[2], 2, 252.

[2] Leonhard Lier (*Studien zur Geschichte des Nürnberger Fastnachtspiels*, Dissertation, Leipzig, 1889) sees marked influence of Folz on Sachs. He credits the former with introducing a new comic theme into *Fastnacht* literature, the struggle for mastery in the home, and sees his influence on Sachs also in the typical character of the doctor; cf. Stiefel in *Nürnberger Festschrift* (Nürnberg, 1894), pp. 150, 104–6; E. Kreisler, *Die Dramatischen Werke des Peter Probst*, Neudrucke deu. lit. Werke des 16. und 17. Jh., Nos. 219–21, p. xv.

[3] *Lit. Verein in Stutt.*, CCL, 181 f. In the case of one of these, Schwank No. 186 (Goetze Neudrucke), Stiefel assigns the source to Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst.*

SACHS	FOLZ
Die sach war schlecht. Die erst haim lieff,	Die sach was slecht, die erst heim lief,
Fand, das ir mon dort lag und schlieff,	fant das ir man dort lag und slief,
Rues und saffran sie im an straich	pald eylet sie und mischt zu samen
Und macht in allen schwarcz und plaich.[1]	saffran und rus in einen swamen,
	Die selbig farb sie im an streich
	Und macht in allen swarcz und pleich.[1]

Sachs shows above all his debt to Folz in the word, phrase, and situation borrowed even on occasions when the main source was not Folz, and it is the purpose of this paper to indicate the extent to which this was done. In his *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*[2] Keller has printed much of the material known to be the work of Folz. Among the *Fastnacht* plays are eight so signed that they may be certainly attributed to him.[3] To these Michels[4] would add about a dozen more. Only those, however, which can without question be assigned to Folz have been made the basis of this study.

Among Keller's plays, No. 7, entitled *Ein spil, ein hochzeit zu machen*, is by Folz. This has afforded phrases for Sachs on several occasions. A father describing his daughter says:

Sie hat der siben schon wol dreizehen.[5]

Sachs copies the phrase in a *Fastnacht* play to describe the woman of whom Dildapp was enamored: "Hatz der sieben schön wol dreyzehen."[6] Folz continues in the description of the daughter by her father:

die pein sind ir gleich unten als oben.[7]

Sachs conveys the same idea in these words:

Die hat so schöne rote schenckel,
Die waren unden umb den enckel
Eben so dick, als sie warn oben.[8]

[1] Cf. Stiefel, *Festschrift*, pp. 104 ff.; Sachs, *Schw.* 109, 1–10.

[2] *Lit. Ver. in Stutt.*, XXVIII–XXX, XLVI.

[3] Nos. 1, 7, 38, 43, 44, 60, 112, 120.

[4] "Studien über die ältesten deu. Fastnachtspiele," *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germ. Völker*, Heft 77, Strassburg, 1896, p. 214.

[5] Keller, p. 76, 6.

[6] *Fsp.* 62, 14.

[7] Keller, p. 71, 13.

[8] *Fsp.* 62, 7–9.

Throughout, the ironical description of the girl, as if portraying beauty, is that employed by Sachs in treating his similar character.[1] Finally, in Folz a neighbor says of the girl in question:

Sie was mein knechten gesoten und gepraten,[2]

and in a Schwank, where other traces of Folz are seen, Sachs writes:

Mag ewer weder gsottn noch praten.[3]

Keller, No. 38, does not bear the name of Folz, but an early print has his name on the title-page.[4] The play is *Von denen, die sich die wieber nerren lassen.* The idea is a common one with Sachs,[5] and he copies here one of the situations closely, although his main source is Boccaccio. A dull-witted lover mistakes a white cat in a window for the face of his sweetheart. Folz writes:

Sasz in dem venster ain weisze katz,
Auch hort ich mangen kus und schmatz.[6]

Of the same scene Sachs writes:

In meim kamer fenstr sas ein kacz,
Gen der det er manch kus und schmacz.[7]

It should be noted, too, that Sachs chooses Ðildapp as the name for his simpleton. This is the name used by Folz in his similar scene, while that of Boccaccio's hero is entirely different. In concluding this same play Folz has the couplet:

Lieb ist laides anfang,
Laid ist liebes ausgang.[8]

The first of these lines Sachs has borrowed as an introductory verse to *Schwank* No. 19.

In similar vein is Keller, No. 44, but from this Sachs borrowed little. Folz uses the figure, common in the sixteenth century, of a contest in marksmanship: "Ob wir pei euch ain feller schussen,"[9]

[1] One unsavory phrase from this play Sachs has used on two occasions; cf. Folz in Keller, 71, 20–21; also "Nachlese" (*Lit. Ver. in Stutt.*, XLVI), p. 6, 22–23; Sachs, *Fsp.* 80, 165–66; *Schw.* 158, 79–80.

[2] Keller, p. 69, 23.

[3] *Schw.* 133, 82.

[4] Keller, p. 1493.

[5] Cf. *Fsp.* 2; *Schw.* 17.

[6] Keller, p. 285, 13–14.

[7] *Fsp.* 62, 185–86.

[8] Keller, p. 287.

[9] Keller, p. 337, 10.

which is also found in Sachs in different form: "Ir weiber schiest ain ferrn."[1] Folz writes further:

So pin ich so manch nacht umb knetten,
Und meint mein narrenschuoch han zuotretten.[2]

This Sachs varies as follows:

Derhalb jn jederman lest gehn,
In seinen Narrenschuhen stehn,
Der hat er wol dreiszg bar zerrissen.[3]

Although Folz[4] and Sachs[5] both treat the old folk-tale of Salomon and Markolf, Sachs does not seem to have followed Folz, but is nearer the version as found in the old folk-book, at least so far as the genealogy is concerned.

A favorite theme of the old *Fastnacht* plays was that of a lawsuit, often on the terms of a proposed marriage. Sachs does not attempt this subject in his *Fastnacht* plays, but in one of his contentious scenes he uses a line found in Folz's play, *Von einem Pawrngericht.*[6] The phrase used, "Wir trügen wol wasser an einer stangen,"[7] designates those of equal height who could easily carry water together, and figuratively those of equal moral failings.

The theme found in Folz which perhaps attracted Sachs more than any other was that of the play on words due to the misunderstanding by the coarse peasant of the polite questions of a doctor. Folz has treated the subject in his play, *Von einem Artzt,*[8] and the following comparisons will show Sachs's debt as well as the prevalent conception of wit:

Folz: Sagt, get er seins gemaches icht?
. . . . . .
Secht, herr, er get wider gmach noch palt[9]
Sachs: Mag dein pauer seines gmachs gen?
. . . . . .
Ja freylich get er icz gemach.[10]

[1] *Fsp.* 73, 270.
[2] Keller, p. 339, 9–10.
[3] *Schw.* 45, 21–23.
[4] Keller, No. 60.
[5] *Fsp.* 26.
[6] Keller, No. 112.
[7] Keller, p. 957, 5; Sachs, *Fsp.* 4, 241.
[8] Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, No. 120.
[9] Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, p. 6, 10, 13.
[10] *Fsp.* 80, 183, 185.

Folz: Sag, hastu nit zue zeiten windt?
. . . . . .
Als unser hausz zu hadert stet,
Weysz ich, das windts genug drein get.[1]

Sachs: Ob dein pawer mag haben wind
. . . . . .
O windes gnůng mein pawer hat,
Weil unser haus zer hadert stat.[2]

Folz: Sag mir her schlecht, wo pistu kranck?
Secht, mein herr, hie auff diser panck.[3]

Sachs: Sag mir, wo ist dein pawern we?
Da haim im pet, als ich verste.[4]

This style of question and answer Sachs copies and inserts as incidental enlivening material in two *Fastnacht* plays, though in neither one is his main source Folz. In one of these plays,[5] too, Sachs has drawn from two other poems by Folz, so that we have the interesting case of a *Fastnacht* play whose main source was *Eulenspiegel*, but with isolated passages in closely succeeding lines copied from three different poems by Folz.[6]

Folz loved to depict the marital quarrel and so did Sachs. In the same play in which doctor and peasant misunderstand one another, Folz introduces a combat in the home, from which Sachs copies the spiciest features. Comparison shows obvious borrowing:

Folz: Und heil yeds das ander beym schopff,
Gib ich ir dan ein guts an kopff.[7]

Sachs: Wen pald ich ir ains gieb an kopff,
So erwischt sie mich pey dem schopff.[8]

Folz: Wir heyssens der siben frewd gespilt.
Wan trifft sie mich, so isz sie fro;
Triff ich, so ist mir auch also.[9]

[1] Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, p. 5, 20, 23–24.
[2] *Fsp.* 80, 170; 172–73.
[3] Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, p. 7, 25, 27; cf. Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 530 ff., 39–40.
[4] *Fsp.* 80, 139–40; cf. *Fsp.* 58, 160–61; for further similarities, cf. Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, p. 5, 26, 30–31; *Fsp.* 80, 170, 172–73; Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, p. 6, 4, 7; *Fsp.* 80, 177, 179.
[5] *Fsp.* 58.
[6] Keller, No. 120; Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 509 ff.; Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 530 ff.
[7] Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, p. 12, 5–6.
[8] *Schw.* 189, 129–30.
[9] Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, p. 12, 25–27.

Sachs: Drift sie mich den, so ist sie fro;
Driff ichs, so ist mir auch also.
Das hais wir der siebn frewd gespilt.[1]

Another phrase used by Sachs in this context is so common in the period that Sachs may easily have found it elsewhere:

Folz: So flucht sie, sich möchtz erdtrich biegen;[2]

Sachs: Unnd leug, sich möchten palcken biegen.[3]

Aside from his use of *Fastnacht* plays Sachs also drew from Folz's occasional poems. One common theme, that of supremacy in the home, he found in a poem by Folz entitled "Der pös Rauch,"[4] and copied under the same caption in a *Fastnacht* play.[5] Sachs expands his brief model so that there are few verbal similarities,[6] but he has borrowed a couplet from this poem for another occasion. Expressing complete surrender, the husband in Folz's poem says:

Des freu ich mich irsz ausz gangs ser
Wan die weil pin ich man ym hausz.[7]

In a similar mood Sachs writes:

Ja, wen mein fraw zu pad ist aus,
So pin ich die weil herr und man.[8]

Folz's shorter poems also give occasion for further borrowings by Sachs in the theme of misunderstanding. Numerous evidences of this are found in a poem by Folz, "Ein pulschafft von einer pawrn meyt," in which the ardent protestations of the lover are taken literally by the girl. The swain in Folz's version comments:

mein hercz nach euch dut sennen,[9]

and then continues:

mein hort glaupt mir fürwar
ich pin euch lenger dan ein iar

[1] *Schw.* 189, 135–37. Sachs likewise softens a coarse expression of Folz, though plainly using it as a model; cf. Keller, "Nachlese," *op. cit.*, p. 12, 36—p. 13, 1, and *Schw.* 189, 118–19.

[2] Keller, p. 12, 15.

[3] *Schw.* 30, 142; cf. *Schw.* 9, 111.

[4] Keller, pp. 1279 ff.

[5] *Fsp.* 28.

[6] Cf. Folz, p. 1280, 7, and Sachs, *Fsp.* 28, stage direction following line 114.

[7] Keller, p. 1282, 20–21.

[8] *Fsp.* 12, 128–29.

[9] Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 509 ff., 24; cf. Sachs, *Schw.* 133, 13.

von herczen gancz gewesen holt
wie wol es sich nie fügen wolt
das ich euch das ercleret lawter
do sprach sie zu mir lieber trawter
ia west ich das dir recht ernst wer
ich precht dir zwar ein panczer her.[1]

This situation is reflected in the following opening scene of a *Fastnacht* play by Sachs:

Hertz liebe Elsz, ich het ein wort
Mit euch vor langer zeit zu reden.
Ist doch so gut worden uns beden
Noch nie ins maisters hausz die zeit,
Zu sagen euch mein haymligkeyt,
Das ich euch geöffnet het mein hertz.
Die Magd redt jmmer zu spötlich:
Ich sorg, es sey nur ewer schertz.

Der Gsell: Es ist mein ernst fürwar, wolan!

Die Magd: So geht und legt ein Bantzer an![2]

The scornful suggestions of the maid that her lover take a purgative and quench the flames of love in water are copied in one of Sachs's earlier *Schwänke.*[3] The despairing conclusion of the lover is very similar in both writers. Folz writes:

nu seyt ir herter fyl dan eysen
und lat euch gar mit nicht erweichen.[4]

Sachs concludes:

Ir seyd viel herter, denn ein Felsz,
Last euch mein freundlich bitt erweichen![5]

After this it should be noted that the *Fastnacht* play of Sachs takes a new and original direction, but phrases from the same poem by Folz are found in widely varying works of Sachs, as the following illustrations will show.

Folz: ir wirt uns lecht ein weyer ab pren.[6]

Sachs: Ach, zünd mir nur kein weyer an![7]

[1] Haupt, *Ztschr.* 8, 509 ff., 15–22.

[2] *Fsp.* 4, 26–34; cf. *Fsp.* 58, 165.

[3] Folz, Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 509 ff., 26–29; Sachs, *Schw.* 133, 27–29; Folz, ll. 42–49; Sachs, 36–49; cf. also Folz, l. 51; Sachs, *Fsp.* 4, 41; Folz, ll. 90–91; Sachs, *Fsp.* 4, 70–71

[4] Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 509 ff., 80–81.

[5] *Fsp.* 4, 100–101.

[6] Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 509 ff., 84.

[7] *Fsp.* 31, 246.

Folz: se narr hab dir die feygen[1]

Folz: sam sie nie wasser het betrüpt[2]

One further similarity in the field of misunderstanding should be noted. Folz tells a story of a wandering minstrel who purposely mistakes the questions asked him and on one occasion replies:

herr wer den teuffel sol befechten
der muss sein gar pey guten mechten
so lig ich ycz in sülchen nôten
ich künt nit wol ein floch gedôten.[3]

Sachs borrows this, with other matter, from Folz to adorn a story from *Eulenspiegel* in which the rascal deceives a priest. The latter says in reply to a question:

Der dewffel, den muest uber winden
Mit kampff und in fahen und pinden.

To this Eulenspiegel replies:

Mein herr, ich lieg in solchen nôten
Das ich icz kaum ein floch kûnt dôtten.[4]

Besides these passages, which are obviously borrowed, the isolated word and phrase common to both are constantly met. The following quotations will illustrate this: "studt vol";[5] "Glotzt sam ein erstochener pock";[6] "Das nicht der schaur peym herd erschlag";[7] "und wie ir hertz nach ym schrey woffen";[8] "dar noch er offt vor engsten switzt";[9] "so sie mit diebs negeln sich krawen";[10] "sie [weiber] hant kurczen mut und lange cleider";[11]

wo haut und hor ist gancz vernichte,
da wirt der pelcz entwichte.[12]

[1] Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 509 ff., 162; cf. Sachs, *Schw.* 356, 30; 9, 38.

[2] Folz, l. 204; cf. Sachs, *Schw.* 10, 15. This phrase is, however, common in the sixteenth century.

[3] Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 530 ff., 97–100.

[4] *Fsp.* 58, 167–70.

[5] Keller, p. 1210, 18; Sachs, *Schw.* 142, 65; 283, 93.

[6] Keller, p. 1212, 20; Sachs, *Schw.* 142, 85.

[7] Keller, p. 1222, 30; Sachs, *Schw.* 16, 58.

[8] Keller, p. 1284, 17; Sachs, *Schw.* 133, 18.

[9] Keller, p. 1284, 7; Sachs, *Fsp.* 4, 82.

[10] Keller, p. 1289, 1; Sachs, *Schw.* 178, 70; *Lit. Ver. in Stutt.*, CXL, 198, 20; Grimm, *Wb.*, 2, 1097, refers to Sachs only as a source for this phrase.

[11] A. L. Mayer, *Die Meisterlieder des Hans Folz. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, Bd. XII, No. 20, 67; Sachs, *Schw.* 70, 57–58.

[12] Mayer, No. 38, 173–74; Sachs, *Schw.* 7, 244–45.

The model for Sachs's characteristic concluding couplet, in which he names himself as the author, was very common in Folz's work. Folz concludes his poem "Von Allem hausrot"[1] with the couplet:

Die folgen meiner treuen ler
Und dancken hans foltz barbirer.

Another poem has this conclusion:

Doch schuff die weyshaitt das umker
Also spricht Hans foltz Barbierer.[2]

With these may be compared the following by Sachs:

Das sie in ordnůng fein aufwachs,
Das wůnscht aller gselschaft Hans Sachs.[3]

So wirt oft schimpf aůs ernstling sachen,
Da man pesorget gros geůer.
So sprichet Hans Sachs, schuemacher.[4]

It may not be out of place, in conclusion, to hazard a conjecture concerning the authorship of one of the *Sterzinger Fastnacht* plays.[5] Two of these, Nos. 19 and 20, are simply plays by Folz with some verbal and dialect changes, proving that the compiler, Vigil Raber, whose collection dates from 1510 knew the work of Folz. No. 22 of the Sterzinger plays shows some interesting peculiarities. It is entitled *Ain Zendprecherey*, and has remarkable similarities to Sachs's Schwank No. 94, *Der zanprecher handel*, as the following comparisons show:

Sterz: Woll her, wol her, Ir frauen und man!
Welher hat ain peser zan[6]

Sachs: Her, her, wer hat ein pôsen zan![7]

Sterz: Ain peser zan, ain peser gast,
Der last den man weder rue noch rast.[8]

Sachs: Ein pôser zan ein pôser gast,
Lest dem man weder rw noch rast![9]

[1] Keller, p. 1215 ff.
[2] Haupt, *Ztschr.*, 8, 537 ff., 131–32.
[3] *Schw.* 104, 63–64.
[4] *Schw.* 64, 60–62.
[5] *Sterzinger Spiele, hsg. von O. Zingerle*, Wien, 1886. Wiener Neudrucke, No. 9.
[6] No. 22, 45–46.
[7] *Schw.* 94, 60.
[8] No. 22, 61–62.
[9] *Schw.* 94, 61–62.

The similarity here is so close that some connection is plainly indicated. The date of writing would admit of the possibility that Sachs used Raber, but, as there are no close similarities elsewhere, a common source for the two would seem more likely.

Several indications point to Folz as the possible author of the poem which Raber transcribed and Sachs followed in general theme. The method of treatment is one common to Sachs elsewhere when he was plainly influenced by Folz. The main thought is followed freely, and phrases that struck the writer as forcible are copied closely. One of the phrases quoted above is used twice in a short poem by Folz.[1] In Raber's collection this play follows very closely on two admittedly by Folz. In discussing the Sterzinger plays Michels considers this one a genuine Tyrolean product, but he does see resemblances to the Nürnberg variety. He writes in conclusion: "Daneben hat es sonderbarer Weise den nürnbergischen Reim, ston: thon (240 f. geschrieben ston: thain d.i. tuon). Mit dem Zank und der Schlägerei, bei der der Zahnbrecher zur Thür hinausfliegt, erinnert es etwas an Folzische und Sachsische Dramen."[2]

These facts, taken together, lead to the conjecture that Raber has here put an unsigned poem by Folz into the Tyrolean dialect, and that Sachs has also used this same poem by Folz as the source of his Schwank No. 94.

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[1] "Rue noch rast," Keller, p. 1283, 10, 13.

[2] *Studien*, pp. 58 f.

THE HEALING OF ORESTES

Was ist es? Leidet der Göttergleiche?
Weh mir! Es haben die Uebermächtigen
Der Heldenbrust grausame Qualen
Mit ehrnen Ketten fest aufgeschmiedet.
—GOETHE, *Iphigenie*, III, 2 (1306–9)

These four lines have been described as the most difficult passage of the play.[1] The everlasting punishment of Tantalus strikes a discordant note in Orestes' vision of peace and reconciliation as he emerges from the state of unconsciousness brought on by his spiritual and physical collapse. His imagination pictures the royal house of Atreus a united and reconciled family. Thyestes and Atreus walk side by side in familiar converse. Agamemnon leads Clytemnestra fondly by the hand. Orestes is himself welcomed into their midst as the long-lost son. But Tantalus, the progenitor of the race, is missing, and Orestes ascribes his absence to the unrelenting vengeance which the gods have wreaked upon his unfortunate ancestor. Critics have attempted to explain this apparent incongruity on moral and religious grounds with the help of the traditional account of Tantalus' downfall and expulsion from Olympus.[2] Kuno Fischer holds that Tantalus was the only member of the race who had sinned against the gods themselves, whereas the crimes of the descendants were committed against men.[3] This interpretation scarcely agrees with the conception underlying the play that the gods are conciliatory and ready to pardon the truly repentant sinner.

Frick[4] suggests that Tantalus' rebellious spirit was still unbroken and that the gods could not pardon him until he had submitted to their higher will. Both these critics have overlooked the important fact that throughout the play Goethe suits his own convenience in his treatment of the ancient story and Greek mythology. He would by no means feel obliged to reproduce for its own sake the

[1] Cf. Evers, *Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris*, p. 53.
[2] Cf. Kuno Fischer, *Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris*, pp. 29 ff.
[3] Cf. Winkler, *Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris*, p. 163.
[4] Cf. Frick, *Wegweiser durch die klassischen Schuldramen*, V, 6, p. 381.

mythological account of Tantalus' punishment. Iphigenia's conception of her duty toward the barbarous Taurians is not to be explained by adducing Greek ethical ideals but by analyzing Iphigenia's character as it was conceived in Goethe's mind. Similarly the explanation of Orestes' vision of the everlasting punishment of Tantalus should be sought in the analysis of Orestes' character. From this point of view the question becomes psychological, or rather psychopathological, owing to Orestes' abnormal state of mind.

Orestes is subject to intermittent attacks of incipient insanity in the form of hallucinations. Constant brooding over the matricide and intense remorse for the irretrievable act have conjured up before his mind the avenging Furies. They are described as the companions of doubt and remorse, whereas they are really the external projection of these mental states. In one of his lucid intervals, Orestes is brought into the presence of Iphigenia, the priestess of Diana. She approaches him sympathetically, loosens tenderly his bonds, and promises him every assistance within her power. She manifests deep interest in the fate of the house of Agamemnon and urges him to relate the events subsequent to the fall of Troy. The narration of these events culminates in the description of the murder of Clytemnestra and the confession that he, Orestes, is the murderer. The confession is logically motivated in the consoling influence of Iphigenia's personality and the confidence she inspires in Orestes. But the vivid narration of these events has a disastrous effect upon Orestes' mind. Doubt and remorse gain the upper hand. Memory projects the Furies into his present experience. He shows two marked signs of approaching aberration—the conviction of his own defiling influence and the desire for voluntary death. Iphigenia realizes the seriousness of his condition and begins a heroic struggle against the powers of darkness, ending with the eloquent appeal, which is at the same time the theme of the play:

> "O wenn vergoss'nen Mutterblutes Stimme
> Zur Hölle hinab mit dumpfen Tönen ruft;
> Soll nicht der reinen Schwester Segenswort
> Hilfreiche Götter von Olympus rufen?"

Orestes' personality is not yet so impaired that he is insensible to this appeal. Iphigenia's words stir the innermost depths of his

being and effect a tremendous emotional upheaval. The long-repressed emotional system of love—love for father, mother, and sister, even the erotic complex rises to the threshold of consciousness and seeks recognition. But Orestes' vision is so clouded that he has no clear conception of what is taking place within him. So great is his confusion that when Iphigenia declares herself to be his sister and attempts to take him in her arms, he misinterprets her words and actions as the blandishments of a wanton Bacchante. It requires the utmost exertion of Iphigenia's superior spiritual force together with a direct and concise presentation of fact to bring him back to a sense of reality. She says:

"Sie ist hier
Die längst verlorne Schwester. Vom Altar
Riss' mich die Götter weg und retteten
Hierher mich in ihr eigenes Heiligtum.
Gefangen bist du, dargestellt zum Opfer,
Und findest in der Priesterin die Schwester."

Her victory over the powers of darkness is of short duration. Orestes recognizes her as his sister but a pessimistic and incoherent train of thought ascribes her presence at this moment to the vengeance of the gods. The final scene in the tragedy of the house of Atreus is to be the sacrificial murder of Orestes by his sister Iphigenia. His summons to the Furies to witness the welcome spectacle is an indication of approaching mental collapse. But suddenly he notices that Iphigenia is weeping. A great wave of pity and love sweeps over him and he cries:

"Weine nicht! Du hast nicht Schuld
Seit meinen ersten fahren habe ich nichts
Geliebt, wie ich dich lieben könnte, Schwester."

The repressed emotional system of love at last asserts itself, and for the moment it would seem that the healing of Orestes has been effected by this catharsis of emotion. But the mental and physical strain is too great for him, and he falls unconscious with the words:

"Ja, schwinge deinen Stahl, verschone nicht,
Zerreisse diesen Busen, und eröffne
Den Strömen, die hier sieden, einen Weg."

The first words uttered by Orestes upon regaining consciousness indicate a completely altered state of mind. He says:

"Noch einen! Reiche mir aus Lethes Fluten den letzten kühlen Becher der Erquickung."

This relief is twofold, physical and mental. We must assume that he remained unconscious for some time, during Iphigenia's search for Pylades. Deep sleep contributed to the restoration of the physical self and reacted upon the mind. Here Goethe draws from his own experience, in which he had often felt the beneficent effect of sleep upon his spiritual well-being. Orestes' mental relief finds expression in the words:

"Bald ist der Kampf des Lebens aus dem Busen hinweggespült"

and arises from the illusion that he has left behind the world of sorrow and anguish. The importance of this illusion in the healing of Orestes cannot be overemphasized. Orestes falls unconscious in the belief that he is paying the penalty for his unnatural crime. The very fact that he goes through this experience even in delusion must have a purifying and cleansing effect upon his soul. The same device is used by Kleist in *Prinz von Homburg*. The prince is led out blindfolded as if for execution and falls in a swoon, believing that his last hour has struck. The third and most important factor in Orestes' altered state of mind is of course the catharsis of emotion mentioned above. The repressed stream of emotion finds an outlet in a great wave of pity for his sister. Thus much of Iphigenia's "reine Menschlichkeit," pity and love, is poured into his soul and strikes the keynote for the vision of peace and reconciliation which he now experiences.

Throughout the vision Orestes is practically shut off from sensory contact with the outside world. That he has slight auditory contact with his immediate environment is indicated by the line,

"Welch ein Gelispel höre ich in den Zweigen,"

and this sensory impulse gives direction to his imaginings. The rustling in the trees suggests the presence of the Shades of the lower world who approach to welcome the new arrival. With this beginning his vision assumes the form of a fulfilment of those desires which

have been repressed in his waking moments. He sees the reconciliation of Atreus and Thyestes, of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, and becomes himself a participant in the joyful family reunion. But Orestes remarks that one member of the race, Tantalus, is missing and when he requests the Shades to conduct him into the presence of the revered ancestor, they hesitate and turn away. It does not seem unnatural to ascribe the absence of Tantalus and the recession of the Shades to Orestes' gradual visual awakening with the accompanying increased critical activity of mind. The words addressed to the Shades:

"Ihr scheint zu schaudern und euch wegzuwenden"

surely indicate a blending of dream and reality. Coincident with the visual awakening, the dream creatures—the projection of the mental states of peace and reconciliation—vanish before the censorship of mind. As the mind struggles to gain a sense of reality, memory suggests from past experience the traditional account of Tantalus' suffering as an explanation of his absence now, and he asks the question:

"Leidet der Göttergleiche?"

Of equally great importance in bridging over the gap between reality and unreality is the fact that with the memory of the punishment of Tantalus the pleasure complex (peace and reconciliation) departs from him and the pain complex (suffering before his collapse) re-enters consciousness. The way back to reality leads through the identification of the dream self with the suffering self. The fact that Orestes follows the question "Leidet der Göttergleiche?" with the exclamation "Weh mir" would indicate that he transfers the suffering of Tantalus to himself or at least confuses his own suffering with that of his ancestor. The final words of the monologue:

"Es haben die Uebermächtigen
Der Heldenbrust grausame Qualen,
Mit ehrnen Ketten fest aufgeschmiedet,"

although referring primarily to Tantalus may be interpreted as referring indirectly to Orestes. There is no reason to assume that Orestes has a vivid mental picture of the tortures of Tantalus. The words should be taken in a generally descriptive sense.

Of course the predominance of the suffering complex is of short duration. At this critical moment, Orestes is again subjected to the beneficent influence of Iphigenia, who comes on the scene with Pylades. Orestes' visual awakening is not yet complete. He recognizes Iphigenia as his sister and Pylades as his friend, but still imagines that his environment is the lower world. The elegiac tone in which he greets them marks a transitional stage from the sorrowful mood at the close of the vision to the mood of exultant joy when he finally regains consciousness. As he still wavers between reality and unreality, he hears Iphigenia's pathetic prayer to both Diana and Apollo to save all that is dear to her from the raving of insanity. Pylades makes a direct appeal to his wakening senses by calling his attention to the sacred grove and the sunlight, "which does not shine for the dead," and finally summons him, as a man of action, to do his part in the work of rescue and return to Greece. Iphigenia's prayer and Pylades' appeal are sufficient to effect that complete restoration of personality for which the way has been paved by the catharsis of emotion, refreshing sleep, and the imagined atonement. The theme of the play has been described as the influence of "soul upon soul." Applied to Iphigenia and Orestes, this influence consists in the remodeling of Orestes' soul on the pattern of Iphigenia's. Her love and sympathy for him banish despair and remorse which are replaced by love and sympathy for her. But Iphigenia's crowning achievement is the restoration of Orestes' mind of that rockbound faith in the benevolence of the gods, which is the cornerstone of her character.

In thus following step by step the healing of Orestes, it has been my object to show that it is quite unnecessary to assume a supernatural influence and still less that Orestes' vision is a mere symbolic poetic representation of Orestes' spiritual regeneration, but rather that Goethe, with that intuitive knowledge of human nature, which is the inalienable possession of creative genius, clearly indicated the natural mental processes by which this seeming miracle was performed.

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THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE *KINDER- UND HAUS-MÄRCHEN* OF THE BROTHERS GRIMM. III

It is not necessary to follow Dr. von der Leyen through the other divisions of the *Märchen* which he ingeniously establishes. It is possible that he means no more than that the tone of certain *Märchen* corresponds to the tone of a certain period in German literature and that those stories may have been remodeled to suit the prevailing literary fashion. It hardly seems possible that he means that the *Märchen* were actually composed out of older material at the periods he indicates. The merit of his classification consists, in his eyes, in the fact that "no matter how incomplete it is and must remain, it still makes clear how the development of the German literature is reflected in the *Märchen*, and shows in all its vicissitudes the forces which were ever active in that literature. What a wonderful thing it is that the childhood of mankind and the progress of our entire German poetry (*Dichtung*) is revealed to our children in the German *Märchen!*"

II. HISTORY OF THE INDIVIDUAL TALES[1]

Volume I, 1812

No. 4. "Gut Kegel- und Kartenspiel." Reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 22. This Hessian story was replaced in 1819 and subsequent editions by a Mecklenburg version entitled: "Von einem der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen." In the *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, six other versions are mentioned, two of which, the fifth from Zwehrn and the sixth from Paderborn, are printed at length. They are also given in Bolte and Polívka, I, 25, 28. The version in the first edition contains only one, and the final, test of courage.

No. 6. "Von der Nachtigall und der Blindschleiche." Reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 8, and in Bolte and Polívka, I, 57 (6*a*). This story was replaced in the second and subsequent editions by "Der treue Johannes." In the "Anhang" to the first edition, Panzer I, 392, the editors say: "Aus dem Französischen übersetzt. Mémoires de l'académie celtique, Tome 2, 204, 205. Vergl. T. 4, 102. Das Märchen und der Glauben findet sich unter den Solognots. Die französischen Reime ahmen den Ton der Nachtigall glücklicher nach:

> Je ferai mon nid si haut, si haut, si haut, si bas!
> Que tu ne le trouveras pas.

[1] The tales not mentioned in this list are supposed to be continued through the seven editions, or the editions following their first appearance, with the usual stylistic changes only. Forty-seven tales in 1812, and fifty-three in 1815, have persisted in the subsequent editions and have undergone stylistic changes only.

Si haut! si haut! ahmt den Nachtigallgesang nach wie zicküth! zicküth! im Märchen von Joringel." An interesting account of the way in which the Grimms treated their source may be found in H. Hamann, *Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen und ihre Bearbeitung durch die Brüder Grimm.* Berlin, 1906 (Palaestra, XLVII), p. 19. This story was omitted in subsequent editions on account of its foreign origin. In the preface to the second edition (1819) the editors say: "Was wir nun bisher für unsere Sammlung gewonnen hatten, wollten wir bei dieser zweiten Auflage dem Buch einverbleiben (*sic* l. einverleiben). Daher ist der erste Band fast ganz umgearbeitet, das Unvollständige ergänzt, manches einfacher und reiner erzählt, und nicht viel Stücke werden sich finden, die nicht in besserer Gestalt erscheinen. Es ist noch einmal geprüft, was verdächtig schien, d.h. was etwa hätte fremden Ursprungs oder durch Zusätze verfälscht sein können, und dann alles ausgeschieden." In accordance with this plan of making the collection exclusively German, a number of stories in the first edition were eliminated, e.g., No. 8, "Die Hand mit dem Messer," No. 33, "Der gestiefelte Kater," No. 62, "Blaubart," etc.

No. 7. "Von dem gestohlenen Heller." Replaced in 1819 and subsequent editions by "Der gute Handel," and relegated, with slight stylistic changes, to Vol. II, No. 154.

No. 8. "Die Hand mit dem Messer." Omitted in subsequent editions on account of its foreign origin. The collectors say in the "Anhang" to the first edition (ed. Panzer, I, 392): "Ein schottisches Märchen oder Volkslied, das Mrs. Grant, in ihren 'Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland,' London, 1811, Vol. I, 285, 286, erzählt." Reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 9, and Bolte and Polívka, I, 69 (8*a*). Hamann, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23, reprints the version of Mrs. Grant. Tonnelat calls attention to the verbal criticism of Achim von Arnim (R. Steig, *op. cit.*, p. 263): "Solche Schwierigkeiten sind oft in einzelnen Ausdrücken, z. B. 23, ein stumpfes Geräth: wenn da Torfmesser stände, so würde es mit dem Messer des Riesen stimmen, sonst wäre wohl Spaten für beide besser, es klingt dann etwas natürlicher, denn im Torfe finden sich häufig Wurzelknollen, die einer Hand ähnlich sehen." Tonnelat says very sensibly, "Si l'observation d'Arnim leur avait paru décisive, il leur eût été aisé d'introduire dans le texte allemand le terme de *Torfmesser* ou celui de *Spaten*. Il fallait une raison bien plus générale et bien plus forte pour les décider à renoncer au conte tout entier." This reason he finds in the fact that the story was of foreign origin.

No. 14. "Von dem bösen Flachsspinnen." Replaced in subsequent editions by "Die drei Spinnerinnen," a fuller version from the principality of Corvei. From the former Hessian version the three maidens were retained, each afflicted with her own blemish on account of spinning.

No. 16. "Herr Fix und Fertig." Replaced in subsequent editions by "Die Schlangenblätter." A résumé of the story replaced may be found

in *Notes* (III, 110), under No. 62, "Die Bienenkönigin," of which it is a version, and probably omitted on that account. The complete story is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, II, 19, in the notes to No. 62, mentioned above.

No. 20. "Von einem tapfern Schneider," I, II. In the first edition the story consisted of two separate versions, the first was taken from Martin Montanus, "Wegkürtzer" (Montanus, *Schwankbücher hrsg. von J. Bolte*, p. 19, *Notes*, p. 560), the second from oral tradition. From 1819 on replaced by a single version combined from Montanus and a Hessian variant.

No. 22. "Wie Kinder Schlachtens mit einander gespielt haben," I, II. Replaced from 1819 on by "Das Räthsel." The story, in two forms, of the first edition, is reprinted in Tonnelat, pp. 11–12, and in Bolte and Polívka, I, 202 (22*a*). It was in regard to this story that Achim von Arnim (*op. cit.*, p. 263) wrote to Jacob Grimm: "Schon habe ich eine Mutter darüber klagen hören, dass das Stück, wo ein Kind das andere schlachtet darin sei, sie könnt es ihren Kindern nicht in die Hand geben." Jacob replied (*op. cit.*, p. 270): "Jene Geschichten von Schlachten und Erschiessen sind tragische Fälle, die wie Tragödien ins gemein keine Vorsicht und keine Verrechnung verhüten kann, denn das Böse sucht und findet sich Wege, an die nimmermehr keine Seele gedacht hätte; das Gute gehet blind an denen vorbei, die andern ganz offen vorliegen. Ich glaube, dass alle Kinder das ganze Märchenbuch in Gottes Namen lesen und sich dabei überlassen werden können." However, the story was omitted in all subsequent editions.

No. 25. "Die drei Raben." In subsequent editions the number three is changed to seven, and another brief introduction from a Vienna story is added.

No. 27. "Der Tod und der Gänsehirt." Reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 13, and in Bolte and Polívka, I, 260. This story was taken from Harsdörfer, *Der grosse Schauplatz jämmerlicher Mordgeschichten*. Hamburg, 1663, p. 651. This story was omitted in subsequent editions, as Hamann, *op. cit.*, p. 28, thinks, on account of its poor contents ("wegen seines dürftigen Inhalts"). Tonnelat, p. 13, says: "C'est sans doute à cause de sa médiocrité que ce conte a disparu de la 2e édition." The Grimms had eliminated the moral and allegorical features of the original and then, Tonnelat thinks, "le conte leur apparut trop insignificant pour être conservé."

No. 32. "Der gescheite Hans." In 1812 two versions were given: (1) from the Main country, (2) from Frey's *Gartengesellschaft*, No. 1. After 1819 (2) was omitted and relegated to *Notes*, 1822, 1856. It is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 312.

No. 33. "Der gestiefelte Kater." Reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 13, and in Bolte and Polívka, I, 325. According to the last-named authorities the story was related by Jeannette Hassenpflug in Cassel in the autumn

of 1812, and omitted in the second edition on account of its evident dependence upon Perrault's "Chat Botté," which was circulated in printed German translations. In the *Notes*, 1822, 1856, a reference is made to the story in "Bruchstücke," No. 4, and German versions from Saxony and Austria are mentioned. Tonnelat is under the erroneous impression that the Grimms' sources were Perrault and Basile, and remarks that if they had collected this story from oral tradition, they would not have failed to mention it.

No. 34. "Hansens Trine." This version, which Bolte and Polívka say was told to the brothers by Dortchen Wild in the garden at Cassel, September 29, 1811, was replaced in 1819 by a variant from Zwehrn told by Frau Viehmännin. The first version is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 335. Tonnelat, as in several other cases, regards this as a mere change of name. In reality it is the substitution of another version which seemed better to the brothers.

No. 35. "Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder." Replaced in 1819 and subsequent editions by "Der Schneider im Himmel," and relegated to No. 157. Change of position only.

No. 36. "Von dem Tischen deck dich, Goldesel und Knüppel aus dem Sack." The story in 1812 consisted of two versions: (1) related by Jeannette Hassenpflug in Cassel in the autumn of 1812, and (2) a second Hessian version related by Dortchen Wild, October 1, 1811. This second version was omitted from 1819 on, and reprinted in *Notes*, 1822, 1856, in a condensed form. The full version is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 349. Tonnelat does not mention this change, but on p. 73 gives an elaborate account of the stylistic changes in this story in the second edition.

No. 37. "Von der Serviette, dem Kanonenhütlein und dem Horn." Replaced from 1819 on by "Daumesdick," and, in a fuller version, relegated to No. 54. The original version of 1812 is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 464.

No. 43. "Die wunderliche Gasterei." After 1819 this story was replaced by another version of literary origin. The original form is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 48, and in Bolte and Polívka, I, 375. The Grimms say in *Notes*, 1822, 1856: "Eine bessere und vollständige Ueberlieferung als in den früheren Ausgaben, dabei ist benutzt ein Gedicht von Meier Teddy in dem *Frauentaschenbuch*, 1823, S. 360."

No. 54. "Hans Dumm." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Ranzen, das Hütlein und Hörnlein." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 17, and in Bolte and Polívka, I, 485. See Tonnelat, p. 18, for a lengthy discussion of the reasons which probably induced the Grimms to omit this story. These reasons are briefly: a lack of logical arrangement in the story, and references to matters generally avoided with children.

No. 58. "Vom treuen Gevatter Sperling." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Hund und der Sperling." In the *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, the editors

say: "Nach drei wenig abweichenden Erzählungen, die vollständigste ist aus Zwehrn und liegt zu Grund, die zweite, gleichfalls aus Hessen, hat einen andern Eingang." This second version given in the *Notes* in a condensed form is the one printed in 1812, and reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 515. Tonnelat, p. 6, contents himself with saying: "Le No. 58, 'Vom getreuen Gevatter Sperling,' est devenue 'Der Hund und der Sperling.'"

No. 59. "Prinz Schwan." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Frieder und das Catherlieschen," and relegated to *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, as a variant of No. 127, "Der Eisenofen." It is there reprinted with stylistic changes and the usual condensation.

No. 60. "Das Goldei." Replaced from 1819 on by "Die zwei Brüder," a fuller version. In 1812 the story is called a fragment. It is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 528. Not mentioned by Tonnelat.

No. 61. "Von dem Schneider der bald reich wurde." Replaced from 1819 on by "Das Bürle." The original version, narrated April 18, 1811, by the Hassenpflugs in Cassel, is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, II, 1, and with the usual condensation in *Notes*, 1822 and 1856. Not mentioned by Tonnelat.

No. 62. "Blaubart." Replaced from 1819 on by "Die Bienenkönigin," No. 64, II, in 1812. Blaubart was omitted on account of its supposed foreign origin, although the Grimms had it from the Hassenpflugs in Cassel. The story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 19 and in Bolte and Polívka, I, 404. The Grimms say of this story, *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, to No. 46, "Fitchers Vogel": "Augenscheinlich enthält unser Märchen die Sage von Blaubart. Wir haben diese zwar auch deutsch gehört und in der ersten Ausgabe Nr. 62 mitgetheilt, aber da sie von Perraults 'La barbe bleue' nur durch einiges Fehlende und einen besonderen Umstand abwich, das Französische auch an dem Ort, wo wir sie hörten, bekannt sein konnte, so haben wir sie im Zweifel nicht wieder aufgenommen."

No. 63. "Goldkinder." Replaced from 1819 on by 1812, No. 64, III, "Die drei Federn," a version from Hesse, reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, II, 30. The story of "Goldkinder" from 1819 on is relegated to No. 85, "hier aber ausführlicher erzählt," Bolte and Polívka, I, p. 204.

No. 66. "Hurleburlebutz." Replaced from 1819 on by "Häsischenbraut." The original story is relegated to *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, No. 127, "Der Eisenofen," of which it is a variant.

No. 67. "Der König mit dem Löwen." Replaced from 1819 on by a slightly changed version entitled "Die zwölf Jäger."

No. 68. "Von dem Sommer- und Wintergarten." Replaced from 1819 on by "De Gaudeif un sien Meester." The original story is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, II, 231, as a variant of No. 88, "Das singende springende Löweneckerchen," and is given in the usual condensed form in *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, to No. 88.

No. 70. "Der Okerlo." Replaced from 1819 on by "Die drei Glückskinder." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 22, and in Bolte and Polívka, II, 77 (70*a*). Tonnelat, *op. cit.*, thinks the story was omitted because it is practically a replica of No. 56, "Der liebste Roland."

No. 71. "Prinzessin Mäusehaut." Replaced from 1819 on by "Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt." The original story, a variant of No. 65, "Allerleirauh," is reprinted by Tonnelat, p. 24, and Bolte and Polívka, II, 47. The Grimms said in the note to "Allerlei-Rauh" (1812): "Die Prinzessin Mäusehaut, No. 71, ist dieselbe mythische Person, aber die Sage bis auf einiges ganz verschieden."

No. 72. "Das Birnli will nit fallen." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Wolf und der Mensch." The original story is reprinted by Tonnelat, p. 25, and Bolte and Polívka, II, 100 (72*a*). Tonnelat, *op. cit.*, thinks the story was omitted in subsequent editions on account of being in verse, and remarks: "Mais en l'admettant dans leur première édition, les frères Grimm prouvaient combien ils étaient portés à considérer leur œuvre comme une suite du Wunderhorn."

No. 73. "Das Mordschloss." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Wolf und der Fuchs." In the notes to 1812, the editors say: "Eine Art Blaubart, aber mit anderm, auch sonst schon bekanntem Ausgang. . . . . Das Ganze aus dem Holländischen übersetzt, das wir aus dem Munde einer Fräulein aufgeschrieben haben. Hier möge das Original selbst stehen." Then follows the Dutch original. When the story was omitted, according to Tonnelat, on account of being a variant of No. 46, "Fitchers Vogel," a somewhat condensed and stylistically improved version of the original was given in the *Notes*, 1822 and 1856 to No. 56. The full original is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 407 (notes to No. 46, "Fitchers Vogel").

No. 74. "Von Johannes-Wassersprung und Caspar-Wassersprung." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Fuchs und die Frau Gevatterin." The original is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, I, 531, in notes to No. 60, "Die zwei Brüder," of which our story is only a variant and hence omitted after the first edition. The beginning of the story is given in the *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, to No. 60, "Die zwei Brüder."

No. 75. "Vogel Phönix." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Fuchs und die Katze." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 28, and Bolte and Polívka, I, 276, in notes to No. 29, "Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren," of which our story is a variant and hence subsequently omitted.

No. 77. "Vom Schreiner und Drechsler." Replaced from 1819 on by "Das kluge Gretel." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 29, and Bolte and Polívka, II, 131 (77*a*). In the notes to 1812, the editors say: "Nur unvollständig erhalten; schon dass das Märchen von dem Drechsler abspringt, dem auch wohl das folgende selbst begegnen

könnte, ist unrecht." Bolte and Polívka, I, 132, print a fuller version, "Das holzerne Pferd," collected about 1820 and preserved among the Grimm MSS.

No. 81. "Der Schmidt und der Teufel." Replaced from 1819 on by "Bruder Lustig." The original story is reprinted by Bolte and Polívka, II, 168, in notes to No. 82, "De Spielhansel," of which it is a variant. It is also found in the usual condensed form in the *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, to No. 82.

No. 82. "Die drei Schwestern." Replaced from 1819 on by "De Spielhansel." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 30, and in Bolte and Polívka, II, 190 (82*a*). In the notes to the first edition the editors say: "Dieses Märchen wird oft gehört, aber allezeit stimmt es der Sache nach mit der auch zum Volksbuch gewordenen Erzählung des Musäus, so dass man es auch hier so finden wird. Er scheint nur die ihm eigenthümliche etwas breite Manier und die Episode von dem Zauberer Zornebocke, ferner die Namen hinzugethan zu haben, Reinald das Wunderkind ausgenommen. . . . . Auch sonst ist aus Musäus beibehalten was noch volksmässig schien." In a letter to Achim von Arnim, Steig, *op. cit.*, p. 255, Jacob Grimm says: "Das schlechteste Märchen der ganzen Sammlung halte ich No. 82, von den drei Schwestern, das blos aus Musäus ausgezogen ist, und wiewohl unstreitig ächt und unerfunden fehlt ihm durchweg das Frische der mündlichen Erzählung."

No. 83. "Das arme Mädchen." Replaced from 1819 on, under this number, by "Hans im Glück," and relegated to No. 153 in 1819 and subsequent editions, with the changed title of "Die Sternthaler," and a few stylistic alterations. In 1819 the title is "Das Sternthaler," 1837, "Der Sternthaler," and so on until 1857, when it is "Der Sternthaler" in the index, but "Die Sternthaler" in the body of the work and so subsequently.

No. 84. "Die Schwiegermutter." Replaced from 1819 on by "Hans heirathet," and relegated, with some differences, to "Bruchstücke," No. 5, 1822 and 1856, with the title "Die böse Schwiegermutter." At the end of the story in 1812, the editors say: "Fragment: beim drittenmal schlachtet der Koch eine Hirschküh. Nun hat aber die junge Königin ihre Noth, dass sie ihre Kinder vom Schreien abhält, damit die Alte nicht hört, sie seien noch am Leben, u. s. w."

No. 85. "Fragmente": (*a*) "Schneeblume"; (*b*) "Prinzessin mit der Laus"; (*c*) "Vom Prinz Johannes"; and (*d*) "Der gute Lappen." These four "Fragments" were replaced from 1819 on by "Die Goldkinder," which was No. 63 in 1812, but less fully related. Three of the four "Fragments" are reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 37, and in Bolte and Polívka, II, 204, No. 85*a*, *b*, *c*. No. 85*b*, "Prinzessin mit der Laus," was alone of the four considered worthy of preservation, and was relegated to "Bruchstücke," 1822, 1856, No. 2, with the title "Die Laus,"

and slight stylistic changes. No. 85*d*, in 1812 is entitled "Der gute Lappen," and so in Tonnelat, p. 38, but in Bolte and Polívka, II, 205, it is entitled "Das gute Pflaster," and the word "Pflaster" is everywhere substituted for "Lappen," for what reason I do not understand.

Volume II, 1815

No. 9. "Der Geist im Glas." Replaced, as to number, from 1819 on by "Der alte Hildebrand," and transferred to No. 99 in 1819 and subsequent editions.

No. 13. "Der Froschprinz." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Geist im Glas," and relegated to *Notes*, 1822, 1856, with the usual stylistic changes. It is reprinted in full by Bolte and Polívka, I, 1, in notes to No. 1, "Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich," of which it is a variant and for that reason omitted in subsequent editions and relegated to the volume of *Notes*.

No. 15. "Der Teufel Grünrock." Replaced in 1843 and subsequent editions by "Der Bärenhäuter." The original story is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, II, 437, with the remark: "Diese ['Der Bärenhäuter'] erst 1843 eingesetzte Fassung ist, obwohl die Anmerkungen von 1856 nichts darüber berichten, umgearbeitet aus der paderbornischen Aufzeichnung die seit 1815, Nr. 15 (1819, Nr. 101) 'als Der Teufel Grünrock an dieser Stelle stand, mit Benutzung von Grimmelshausens 'Erstem Bärenhäuter'" (1670).

No. 18. "Die treuen Thiere." Replaced in 1857 by "Die klugen Leute." The original is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 49, and in Bolte and Polívka, II, 415 (No. 104*a*). The reason for the omission of the original story is given in the *Notes*, 1856, to No. 104: "In den bisherigen Ausgaben findet sich hier das Märchen von den treuen Thieren, das aber, seiner genauen Übereinstimmung wegen, die 'Relations of Ssidi Kur' muss zur Quelle behabt haben, wiewohl die *Gesta Romanorum* und der *Pentamerone*, 3, 5, und Meier, Nr. 14, ein verwandtes enthalten."

No. 21. "Die Krähen." Replaced in 1843 and subsequent editions by "Die beiden Wanderer." The original story is reprinted in Bolte and Polívka, II, 468. This is the story mentioned above, p. 10 (of general history of the collection), which was contributed by August von Haxthausen, to whom it was told one night at an outpost by a comrade in the war of 1813, who was shot dead behind him the next day; see *Briefwechsel aus der Jugendzeit*, p. 223, and Steig, *op. cit.*, p. 314. The original story was a Mecklenburg version, the one that replaced it was from Holstein. Bolte and Polívka say of the former: "Die mecklenburgische Fassung ist also besser überliefert, abgesehen von dem Eingang welcher ursprünglich eine Wette enthielt."

No. 33. "Der Faule und der Fleissige." Replaced from 1819 on by "Die sieben Schwaben." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 39, and in Bolte and Polívka, II, 560 (119*a*). Tonnelat, p. 40, says of this

story: "Le conte n'est qu'une parabole; c'est vraisemblablement à cause de ses tendances moralisatrices que les frères Grimm l'ont retranché."

No. 35. "Die himmlische Hochzeit." Replaced from 1819 on by "Der Königssohn der sich vor nichts fürchtete." Of the original story the editors said in the notes to the first edition (ed. Panzer, II, 344): "Gränzt an die Legende und ist doch auch ganz kindermärchenhaft." When in 1819 the editors introduced a new category of stories, the *Kinderlegenden*, they transferred to it "Die himmlische Hochzeit" as No. 9.

No. 36. "Die lange Nase." Replaced from 1819 on by another version of the same story from German Bohemia, "Der Krautesel." The original version from Zwehrn, was relegated to *Notes*, 1822, 1856, with the usual stylistic changes and condensation.

No. 43. "Der Löwe und der Frosch." Replaced from 1819 on by "Die vier kunstreichen Brüder." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 40. That author says: "Nous ne savons pour quoi ce conte a été retranché. Peut-être les frères Grimm le considéraient-ils comme étranger."

No. 44. "Der Soldat und der Schreiner." Replaced from 1819 on by "Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 42. Tonnelat says: "Malgré les nombreux traits qui apparentent ce récit aux contes les plus aimés du public, les frères Grimm voulurent le retrancher parce qu'il leur paraissait mutilé et incomplet." In the note to the first edition the collectors say: "Manches darin ist gut und recht märchenhaft, doch scheint das Ganze gelitten zu haben, theils durch Lücken, theils durch Verwirrung."

No. 50. "De wilde Mann." Replaced in 1850 and 1856 by "Der Eisenhans." "Nach einer Erzählung aus den Maingegenden und in Arnims Märchen, Nr. 17; in den früheren Ausgaben 'Der wilde Mann' nach einer Überlieferung aus dem Munsterland" (*Notes*, 1856, p. 218).

No. 57. "Die Kinder in Hungersnoth." Replaced from 1819 on by "Up Reisen gohn." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 46. The collectors say in note to first edition, ed. Panzer, II, 358: "Nr. 57–69 aus schriftlichen Quellen gesammelt. Prätorius (im *Abentheuerlichen Glückstopf*, 1669, S. 191, 192) gibt die Sage, wie er sie gehört hat, die Mutter soll zu Grafelitz über Eger in Böhmen gelebt haben." Tonnelat, *op. cit.*, p. 46, says: "Le récit qui précède est bien plutôt un fait-divers qu'un conte populaire, et on conçoit que les frères Grimm n'aient pas voulu laisser subsister parmi des récits d'imagination pure l'histoire, d'ailleurs pauvrement contée, d'une misère trop véritable."

No. 66. "Die heilige Frau Kummerniss." Replaced from 1819 on by "Das Hirtenbüblein." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 46. In the note to the first edition, ed. Panzer, II, 365, the collectors say: "Neigt sich wie Nr. I. 83, I. 3, II. 1, II. 35, aus der heil. Legende ins Märchen." Tonnelat, *op. cit.*, p. 47, says: "Ce récit relève de la légende sacrée; ce n'est pas un conte à proprement parler. Il est vrai

qu'il n'y a pas opposition entre le conte et la légende sacrée; il y a même entre les deux de fréquents points de contact; les frères Grimm n'ont pas hésité à introduire dans leur recueil des contes où Dieu le Père, Jésus, Saint-Pierre et les apôtres jouent un rôle actif. . . . Mais les bienfaits ou les miracles accomplis par ces personnages sacrés n'étaient pas le seul objet du récit. Ici au contraire le miracle est l'événement principal et, à vrai dire, unique. Le récit tend ainsi à l'edification des lecteurs: il prend donc un caractère spécial et un peu tendancieux. C'est sans doute pour cette raison que les frères Grimm ont tenu à l'exclure."

No. 67. "Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland." Replaced from 1819 on, as to number by "Die Sternthaler" (see 1812, First Volume, No. 83, 'Das arme Mädchen'), and relegated to No. 158 from 1819 on.

No. 68. "Das Dietmarsische Lügen-Märchen." Replaced, as to position, from 1819 on by "Der gestohlene Heller," and relegated to No. 159 from 1819 on.

No. 69. "Räthsel-Märchen." Replaced, as to position, from 1819 on, by "Die Brautschau," and relegated to No. 160 from 1819 on.

No. 70. "Der goldene Schlüssel." Replaced, as to position, by "Die Schlickerling," from 1819 on, and relegated to No. 161 in 1819, No. 168 in 1837, No. 178 in 1840, No. 194 in 1843, and No. 200 in 1850 and 1857. For some sentimental reason perhaps it pleased the brothers to make this story, the last in the second volume of the first edition, the last in all the others.

Volume II, 1819

No. 157. "Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder," was No. 35 in 1812, volume first.

No. 158. "Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland," was No. 67 in 1815, volume second.

No. 159. "Das Dietmarsische Lügenmärchen," was No. 68 in 1815, volume second.

No. 160. "Räthsel-Märchen," was No. 69 in 1815, volume second.

No. 161. "Der goldene Schlüssel," was No. 70 in 1815, volume second.

Volume II, 1837

No. 161. "Schneeweisschen und Rosenroth," takes the place of "Der goldene Schlüssel," No. 161 in 1819, which in its turn becomes No. 168 in 1837, in order, as has been said above, to become the final story in all editions.

Nos. 162–67 remain the same in all subsequent editions. No. 168, as has been said, was No. 70 in 1815, volume second and No. 161 in 1819.

Volume II, 1840

No. 168. "Die hagere Liese," takes the place of No. 168, "Der goldene Schlüssel" in 1837, for reason just stated.

Nos. 168–74 remain the same in all subsequent editions.

No. 175. "Das Unglück." Replaced in 1857 by "Der Mond." In the *Notes*, 1856, the editors say (No. 175, "Das Unglück"): "Aus Kirchhofs *Wendunmut*, S. 176, da es aber aus dem *Bidpai* (Ph. Wolfs Übersetzung, 1, 5) abstammt, so wird dafür in der nächsten Ausgabe das Märchen vom Mond (Bei Pröhle, *Märchen für die Jugend*, Nr. 182) eingerückt werden." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 52.

Nos. 176–77, same as in subsequent editions. No. 178 is "Der goldene Schlüssel," which, as we have seen, was No. 70 in 1815, volume second, No. 161 in 1819, and No. 168 in 1837.

VOLUME II, 1843

No. 178. "Meister Pfriem," takes the place of No. 178, "Der goldene Schlüssel" in 1840, for reason stated above.

Nos. 179–81, same as in subsequent editions.

No. 182. "Die Erbsenprobe." Replaced in subsequent editions by "Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes." In *Notes*, 1856, the editors say: "In der vorigen Ausgabe stand 'Die Erbsenprobe,' ist aber herausgenommen, weil sie wahrscheinlich aus Andersen (S. 42) stammt; auch bei Cavallius, S. 222 kommt sie vor." The story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 53.

Nos. 183–90 are the same in subsequent editions.

No. 191. "Der Räuber und seine Söhne." Same in 1850, but replaced in 1857 by "Das Meerhäschen." The original story is reprinted in Tonnelat, p. 54, who says, p. 59, "Nous ne savons pourquoi ce conte a été retranché de la 7e édition. Dira-t-on que c'est à cause de son origine étrangère? Cette hypothèse n'est pas valable, car en 1856, date de la publication du tome IIIe, les frères Grimm considéraient encore 'Der Räuber und seine Söhne' comme un conte authentiquement national. 'C'est, disaient-ils, la légende de Polyphème, développée, qui en fait le fond principal. Il contient de cette légende extrêmement répandue une version excellente, indépendente de *l'Odyssee* aussi bien que des récits faits par d'autres peuples.' Comme les frères Grimm n'ont plus publié de commentaire des contes après la 7e édition, il faut, semble-t-il, nous résoudre à ignorer les raisons qui ont, dans le cas présent, dicté leur décision."

VOLUME II, 1850

No. 194. "Die Kornähre." Takes the place as to number of "Der goldene Schlüssel" in 1843, for reason mentioned above.

Nos. 194–99 are the same in 1857.

No. 200. "Der goldene Schlüssel," having been, as we have already seen, No. 70 in 1815, volume second; No. 161 in 1819; No. 168 in 1837; No. 178 in 1840; No. 194 in 1843, in all cases the final story of the second and last volume of the collection.

VOLUME II, 1857

No. 151.* "Die zwölf faulen Knechte." There does not seem to be any good reason for the addition of this story, a variant of the one already given under No. 151. The second story is more detailed and might have been substituted for the first; both are of literary origin.

KINDERLEGENDEN

In the edition of 1819, the brothers introduced a new category of tales, the *Kinderlegenden*.[1] We have already seen that in the second volume of the first edition, 1815, No. 35, "Die himmlische Hochzeit," the collectors remarked of the story: "Gränzt an die Legende und ist doch auch ganz kindermärchenhaft," and in later editions relegated the story to the new category. There were nine *Kinderlegenden* in 1819 to 1843 inclusive. In 1850 a new one, "Die Haselruthe," "aus den vorarlbergischen Sagen von Vonbun, S. 7," was added. Since then no change has been made in this category.

BRUCHSTÜCKE

We have already seen that in 1812, First Volume, No. 85, "Fragmente" consisted of four pieces: (*a*) "Schneeblume"; (*b*) "Prinzessin mit der Laus"; (*c*) "Vom Prinz Johannes"; (*d*) "Der gute Lappen." These stories, as we have seen above, were replaced from 1819 on by "Die Goldkinder," which was No. 63 in 1812, but less fully related. The second of the four fragments, "Prinzessin mit der Laus," was alone deemed worthy of preservation and was relegated, in the volume of *Notes*, 1822 and 1856, to the new category of "Bruchstücke," No. 2, "Die Laus." Two other stories, 1812, No. 33, "Der gestiefelte Kater," and 1812, No. 84, "Die Schwiegermutter" (name changed to "Die böse Schwiegermutter"), were for reasons stated above relegated to the new category in 1822 and 1856. Two other fragmentary tales were added in 1822 and 1856: No. 1, "Der Mann vom Galgen," and No. 3, "Der starke Hans," an exploit of Hans not related in No. 166, in the story of the same name. Finally, in 1856 was added No. 6, "Märchenhafte Bruchstücke in Volksliedern," containing three allusions from Fischart's *Gargantua* and Andr. Gryphius' *Gedichte*. Tonnelat, p. 38, says of the "Fragments" in general: "C'est justement parce qu'elles ne contiennent que des fragments que les pages précédentes ont été retranchées de la seconde édition. . . . C'est seulement parce que les frères Grimm en 1812 estimaient nécessaire de publier toutes les œuvres populaires, quel que fût leur état, qu'ils avaient recueilli tous ces débris de contes. Mais nous savons déjà que dans les années suivantes leur point de vue changea lentement; l'ouvrage d'érudition tendit à devenir un livre de lectures pour les enfants et le grand public. Aussi la seconde édition ne devait-elle plus contenir que des contes complets."

[1] 1819. Einleitung, "Über das Wesen der Märchen" (W. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 352): "Einige märchenhaft ausgebildete Legenden sind am Ende zugefügt."

KINDERGLAUBEN

At the end of the "Anhang" in the first edition, 1812, ed. Panzer, I, 464–68, containing the notes to the stories in the first volume, was "Einiges aus dem Kinderglauben." This was reprinted in the second volume of the second edition, 1819, and may be found in W. Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 399–404. As has been said above, the valuable "Einleitungen" to the first and second volumes of the second edition, 1819, were not afterward reprinted and must now be read in the volume of the *Kleinere Schriften* just cited. The *Kinderglauben* has undergone considerable changes, chiefly expansion, in the second edition. In the first edition there were five paragraphs or divisions of the subject. In the second edition there were nine. This is another instance of the care bestowed on each succeeding edition.

THE FIRST SEVEN EDITIONS OF THE *KINDER- UND HAUSMÄRCHEN* OF THE BROTHERS GRIMM

1. *Kinder-/und/Hausmärchen.* /Gesammelt/durch/die Brüder Grimm. /Berlin, /in der Realschulbuchhandlung. /1812. Zweiter Band, 1815, Sm. 8vo, 2 vols., pp. xxviii, 388, lx, one unnumbered page of errata; xvi, 298, li, one unnumbered page of errata, "Nachtrag," lxi–lxx. This first edition is reprinted by F. Panzer: *Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm in ihrer Urgestalt herausgegeben von Friedrich Panzer.* C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Oskar Beck, Munich, 1913, two vols. The editor has made a few changes in the distribution of the material of the first edition, see Vol. II, p. 369, but otherwise has reproduced exactly the original. He has added the engraved frontispieces and title-pages which first appeared in the second edition, 1819.

   This first edition is excessively scarce. I have seen at the Royal Library of Munich the copy which was used by Panzer for his reprint.

2. *Kinder- /und/Hausmärchen.* /Gesammelt/durch/die Brüder Grimm. /Erster Band./ Mit zwei Kupfern. /Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. /Berlin, 1819. /Gedruckt und verlegt/bei G. Reimer. Zweiter Band, otherwise as first volume. Vol. I, following the title-page: "An die Frau Elizabeth von Arnim für den kleinen Johannes Freimund." After 1812 and 1819 the dedication is "An die Frau Bettina von Arnim." See W. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 317. Pp. (v)–xx, "Vorrede." Reprinted in prefatory matter of 1857. This "Vorrede" differs considerably from that of 1812, which may be found in Panzer and in W. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 320–28. Pp. (xxi)-liv, Einleitung, "Über das Wesen der Märchen." This introduction, found only in the second edition, was written by Wilhelm, and is reprinted in his *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 333–58. Pp. (lv)–lvi, "Inhalt." Then follow the stories, pp. 1–439, reverse of p. 439, "Druckfehler im Ersten Theil."

   The second volume has the engraved frontispiece and title reproduced in Panzer. Title as Vol. I, except of course "Zweiter Band." Pp. (iii)–lix, *Kinderwesen und Kindersitten;* pp. lx–lxviiii, *Kinderglauben.* Both of the foregoing articles are reprinted in W. Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 359–98; 399–404. Then follows "Inhalt" (in one column

only), pp. (lxix)–lxxi, and on reverse of p. lxxi, not numbered: "Druckfehler." Then follow the stories, pp. 1–286. *Kinderlegenden*, title (287), pp. (289)–304.

Kinder-/und/Hausmärchen. /Gesammelt/durch/die Brüder Grimm. /Dritter Band. /Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. /Berlin, 1822, bei G. Reimer. The "Vorrede" (iii)–iv, "Cassel den 4ten Januar, 1822," is reprinted in the second edition of the *Notes*, 1856. Then follows pp. v–vi, "Inhalt" (omitted in 1856); "Anmerkungen zu den einzelnen Märchen," pp. (3)–252; "Anmerkungen zu den Kinderlegenden," 253–54; "Bruchstücke" (255–56), 257–60; "Zeugnisse" (261–62), 263–68; "Literatur" (269–70), 271–441; reverse of 441, "Druckfehler." Considerable space, pp. 279–369, is devoted to a detailed analysis of Basile's *Pentamerone*, omitted in 1856 on account of the publication of Liebrecht's translation in 1846.

3. *Kinder-/und/Hausmärchen.* /Gesammelt/durch die Brüder Grimm. /Erster Band. /Grosse Ausgabe/mit zwei Kupfern. /Dritte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. /Göttingen,/Druck und Verlag der Dieterichischen Buchhandlung./1837. Frontispiece, the engraving by L. E. Grimm of "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen." Then a title-page inclosed in ornamental border: *Kinder-/und/Hausmärchen.* /The real title-page follows as above. P. (iii) An die Frau/Elisabeth von Arnim. Pp. (v)–vi, Dedication ("Liebe Bettine, etc."). Pp. (vii)–viii–xxiv, "Vorrede." Pp. (xxv)–xxvi–xxviii, "Inhalt." Then begin the tales on pp. (1), 2–513. Vol. II has as frontispiece the engraved portrait by L. E. Grimm of the "Märchenfrau." There is on opposite page the title-page in ornamental border identical with that of Vol. I. Then full title-page identical with that of Vol. I, except "Zweiter Band" for "Erster Band." Pp. (iii)–vi, "Inhalt." Then follow the tales (Nos. 87–168) on pp. (1)–385. *Kinderlegenden* (1–9), pp. (367)–385.

   The third volume of *Notes*, although bearing on the title-page "Dritte Auflage," was not published until 1856 and will be described with the seventh, the definitive, edition.
4. *Kinder- und Hausmärchen.* Grosse Ausgabe. Vierte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen, Dieterichische Buchhandlung, 1840, 2 vols., pp. xxxii+513; vi+417. The first volume contains Nos. 1–86, the second, Nos. 87–178, and *Kinderlegenden*, 1–9.
5. *Kinder-/und/Hausmärchen.* /Gesammelt/durch/die Brüder Grimm. /Erster Band. /Grosse Ausgabe. /Mit zwei Kupfern. /Fünfte, stark vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. /Göttingen,/Dieterichische Buchhandlung. /1843. Vol. I, p. (iii), "An die Frau Bettina von Arnim," pp. (v)–x, same dedicatory matter as in 1857, the last signed "Berlin im Frühjahr, 1843" is in the fifth edition, not dated, but signed "Wilhelm Grimm." Pp. (xi)–xxx, the various "Vorreden" as in 1857, the last of course being "Berlin, am 4. April, 1845"; "Inhalt," pp. (xxxi)–xxxiv, Nos. 1–86, pp. 1–514. Vol. II, "Inhalt," pp. (iii)–viii, Nos. 87–194; *Kinderlegenden*, 1–9, pp. 1–532.
6. *Kinder-/und/Hausmärchen.* /Gesammelt/durch/die Brüder Grimm. /Erster Band. /Grosse Ausgabe. /Sechste vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. /Göttingen,/Dieterichische Buchhandlung./1850. Pp. (iii–iv)

"An die Frau Bettina von Arnim," "Liebe Bettine, etc.," pp. v–viii, as in 1857, "Vorrede," pp. (ix)–xxii, as in 1857. Pp. xxii–lxxii, "Übersicht der Märchenliteratur." This "Übersicht" begins p. xxii, directly after the preface reprinted in 1857, and ends p. lxxii with "Erdmannsdorf in Schlesien am 30sten September, 1850. Wilhelm Grimm." Vol. I contains Nos. 1–86, pp. 1–501; Vol. II contains Nos. 87–200, *Kinderlegenden*, 1–10, pp. 1–562. This edition is remarkable as containing in the "Vorrede" an "Übersicht" of the *Märchen* literature. This first appeared in the third volume of 1822, and is repeated here with further corrections and additions. It appeared for the last time, with additions, in the third volume, 1856. In the brief preface to the seventh edition, the editors say: "Dort [i.e., in the 3d vol., 1856] hat auch die Übersicht der Literatur, die sonst hier [i.e., in 1850] folgte, einen angemesseren Platz erhalten."

7. *Kinder-/und/Hausmärchen.* /Gesammelt/durch/die Brüder Grimm. /Erster Band. /Grosse Ausgabe. /Siebente Auflage. /Göttingen,/Dieterichische Buchhandlung./1857. P. (iii) "An die Frau Bettina von Arnim." (v)–viii, "Liebe Bettine, etc.," with the continuation: "Mit diesen Worten sendete ich Ihnen das Buch vor drei Jahren etc.," and "Diesmal kann ich Ihnen, liebe Bettine, das Buch," etc., signed "Berlin im Frühjahr, 1843. Wilhelm Grimm." This dedicatory matter is as in 1845, "Vorrede," pp. ix–xx. In this "Vorrede" are reprinted the "Vorreden" to 1819, 1837, 1840, 1843, 1850, and the very brief one of the present edition dated "Berlin am 23ten Mai, 1857," but not signed. Then follows, pp. (xxi)–xxiv, "Inhalt." The first volume contains Nos. 1–86, pp. 1–421. Vol. II contains Nos. 87–200, *Kinderlegenden*, 1–10, pp. 1–483. In addition the "Inhalt" occupies pp. (iii)–iv. The first volume contains as frontispiece the engraving "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen," and the second volume the engraved frontispiece "Märchenfrau," the portrait of Frau Viehmännin.

Kinder-/und/Hausmärchen. /Gesammelt/durch die/Brüder Grimm. /Dritter Band. /Dritte Auflage. /Göttingen, Dieterichische Buchhandlung./1856. Pp. (iii)–iv, "Vorrede," in which is reprinted the "Vorrede" to the edition of 1822, and the very brief "Vorrede" to the present edition, dated "Berlin den 25ten Mai, 1856," but not signed. Then follow "Inhalt," one page not numbered, and "Anmerkungen zu den einzelnen Märchen," one page not numbered. The notes to the individual tales occupy pp. 3–262; "Zu den Kinderlegenden," pp. 263–264; "Bruchstücke," pp. 267–70; "Zeugnisse," pp. 273–82; "Literatur," pp. 285–414, signed "Erdmannsdorf in Schlesien am 30sten September, 1850. Berlin am 16ten Januar, 1856. Wilhelm Grimm"; "Register zur Literatur," pp. 415–18.

Although this third volume is by its title the third volume of the third edition, it is generally associated with the two volumes of the seventh, and constitutes with them the definitive edition of the "Grosse Ausgabe" in three volumes. As has been stated above, the volume of *Notes* was not reprinted after 1856 and must be consulted in the Reclam edition or in the English translation of Miss Margaret Hunt.

III. TABLE OF CONTENTS OF FIRST SEVEN EDITIONS

	Edition I	Edition II	Edition III	Edition IV	Edition V	Edition VI		Edition VII
	Vol. I, 1812	Vol. I, 1819	Vol. I, 1837	Vol. I, 1840	Vol. I, 1843	Vol. I, 1850		Vol. I, 1857
1	Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	1	Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich
2	Katz und Maus in Gesellschaft	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	2	Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft
3	Marienkind	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	3	Marienkind
4	Gut Kegel- und Kartenspiel	Von einem der auszog das Fürchten zu lernen[1]	Same	Same	Same	Same	4	Märchen von einem, der auszog das Fürchten zu lernen
5	Der Wolf und die sieben junge Geiselein	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	5	Der Wolf und die sieben jungen Geislein
6	Von der Nachtigall und der Blindschleiche	Der treue Johannes	Same	Same	Same	Same	6	Der treue Johannes
7	Von dem gestohlenen Heller[2]	Der gute Handel	Same	Same	Same	Same	7	Der gute Handel
8	Die Hand mit dem Messer	Der wunderliche Spielmann	Same	Same	Same	Same	8	Der wunderliche Spielmann
9	Die zwölf Brüder	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	9	Die zwölf Brüder
10	Das Lumpengesindel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	10	Das Lumpengesindel
11	Brüderchen und Schwesterchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	11	Brüderchen und Schwesterchen
12	Rapunzel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	12	Rapunzel
13	Die drei Männlein im Walde	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	13	Die drei Männlein im Walde
14	Von dem bösen Flachsspinnen	Die drei Spinnerinnen[3]	Same	Same	Same	Same	14	Die drei Spinnerinnen

15	Hänsel und Gretel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	15	Hänsel und Grethel
16	Herr Fix und Fertig	Die drei Schlangenblätter	Same	Same	Same	Same	16	Die drei Schlangenblätter
17	Die weisse Schlange	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	17	Die weisse Schlange
18	Strohhalm, Kohle und Bohne auf der Reise	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	18	Strohhalm, Kohle und Bohne
19	Van den Fischer un siine Fru	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	19	Von dem Fischer un syner Fru
20 I, II	Von einem tapfern Schneider	Das tapfere Schneiderlein[4]	Same	Same	Same	Same	20	Das tapfere Schneiderlein
21	Aschenputtel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	21	Aschenputtel
22 I, II	Wie Kinder Schlachtens mit einander gespielt haben	Das Räthsel	Same	Same	Same	Same	22	Das Räthsel
23	Von dem Mäuschen, Vögelchen und der Bratwurst	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	23	Von dem Mäuschen, Vögelchen und der Bratwurst
24	Frau Holle	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	24	Frau Holle
25	Die drei Raben	Die sieben Raben[5]	Same	Same	Same	Same	25	Die sieben Raben
26	Rothkäppchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	26	Rothkäppchen
27	Der Tod und der Gänshirt	Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten	Same	Same	Same	Same	27	Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten
28	Der singende Knochen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	28	Der singende Knochen
29	Von dem Teufel mit drei goldenen Haaren	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	29	Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren
30	Läuschen und Flöhchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	30	Läuschen und Flöhchen
31	Mädchen ohne Hände	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	31	Das Mädchen ohne Hände

[1] Change of name and fuller version. [2] Position changed to No. 154. [3] Fuller version. [4] Fuller version. [5] Change of name and slight addition. See Bolte, I, 227.

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32 I, II[6]	Der gescheidte Hans	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	32	Der gescheidte Hans
33	Der gestiefelte Kater	Die drei Sprachen	Same	Same	Same	Same	33	Die drei Sprachen
34	Hansens Trine	Die kluge Else[7]	Same	Same	Same	Same	34	Die kluge Else
35	Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder[8]	Der Schneider im Himmel	Same	Same	Same	Same	35	Der Schneider im Himmel
36 I, II	Von dem Tischgen deck dich, dem Goldesel, etc.[9]	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	36	Tischchen deck dich, Goldesel, und Knüppel aus dem Sack
37	Von der Serviette, dem Tornister,[10] dem Kanonenhütlein, etc.	Daumesdick	Same	Same	Same	Same	37	Daumesdick
38 I, II	Von der Frau Füchsin	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	38 I, II	Die Hochzeit der Frau Füchsin
39 I, II, III	Von den Wichtelmännern	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	39 I, II, III	Die Wichtelmänner
40	Der Räuberbräutigam	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	40	Der Räuberbräutigam
41	Herr Korbes	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	41	Herr Korbes
42	Der Herr Gevatter	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	42	Der Herr Gevatter
43	Die wunderliche Gasterei	Same	Frau Trude[11]	Same	Same	Same	43	Frau Trude
44	Der Gevatter Tod	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	44	Der Gevatter Tod
45	Des Schneiders Daumerling Wanderschaft	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	45	Daumerlings Wanderschaft
46	Fitchers Vogel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	46	Fitchers Vogel

47	Van den Machandel-Boom	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	47	Von dem Machandel-Boom
48	Der alte Sultan	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	48	Der alte Sultan
49	Die sechs Schwäne	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	49	Die sechs Schwäne
50	Dornröschen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	50	Dornröschen
51	Vom Fundevogel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	51	Fundevogel
52	König Drosselbart	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	52	König Drosselbart
53	Sneewittchen. (Schneeweisschen)	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	53	Sneewittchen
54	Hans Dumm	Der Ranzen, das Hütlein und das Hörnlein	Same	Same	Same	Same	54	Der Ranzen, das Hütlein und das Hörnlein
55	Rumpelstilzchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	55	Rumpelstilzchen
56	Der liebste Roland	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	56	Der liebste Roland
57	Vom goldenen Vogel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	57	Der goldene Vogel
58	Vom treuen Gevatter Sperling	Der Hund und der Sperling[12]	Same	Same	Same	Same	58	Der Hund und der Sperling
59	Prinz Schwan[13]	Der Frieder und das Catherlieschen	Same	Same	Same	Same	59	Der Frieder und das Catherlieschen
60	Das Goldei	Die zwei Brüder[14]	Same	Same	Same	Same	60	Die zwei Brüder
61	Von dem Schneider, der bald reich wurde	Das Bürle[15]	Same	Same	Same	Same	61	Das Bürle
62	Blaubart	Die Bienenkönigin[16]	Same	Same	Same	Same	62	Die Bienenkönigin

[6] II omitted after 1812, in III, p. 60.

[7] Another version.

[8] Referred to Vol. II as 157; change of position only.

[9] II relegated to notes after 1812, condensed.

[10] Becomes 54 with slight change of name and fuller version.

[11] Tonnelat, p. 48, "really a variant only."

[12] Variant of 127, relegated to notes.

[13] Fuller version.

[14] Fuller version.

[15] Fuller version.

[16] Is 64, II, in 1812.

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63	Goldkinder[17]	Die drei Federn[18]	Same	Same	Same	Same	63	Die drei Federn
64	Von dem Dummling[19] I. Die weisse Taube II. Die Bienenkönigin III. Die drei Federn IV. Die goldene Gans	Die goldene Gans	Same	Same	Same	Same	64	Die goldene Gans
65	Allerlei-Rauh	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	65	Allerleirauh
66	Hurleburlebutz	Häsichenbraut	Same	Same	Same	Same	66	Häsichenbraut
67	Der König mit dem Löwen	Die zwölf Jäger[20]	Same	Same	Same	Same	67	Die zwölf Jäger
68	Von dem Sommer- und Wintergarten	De Gaudeif un sien Meester	Same	Same	Same	Same	68	De Gaudeif un sien Meester
69	Jorinde und Joringel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	69	Jorinde und Joringel
70	Der Okerlo	Die drei Glückskinder	Same	Same	Same	Same	70	Die drei Glückskinder
71	Prinzessin Mäusehaut	Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt	Same	Same	Same	Same	71	Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt
72	Das Birnli will nit fallen	Der Wolf und der Mensch	Same	Same	Same	Same	72	Der Wolf und der Mensch
73	Das Mordschloss	Der Wolf und der Fuchs	Same	Same	Same	Same	73	Der Wolf und der Fuchs
74	Von Johannes-Wassersprung und Caspar-Wassersprung	Der Fuchs und die Frau Gevatterin	Same	Same	Same	Same	74	Der Fuchs und die Frau Gevatterin
75	Vogel Phönix	Der Fuchs und die Katze	Same	Same	Same	Same	75	Der Fuchs und die Katze
76	Die Nelke	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	76	Die Nelke

77	Vom Schreiner und Drechsler	Das kluge Gretel	Same	Same	Same	Same	77	Das kluge Grethel
78	Der alte Grossvater und der Enkel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	78	Der alte Grossvater und der Enkel
79	Die Wassernix	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	79	Die Wassernixe
80	Von dem Tod des Hühnchens	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	80	Von dem Tode des Hühnchens
81	Der Schmidt und der Teufel	Bruder Lustig	Same	Same	Same	Same	81	Bruder Lustig
82	Die drei Schwestern	De Spielhansl	Same	Same	Same	Same	82	De Spielhansl
83	Das arme Mädchen[21]	Hans im Glück	Same	Same	Same	Same	83	Hans im Glück
84	Die Schwiegermutter[22]	Hans heirathet	Same	Same	Same	Same	84	Hans heirathet
85	Fragmente (*a*) Schneeblume (*b*) Prinzessin mit der Laus[23] (*c*) Vom Prinz Johannes (*d*) Das gute Pflaster	Die Goldkinder[24]	Same	Same	Same	Same	85	Die Goldkinder
86	Der Fuchs und die Gänse		Same	Same	Same	Same	86	Der Fuchs und die Gänse
	End of Vol. I, 1812	End of Vol. I, 1819	End of Vol. I, 1837	End of Vol. I, 1840	End of Vol. I, 1843	End of Vol. I, 1850		End of Vol. I, 1857

[17] After 1812 is 85, more fully related.

[18] Aus Zwehrn replaces 64, III; version from Hesse.

[19] I, Die weisse Taube, not subsequently reprinted; II, Die Bienenkönigin=62; III, Die drei Federn=63; IV, Die goldene Gans=64.

[20] Change of name and slight other change.

[21] Relegated to II, 153, and entitled Die Sternthaler.

[22] Relegated to Bruchstücke 5, and entitled Die böse Schwiegermutter.

[23] Relegated to Bruchstücke 2, and entitled Die Laus.

[24] Was 63 in 1812, less fully related.

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1	Der Arme und der Reiche	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	87	Der Arme und der Reiche
2	Das singende springende Löweneckerchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	88	Das singende springende Löweneckerchen
3	Die Gänsemagd	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	89	Die Gänsemagd
4	Von einem jungen Riesen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	90	Der junge Riese
5	Dat Erdmänneken	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	91	Dat Erdmänneken
6	Der König vom goldenen Berg	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	92	Der König vom goldenen Berge
7	Die Rabe	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	93	Die Rabe
8	Die kluge Bauerntochter	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	94	Die kluge Bauerntochter
9	Der Geist im Glas[25]	Der alte Hildebrand	Same	Same	Same	Same	95	Der alte Hildebrand
10	De drei Vügelkens	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	96	De drei Vügelkens
11	Das Wasser des Lebens	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	97	Das Wasser des Lebens
12	Doctor Allwissend	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	98	Doctor Allwissend
13	Der Froschprinz[26]	Der Geist im Glas	Same	Same	Same	Same	99	Der Geist im Glas
14	Des Teufels russiger Bruder	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	100	Des Teufels russiger Bruder
15	Der Teufel Grünrock	Same	Same	Same	Der Bärenhäuter[27]	Same	101	Der Bärenhäuter
16	Der Zaunkönig und der Bär	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	102	Der Zaunkönig und der Bär

17	Vom süssen Brei	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	103	Der süsse Brei
18	Die treuen Thiere	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	104	Die klugen Leute
19	Märchen vonder Unke	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	105	Märchen vonder Unke
20	Der arme Müllerbursch und das Kätzchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	106	Der arme Müllerbursch und das Kätzchen
21	Die Krähen	Same	Same	Same	Die beiden Wanderer[28]	Same	107	Die beiden Wanderer
22	Hans mein Igel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	108	Hans mein Igel
23	Das Todtenhemdchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	109	Das Todtenhemdchen
24	Der Jud' im Dorn	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	110	Der Jude im Dorn
25	Der gelernte Jäger	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	111	Der gelernte Jäger
26	Der Dreschflegel vom Himmel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	112	Der Dreschflegel vom Himmel
27	De beiden Künniges-kinner	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	113	De beiden Küniges-kinner
28	Vom klugen Schneiderlein	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	114	Vom klugen Schneiderlein
29	Die klare Sonne bringt's an den Tag	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	115	Die klare Sonne bringts an den Tag
30	Das blaue Licht	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	116	Das blaue Licht
31	Von einem eigensinnigen Kinde	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	117	Das eigensinnige Kind
32	Die drei Feldscherer	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	118	Die drei Feldscherer
33	Der Faule und der Fleissige	Die sieben Schwaben	Same	Same	Same	Same	119	Die sieben Schwaben
34	Die drei Handwerksburschen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	120	Die drei Handwerksburschen

[25] = 99 in 1819 and subsequent editions.
[26] A variant of 1812, No. 1, relegated to *Notes*.
[27] Recast of Der Teufel Grünrock, with use of Grimmelshausen.
[28] Variant of Die Krähen.

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35	Die himmlische Hochzeit[29]	Der Königssohn der sich vor nichts fürchtet	Same	Same	Same	Same	121	Der Königssohn der sich vor nichts fürchtet
36	Die lange Nase	Der Krautesel[30]	Same	Same	Same	Same	122	Der Krautesel
37	Die Alte im Wald	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	123	Die Alte im Wald
38	Die drei Brüder	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	124	Die drei Brüder
39	Der Teufel und seine Grossmutter	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	125	Der Teufel und seine Grossmutter
40	Ferenand getrü und Ferenand ungetrü	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	126	Ferenand getrü und Ferenand ungetrü
41	Der Eisen-Ofen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	127	Der Eisenofen
42	Die faule Spinnerin	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	128	Die faule Spinnerin
43	Der Löwe und der Frosch	Die vier kunstreichen Brüder	Same	Same	Same	Same	129	Die vier kunstreichen Brüder
44	Der Soldat und der Schreiner	Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein	Same	Same	Same	Same	130	Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein
45	Die schöne Katrinelje und Pif, Paf, Poltrie	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	131	Die schöne Katrinelje und Pif, Paf, Poltrie
46	Der Fuchs und das Pferd	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	132	Der Fuchs und das Pferd
47	Die zertanzten Schuhe	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	133	Die zertanzten Schuhe
48	Die sechs Diener	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	134	Die sechs Diener
49	Die weisse und schwarze Braut	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	135	Die weisse und die schwarze Braut
50	De wilde Mann	Same	Same	Same	Same	Der Eisenhans[31]	136	Der Eisenhans

51	De drei schwatten Princessinnen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	137	De drei schwatten Princessinnen
52	Knoist un sine dre Sühne	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	138	Knoist un sine dre Sühne
53	Dat Mäken von Brakel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	139	Dat Mäken von Brakel
54	Das Hausgesinde	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	140	Das Hausgesinde
55	Das Lämmchen und Fischchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	141	Das Lämmchen und Fischchen
56	Simeliberg	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	142	Simeliberg
57	Die Kinder in Hungersnoth	Up Reisen gohn	Same	Same	Same	Same	143	Up Reisen gohn
58	Das Eselein	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	144	Das Eselein
59	Der undankbare Sohn	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	145	Der undankbare Sohn
60	Die Rübe	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	146	Die Rübe
61	Das junggeglühte Männlein	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	147	Das junggeglühte Männlein
62	Des Herrn und des Teufels Gethier	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	148	Des Herrn und des Teufels Gethier
63	Der Hahnenbalken	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	149	Der Hahnenbalken
64	Die alte Bettelfrau	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	150	Die alte Bettelfrau
65	Die drei Faulen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	151	Die drei Faulen
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	151*	Die zwölf faulen Knechte
66	Die heilige Frau Kummerniss	Das Hirtenbüblein	Same	Same	Same	Same	152	Das Hirtenbüblein

[29] Transferred to *Kinderlegenden* 9, in 1819.

[30] Variant of Die lange Nase.

[31] Variant of De wilde Mann.

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67	Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland[32]	Das (l. die) Sternthaler	Same	Same	Same	Same	153	Die Sternthaler
68	Das Dietmarsische Lügen-Märchen[33]	Der gestohlene Heller	Same	Same	Same	Same	154	Der gestohlene Heller
69	Räthsel-Märchen[34]	Die Brautschau	Same	Same	Same	Same	155	Die Brautschau
70	Der goldene Schlüssel[35]	Die Schlickerlinge	Same	Same	Same	Same	156	Die Schlickerlinge
	End of Vol. II, 1815							
.....	.....	Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder[36]	Same	Same	Same	Same	157	Der Sperling und seine vier Kinder
.....	.....	Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland[37]	Same	Same	Same	Same	158	Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland
.....	.....	Das Dietmarsische Lügenmärchen[38]	Same	Same	Same	Same	159	Das Dietmarsische Lügenmärchen
.....	.....	Räthsel-Märchen[39]	Same	Same	Same	Same	160	Räthselmärchen
.....	.....	Der goldene Schlüssel[40]	Schneeweisschen und Rosenroth	Same	Same	Same	161	Schneeweisschen und Rosenroth
.....	.....	End of Vol. II, 1819	Der kluge Knecht	Same	Same	Same	162	Der kluge Knecht
.....	.....	.....	Der gläserne Sarg	Same	Same	Same	163	Der gläserne Sarg
.....	.....	.....	Der faule Heinz	Same	Same	Same	164	Der faule Heinz
.....	.....	.....	Der Vogel Greif	Same	Same	Same	165	Der Vogel Greif
.....	.....	.....	Der starke Hans	Same	Same	Same	166	Der starke Hans
.....	.....	.....	Das Bürle im Himmel	Same	Same	Same	167	Das Bürle im Himmel
.....	.....	.....	Der goldene Schlüssel[41]	Die hagere Liese	Same	Same	168	Die hagere Liese

.....	.....	.....	End of Vol. II, 1837	Das Waldhaus	Same	Same	169	Das Waldhaus
.....	.....	.....	.....	Lieb und Leid theilen	Same	Same	170	Lieb und Leid theilen
.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Zaunkönig	Same	Same	171	Der Zaunkönig
.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Scholle	Same	Same	172	Die Scholle
.....	.....	.....	.....	Rohrdommel und Wiedehopf	Same	Same	173	Rohrdommel und Wiedehopf
.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Eule	Same	Same	174	Die Eule
.....	.....	.....	.....	Das Unglück	Same	Same	175	Der Mond
.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Lebenszeit	Same	Same	176	Die Lebenszeit
.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Boten des Todes	Same	Same	177	Die Boten des Todes
.....	.....	.....	.....	Der goldene Schlüssel[42]	Meister Pfriem	Same	178	Meister Pfriem
.....	.....	.....	.....	End of Vol. II, 1840	Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen	Same	179	Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Die ungleichen Kinder Evas	Same	180	Die ungleichen Kinder Evas
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Nixe im Teich	Same	181	Die Nixe im Teich
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Erbsenprobe	Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes	182	Die Geschenke des kleinen Volkes
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Riese und der Schneider	Same	183	Der Riese und der Schneider
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Nagel	Same	184	Der Nagel
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Der arme Junge im Grab	Same	185	Der arme Junge im Grab

[32] No. 158 from 1819.
[33] No. 159 from 1819
[34] No. 160 from 1819.
[35] No. 161 in 1819; No. 168 in 1837; No. 178 in 1840; No. 194 in 1843; No. 200 in 1850 and 1857.
[36] Was No. 35 in 1812.
[37] Was No. 67 in 1815.
[38] Was No. 68 in 1815.
[39] Was No. 69 in 1815.
[40] Was No. 70 in 1815.
[41] Was No. 70 in 1815; No. 161 in 1819.
[42] Was No. 70 in 1815; No. 161 in 1819; No. 168 in 1837.

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.....	.....	.....	.....	Die wahre Braut	Same	186	Die wahre Braut
.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Hase und der Igel	Same	187	Der Hase und der Igel
.....	.....	.....	.....	Spindel, Weberschiffchen und Nadel	Same	188	Spindel, Weberschiffchen und Nadel
.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Bauer und der Teufel	Same	189	Der Bauer und der Teufel
.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Brosamen auf dem Tisch	Same	190	Die Brosamen auf dem Tisch
.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Räuber und seine Söhne	Same	191	Das Meerhäschen
.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Meisterdieb	Same	192	Der Meisterdieb
.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Trommler	Same	193	Der Trommler
.....	.....	.....	.....	Der goldene Schüssel[43]	Die Kornähre	194	Die Kornähre
.....	.....	.....	.....	End of Vol. II, 1843	Der Grabhügel	195	Der Grabhügel
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Oll Rinkrank	196	Oll Rinkrank
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Krystallkugel	197	Die Krystallkugel
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Jungfrau Maleen	198	Jungfrau Maleen
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Der Stiefel von Büffelleder	199	Der Stiefel von Büffelleder
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Der goldene Schüssel[44]	200	Der goldene Schüssel
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	End of Vol. II, 1850		End of Vol. II, 1857

[43] Was No. 70 in 1815; No. 161 in 1819; No. 168 in 1837; No. 178 in 1840.

[44] Was No. 70 in 1815; No. 161 in 1819; No. 168 in 1837; No. 178 in 1840; No. 194 in 1843.

KINDERLEGENDEN

	II, 1819	III, 1837	IV, 1840	V, 1843	VI, 1850	VII, 1857
1	Der heilige Joseph im Walde	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
2	Die zwölf Apostel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
3	Die Rose	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
4	Armuth und Demuth führen zum Himmel	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
5	Gottes Speise	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
6	Die drei grünen Zweige	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
7	Muttergottesgläschen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
8	Das alte Mütterchen	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
9	Die himmliche Hochzeit[1]	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	Die Haselruthe	Same

[1] Was No. 35 in 1815.

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CORNEILLE'S CONCEPTION OF CHARACTER AND THE *CORTEGIANO*—*Concluded*

One of the striking features of the *Cortegiano* is its application of the Florentine neo-Platonism to the life of the courtier. Indeed, it is safe to say that no single book gives a better exposition of the *uomo di virtù* as the Renaissance ideal *par excellence*. It is universally admitted that the English "gentleman" and the French "honnête homme"[1] are both derived from the Italian model, for it

[1] Roger Aschan, for instance, writes in his *Scholemaster* (Arber Reprints, 1870), p. 66: "which booke [*Cortegiano*], aduisedlie read, and diligentilie folowed, but one yeare at home in England, would do a yong ientleman more good, I wisse, than three yeares trauell abrode spent in *Italie*. And I meruelle this booke, is no more read in the Court, than it is, seying it is so well translated into English by a worthie Ientleman Syr *Th. Hobbie*." On the general subject in England, see Mary A. Scott, *PMLA*, XVI (1901), 475, and *Elisabethan Translations from the Italian* (Boston, 1916). Cf. further J. W. Holme, *MLR*, V (1910), 145, and Jessie Crosland, *ibid.*, p. 502; also A. Wesselski, *Der Hofmann des Grafen B. Castiglione* (2 vols. Leipzig, 1907), and G. Carel, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXIII (1909), 441.

The term "honnête homme" is defined by R. Estienne and Nicot (1539 and 1537), according to Livet, *Lexique de la langue de Molière*, *s.v.*, as "bellus homo, urbanus et civilis," and a citation from Sorel, *Connoiss. des bons livres*, 1671, p. 5, states: "L'épithète d'*honeste* n'avoit force autrefois qu'en disant un *honeste homme*, pour signifier un homme accomply en toutes sortes de perfections et de vertus . . . mais depuis qu'il y a un livre de ce nom [namely Faret], il a passé avec raison à des significations plus amples." Interesting, too, is the citation from Furetière (1690): "*Honneste* on le dit premièrement de l'homme de bien [see the *Cid*, vs. 911], du gallant *homme*, qui a pris l'air du monde, qui scait vivre. Faret a fait un livre de *l'honneste* homme." For our purposes, the citation from Molière's *Misanth.*, I, 2:

> "Et n'allez point quitter, de quoi que l'on vous somme,
> Le nom que dans la Cour vous avez d'honnête homme,"

is perhaps most characteristic.

In addition to Livet's list compare the following: Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 75: "[La mort] vous attrape fuyant et poltron aussi bien qu'honneste homme"; La Rochefoucauld, *Max.*, 203: "Le vrai honnête homme est celui qui ne se pique de rien"; La Bruyère,

requires no demonstration today to affirm that the Renaissance type was "worldly" (*mondain*) and that its moral justification was Socratic and Senecan rather than Christian. Thus, we find that the Cortegiano should be of noble birth, since that disposes him to nobility of action (*gloire*); that he must be "complete," that is, an embodiment of many qualities, harmonized and directed by the reason, for he is a world unto himself and his final appeal is to his own exalted nature; that he must be illustrious, for a man lives by his deeds, and his deeds render his name immortal; that his loves must be spiritual, that is, based on merit and reacting to an ideal beauty of which the beauty of this world is only an image. In the pursuit of this ideal the guide is the intelligence and the agent, the will. I have neither the time nor at present the competence to treat this important question in all of its ramifications. For one thing, the reference to a *souverain bien* was common enough in Corneille's time. Compare the *Cid*, vs. 755:

> Et j'en viens recevoir, comme un bien souverain,
> Et l'arrêt de sa bouche, et le coup de sa main;

and *Horace*, vs. 721.

> Regardons leur honneur comme un souverain bien;

Caractères, édition variorum, 37: "Un honnête homme se paye par ses mains de l'application qu'il a à son devoir par le plaisir qu'il sent à le faire"; Marivaux, *Paysan Parvenu*, part 5: "Son mari, à qui, tout malade et couché qu'il était, je trouvai l'air d'un honnête homme, je veux dire d'un homme qui a de la naissance"; Littré, *Dict.*, remarks: "Nous sommes honnêtes par l'observation des bienséances et des usages de la société."

The French term should be compared further with *prud'homme*, OF. *prodome*. *Chanson de Roland*, 26:

> Produme i out pur sun seignur aidier;

Crestien de Troyes, *Cligés*, 201:

> Par li fet prodome largesce;

Guillaume de Dôle, 5631:

> Bien le devroient en memoire
> Avoir et li roi et li conte,
> Cel prodome dont on lor conte,
> Por avoir de bien faire envie,
> Aussi com cil fist en sa vie.

"On trouve bien," says Livet, *op. cit.*, III, 415, "dans Cotgrave (1611, 1650), *prud'homme*, *preudefemme*, chaste, honnête, modeste, vertueuse; mais sous la forme *prude*, le mot ne paraît dans aucun dictionnaire avant le *Diction. royal* du P. Pomey (1676), et encore avec un sens mal défini." Cotgrave, 1632, *s.v.* "preud'homme": "A valiant hardie, couragious; also a loyall, faithful, honest, vertuous (also, a discreet) man." Bréal, *Essai de Sémantique*, 3d ed., 1904, p. 101, says: "Nous avons en français l'adjectif *prude*, qui avait autrefois une belle et noble acception, puisqu'il est le féminin de *preux*. Mais l'esprit des conteurs (peut-être aussi quelque rancune contre des vertus trop hautaines) a fait dévier cet adjectif au sens équivoque qu'il a aujourd'hui." Cf. Molière, *L'Étourdi*, III, 2: "Elle fait la sucrée et veut passer pour *prude*." On the present usage see the *Dict. Gén.*, p. 1831. The modern meaning of *prud'homme* is "patron," "ouvrier délégué": *le conseil des prud'hommes;* also indicative of an interesting sociological fact.

with Voiture, *Letters*, 51: "A moins que de traiter de l'immortalité de l'âme ou du bien souverain." Moreover, excessive spiritualization is alive in Marguerite d'Angoulême,[1] in the Pléiade—especially Du Bellay (cf. the *Olive*), and in the transition writers Charron and Du Vair. Charron, *La Sagesse*, ed. 1595, p. 639, defines *vertu* [*vaillance*] as "la plus difficile, la plus glorieuse, qui produit de plus grands, esclatants & excellens effets, elle comprend magnanimité, patience, perseverance invincible, vertus heroïques, dont plusieurs ont recherché les maux avec faim, pour en venir à ce noble exercice."[2] And in his *Philosophie morale des stoïques* (818) Du Vair expresses the thought, so Cartesian in principle, "que si nous voulons auoir du bien, il faut que nous le dõnions nous-mesmes,"[3] while in another place[4] he says: "La vertu aux âmes héroïques n'attend pas les années, elle fait son progrès tout-à-coup," which has been taken as a prototype for the *Cid*, vs. 405:[5]

aux âmes bien nées
La valeur n'attend point le nombre des années.

[1] See the well-known passage from the nineteenth tale of the *Heptaméron*, ed. Leroux de Lincy, p. 111: "J'appelle parfaicts amans . . . ceulx qui cherchent, en ce qu'ils aiment, quelque perfection, soit beaulté, bonté ou bonne grace, toujours tendans à la vertu, et qui ont le cueur si hault qu'ils ne veulent, pour mourir, mettre leur fin aux choses basses que l'honneur et la conscience reprouvent; car l'ame, qui n'est creée que pour retourner a son *bien souverain*, ne faict, tant qu'elle est dedans le corps, que désirer d'y parvenir." It should be noted, however, that Marguerite (in the person of Parlamente) also combats the stoical ideal: "A dire la verité, dit Parlamente, il est impossible que la victoire de nous mesmes se face par nous mesmes, sans ung merveilleux orgueil, qui est le vice que chacun doibt le plus craindre; car il s'engendre de la mort et ruyne de toutes les aultres vertuz" (*Hept.*, XXXIV, 291).

[2] Charron, however, describes the rational type under the heading of *preud'hommie*. See *Sagesse*, p. 301: "Or la vraye preud'homme [*sic*] . . . est sage, est libre & franche, masle & genereuse, riante & joyeuse, égale, vniforme, & constante, qui marche d'vn pas ferme, fier, & hautain, allant toûjours son train, sans regarder de costé ny derriere, sans s'arrester & alterer son pas & ses alleures pour le vent, le temps, les occasions, qui se changent, mais non pas elle, i'entends en jugemẽt & en volõté, c'est à dire en l'ame, ou reside & a son siege la preud'homie." The real *preud'homme* is the child of Nature: "[le paysan et autres pauvres gens]. . . . Pour vivre content & heureux, il ne faut pas estre sçavant, courtisan ny tant habile; toute cette suffisance qui est au delà la commune & naturelle."

[3] *Traitiez Philosophiques* (Rouen [chez David Gevffroy], 1622), p. 734 (this is found in Vol. II of the *Œuvres du Sieur Du Vair;* hence the page numbering). Cf. also p. 732: "Le bien doncques de l'homme consistera en l'vsage de la droicte raison, qui est à dire en la vertu, laquelle n'est autre chose que la ferme disposition de notre volonté, à suiure ce qui est honneste & conuenable"; and, especially, what he says on p. 747 against ambition: "Composons nos affections, de façon que la lueur des honneurs n'esbloüisse point nostre raison, & plantons de belles resolutions en nostre esprit, qui luy seruent de barriere contre les assauts de l'ambition. . . . Que la vertu ne cherche point vn plus ample ni plus riche theatre pour se faire voir que sa propre conscience. Plus le soleil est haut, & moins fait il d'ombre: plus la vertu est grande, moins cherche-elle de gloire." The last remark is certainly not Cornelian.

[4] From the XIV *Harangue* of Du Vair.

[5] See E. Cougny, *Guillaume Du Vair* (Paris, 1857), p. 152; but compare what is said below, p. 70, note 1.

When, further, we consider that Corneille had not only read, but taken material from Seneca, Amyot, and Montaigne, and that there was in the heritage of the early seventeenth century a strong current of stoical philosophy,[1] it is clear that his conception of the heroic may well have had, not one, but several sources. At the same time, no single treatise sets forth the ideals of Renaissance society more fully or more definitely than does the *Cortegiano*. The treatise was, as we saw, popular with the generation of 1630, when, following the first period of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, the "courtly" types were being fashioned and defined. Corneille shared in this movement. It would be strange if he had not shared in the influence of the work which was one of its chief sources of inspiration—the more so since his early plays, of an essentially different cast from his tragedies, had at least prepared the way.

Let us now see what are the specific resemblances between Corneille's characters and the *Cortegiano*.

First, there is the question of birth or rank, in which the Renaissance was so much interested.[2] With this the *Cortegiano* proper begins.[3]

Cort. 33. Voglio adunque che questo nostro Cortegiano sia nato *nobile*, e *di generosa famiglia;* perché molto men si disdice ad un ignobile mancar di far operazioni virtuose, che ad uno nobile, il qual se desvia del cammino dei sui antecessori, macula il nome della famiglia, e non solamente non acquista, ma perde il gia acquistato; perché la nobilità è quasi una chiara lampa, che manifesta e fa veder l'opere bone e le male, ed accende e sprona *alla virtú cosí col timor d'infamia*, come ancor *con la speranza di laude:* e non scoprendo questo splendor di nobilità l'opere degl'ignobili, essi mancano dello stimulo, e del timore di quella infamia, né par loro d'esser obligati passar piú avanti di quello che fatto abbiano i sui antecessori; ed ai nobili par biasimo non giunger almeno al termine da' sui primi mostratogli . . . [37] ma . . . avendo noi a formare un Cortegiano senza diffetto alcuno, e

[1] Corneille used Seneca and Montaigne in *Cinna;* the former he had already used in *Médée* (1634 or 1635), and Amyot's *Plutarque* is one of the sources (together with Livy and Mairet) of *Horace*.

On the philosophic movement of the early seventeenth century, see Brunetière, *op. cit.*, II, chap. vii. Malherbe's translation of Seneca's treatise, *On Giving and Receiving Favors* was first published in 1630, while the *Épîtres de Sénèque traduites par M. de Malherbe* did not appear in print until 1639.

[2] For this question as it appears in the "court" treatises of the seventeenth century, influenced by the *Cortegiano*, see the article of Toldo mentioned above.

[3] The citations I give are from the Cian edition of the *Cortegiano* (Florence, 1906).

cumulato d'ogni laude, mi par necessario farlo nobile, sí per molte altre cause, come ancor per la opinione universale, la qual subito accompagna la nobilità. Che se saranno dui omini di palazzo, i quali non abbiano per prima dato impression alcuna di sé stessi con l'opere o bone o male; subito che s'intenda l'un essere nato gentilomo e l'altro no, appresso ciascuno lo ignobile sarà molto meno estimato che 'l nobile, e bisognerà che con molte fatiche e con tempo nella mente degli omini imprima la bona opinion di sé, che l'altro in un momento, e solamente con l'esser gentilomo, avrà acquistata.

An example is given in the Cardinal of Ferrara, who though young shows remarkable qualities.

Cf. Faret, 5:[1]

Ie diray premierement qu'il me semble tres necessaire que celuy qui veut entrer dans ce grand commerce du monde soit *nay de Gentilhomme*, & d'une *maison qui ait quelque bonne marque*. . . .

Ceux de qui les Ancestres se sont rendus signalez par de memorables exploits, se trouvent en quelque façon engagez à suivre le chemin qui leur est ouvert: Et la Noblesse qui comme vne belle lumiere esclaire toutes leurs actions, les excite à la *vertu par ces exemples domestiques*, ou les retire *du vice par la crainte de l'infamie*. Et certes, comme ceux qui sont nez dans le peuple ne pensent pas estre obligez de passer plus avant que ceux de qui ils sont sortis; de mesme vne personne de bonne maison croyroit estre digne de blasme, si du moins elle ne pouvoit parvenir à mesme degré d'estime où ses Predecesseurs sont montez. I'adjouste à cela l'opinion d'un excellent Maistre en cette science [Castiglione], qui dit que c'est vn charme tres puissant pour gagner d'abord la bonne opinion de ceux à qui nous voulons plaire, que *la bonne naissance*. Et n'y a nulle doute que les deux hommes egalement bien faits, qui se presenteront dans vne compagnie sans avoir encore donné aucune impression d'eux qui fist connoistre ce qu'ils pourroient valoir; lors que l'on viendroit à sçavoir que l'un est Gentilhomme, & que l'autre ne l'est pas, il faudroit que ce dernier mist beaucoup de temps, devant que de donner de soy la bonne opinion que le Gentil-homme auroit acquise en vn moment, par la seule connoissance que l'on auroit eue de son extraction.[2]

[1] All the passages cited from the *Honeste Homme* are from the Cornell copy; see above, p. 142.

[2] The ultimate source of these passages is Plato's *Symposium*, 178d, except that what is attributed to Love in Plato is here attributed to Birth. Shelley's translation of the *Symposium*, though not literal, gives at least the import of the original: "For neither birth, nor wealth, nor honours, can awaken in the minds of men the principles which should guide those who from youth aspire to an honourable and excellent life, as Love awakens them. I speak of the fear of shame which deters them from that which is disgraceful; and the love of glory, which incites to honourable deeds." In the original this last sentence is: *λέγω δὲ δὴ τί τοῦτο; τὴν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς αἰσχύνην, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς καλοῖς φιλοτιμίαν;* cf. 179a for a similar contrast. Compare Marsilio Ficino's *Commentary on the Symposium;* I quote from the Italian version (Florence, 1544), p. 19: "Accióche adúnche nói ritorniámo quálche vólta a la utilitá di Amóre: il timóre délla

This insistence on family or birth is strong in Corneille. Compare the *Cid*, vs. 405:

> Je suis jeune, il est vrai, mais aux *âmes bien nées*
> La valeur n'attend point le nombre des années;[1]

Polyeucte, vs. 420:

> Polyeucte a *du nom*, et sort du *sang des rois*.

Even Horace justifies himself to his father by a reference to family; *Horace*, vs. 1427:

> Ma main n'a pu souffrir de crime en votre *race;*
> Ne souffrez point de tache en *la maison* d'Horace.

And, accordingly, the pride of race speaks forth in Horace's words, vs. 435:

> Et comme il [le sort] voit en nous des âmes peu communes,
> Hors de l'ordre commun il nous fait des fortunes.
> Combattre un ennemi pour le salut de tous,
> Et contre un inconnu s'exposer seul aux coups,
> D'une *simple* vertu c'est l'effet ordinaire. . . .
> Mais vouloir au public immoler ce qu'on aime,
> S'attacher au combat contre un autre soi-même . . .
> Une *telle* vertu n'appartenait qu'à nous.

Contrast with this the character of Curiace, who though no less valiant does not claim to be a superman, vs. 468:

> J'ai le cœur aussi bon, mais enfin je suis homme.

See also the words of the elder Horace, vs. 1661:

> J'aime trop l'honneur, Sire, et ne suis point de *rang*
> A souffrir ni d'affront ni de crime *en mon sang*.

Second, the unifying element of the Courtier's character is his *virtù*. This is shown in numerous passages of the Italian work; in none more clearly than in the following:[2]

infâmia che da le cõse inonéste ci discõsta, & il desidério délla Glória, che a le onorévoli imprése ci fâ cáldi, agévolmente & prêsto da Amõre procédono."

As for France, the influence of the *Cortegiano* is seen in the well-known passage from Rabelais: *Gargantua*, chap. lvii [Lefranc ed.]: "parceque gens liberes, *bien nez*, bien instruictz, conversans en compaignies honnestes, ont par nature un instinct et aiguillon qui toujours les poulse à faictz vertueux et retire de vice, lequel ilz nommoient honneur." Descartes, *Traité*, Art. 206, reads: "Or la gloire et la honte ont même usage en ce qu'elles nous incitent à la vertu, l'une par l'espérance, l'autre par la crainte."

[1] *Las Mocedades*, I, 409, reads:

> Qué imagino, pues que tengo mas valor que pocos años.

This is a more likely source for Corneille here than the passage from Du Vair cited above, p. 67. In any case, it is Corneille who stresses the idea of birth.

[2] On the use of *virtù* by others, especially Machiavelli, see E. W. Mayer, *Machiavellis Geschichtsauffassung und sein Begriff virtù* (Munich and Berlin, 1912).

Cort. 130. Però è necessario, che'l nostro Cortegiano in ogni sua operazione sia cauto, e ciò che dice o fa sempre accompagni con prudenzia; e non solamente ponga cura d'aver in sé parti e condizioni eccellenti, ma il tenor della vita sua ordini con tal disposizione, che'l tutto corrisponda a queste parti, e si vegga il medesimo esser sempre ed in ogni cosa tal che non discordi da sé stesso, ma faccia un corpo sol di tutte queste bone condizioni; di sorte che ogni suo atto risulti e sia composto di tutte le virtú, come dicono i Stoici esser officio di chi è savio: benché però in ogni operazion sempre una virtú è la principale; ma tutte sono talmente tra sé concatenate, che vanno ad un fine, e ad ogni effetto tutte possono concorrere e servire. Però bisogna che sappia valersene, e *per lo paragone e quasi contrarietà dell'una talor far che l'altra sia più chiaramente conosciuta.*

Cf. Faret 67:

Il faut qu'il soit avisé & adroit en tout ce qu'il fera, & qu'il ne mette pas seulement des soins à s'acquérir toutes les bonnes conditions que ie luy ai representées, mais que la suite & l'ordre de sa vie soit reglé avec une telle disposition, que le tout réponde à chaque partie. Qu'il soit égal en toutes choses, & que sans se contrarier iamais / [68] soymesme, il forme vn corps solide & parfait de toutes ces belles qualitez, de sorte que ses moindres actions soient comme animées d'un esprit de sagesse & de vertu.

Unity of purpose, conceived abstractly, is one of the most characteristic traits of Corneille's heroes and heroines. Lanson has shown (*Hommes et livres*, 119) that, like Descartes, Corneille proceeds on the assumption that "few men are so weak and irresolute that they desire only what their passions dictate. The majority are fixed in their judgments, according to which they regulate a part —[the major part]—of their actions." See the *Traité des passions*, Art. 49.[1]

Perhaps the best illustration of set purpose or dominant *vertu* is the patriotism of Horace. Having once reasoned out his course, and for this the play gives him ample opportunity, Horace never wavers. His patriotism having become a "judgment," it is in the name of reason that he kills Camille. A single line sums up the situation: *Horace*, vs. 1319:

C'est trop, ma patience à la *raison* fait place.

[1] Cf. Charron, *Sagesse*, 144: "Ainsi en l'homme l'entendement est le souverain, qui a sous soy vne puissance estimative & imaginative comme vn Magistrat, pour connoistre & juger par le rapport des sens . . . mais le malheur est, que cette puissance qui est au dessous de l'entendement . . . se laisse la pluspart du temps corrompre ou tromper, dont elle iuge mal & temerairement."

We know that Chapelain, who considered the ending of the play *brutale et froide*, suggested to Corneille means of improving it. Whether Corneille changed the text or not is uncertain, but in any case the last act seeks to justify Horace on the basis of the Aristotelian tragic flaw or "fatal error."[1] *Horace*, vs. 1405:

> Quand la gloire nous enfle, il [le jugement célèste]
> sait bien comme il faut
> Confondre notre orgueil qui s'élève trop haut. . . .
> Il mêle à nos vertus *des marques de faiblesse*,
> Et rarement accorde à notre ambition
> L'entier et pur honneur d'une bonne action.

However, Horace is no exception to Corneille's practice of representing character as determined or settled in its action. Polyeucte, Cléopâtre, Nicomède are no less striking examples of what Lanson has called Corneille's "rectilinear action."[2] When there is a change, a repentance, it is sudden or abrupt; the personage makes a *volte-face;* for instance, Maxime in *Cinna*, vs. 1666:

> Honorez moins, Seigneur, une âme criminelle.

Third, there is the constant appeal to the reason and the conscious will.

Cort. 274. Ma la vera magnanimità viene da una propria deliberazione e *determinata voluntà* di far cosí, e da estimare piú l'onore e'l debito che tutti i periculi del mondo; e, benché si conosca la morte manifesta, esser di core e d'animo tanto saldo, che i sentimenti non restino impediti né si spaventino, ma *faccian l'officio loro* circa il discorrere e pensare [in speech and thought], cosí come se fossero quietissimi. Di questa sorte avemo veduto ed inteso esser grand'omini; medesimamente molte donne, le quali, e negli antichi seculi e nei presenti, hanno mostrato *grandezza d'animo*, e fatto al mondo effetti degni d'infinita laude, non men che s'abbian fatto gli omini.

[Virtue is natural in us but] [363] se si deve ridurre in atto, ed all'abito suo perfetto, non si contenta, come s'è detto, della natura sola, ma ha bisogno della artificiosa consuetudine e *della ragione*, la quale purifichi e dilucidi quell'anima, levandole il tenebroso velo della ignoranzia, dalla qual quasi tutti gli errori degli omini procedono: ché se il bene e'l male fossero ben conosciuti ed intesi, ognuno sempre eleggeria il bene, e fuggiria il male. Però la virtú si pò quasi dir une prudenzia ed un saper eleggere il bene, e'l

[1] See Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, pp. 280 ff.

[2] Cf. what Corneille has to say on Aristotle's precept of the average goodness of tragic characters in his *Premier Discours*, Marty-Laveaux, I, 31; and see Searles's interesting observations on the same in *Modern Philology*, XIII (1915), 175.

vizio una imprudenzia ed ignoranzia che induce a giudicar falsamente; perché non eleggono mai gli omini il male con opinion che sia male, ma s'ingannano per una certa similitudine di bene.[1]

Cf. Faret, p. 25 and particularly p. 121:

Leur iugement la [conduitte] fait touiours demeurer dans la *raison* & sçait retenir la rapidité de son mouuement auec plus de force qu'vne digue bien fermée & appuyée, ne peut arrester l'impetuosité d'vne riuiere, ou les rauuages d'vn torrent. [From the section on the Honestes Gens].

Descartes [Arts. 41 and 45] remarks: *La volonté* est tellement libre de sa nature qu'elle ne peut jamais être contrainte . . . [les actions] sont absolument en son [de l'âme] pouvoir et ne peuvent qu'indirectement être changées par le corps." Also Art. 48: "Ce que je nomme ses propres armes [de la volonté] sont des *jugements* fermes et déterminés touchant la connaissance du bien et du mal, suivant lesquels elle a résolu de conduire les actions de sa vie."[2]

With all this Corneille agrees. Compare the following examples:

Cinna, vs. 1696:

Je suis maître de moi comme de l'univers;
Je le suis, je *veux* l'être. O siècles, ô mémoire,
Conservez à jamais ma dernière victoire!

Polyeucte, vs. 477:

Et sur mes passions ma *raison souveraine*
Eût blâmé mes soupirs et dissipé ma haine.

Nicomède, vs. 189:

Seigneur, *si j'ai raison*, qu'importe à qui je sois?
Perd-elle de son prix pour emprunter ma voix?

Agésilas, vs. 1987:

Un roi né pour l'éclat des grandes actions
Dompte jusqu'à ses passions,
Et ne se croit point roi, s'il ne fait sur lui-même
Le plus illustre essai de son *pouvoir suprême.*

"Magnanimity" is reinforced in the *Cortegiano* on p. 368, where it is said that this virtue comes last and strengthens all other virtues:

[1] Cf. Du Vair, 733: "Or n'y a-il nul doute qu'en nous le principe & mouuemēt de nos actions ne soit *l'entendement & la volonté*, le bien donques que nous cherchons doit estre leur perfection, leur repos & leur contentement." And 736: "Or ce qui peut le pl' pour nous mettre en ce chemin, & nous apprendre à auoir les mouuemēs de l'esprit droits, & la volonté reiglée par la raison, c'est la *prudence*, qui est à mon advis & le cōmencemēt & la fin de toutes les vertus."

See Lanson, *Hommes et livres*, pp. 115, 118 ff.

"ma essa sola star non pò, perché chi non ha altra virtú, non pò esser *magnanimo.*" See Descartes, Art. 161:

si on s'occupe souvent à considérer ce que c'est que le libre arbitre . . . on peut exciter en soi la passion et ensuite acquérir la *vertu de générosité*, laquelle étant comme la clef de toutes les autres vertus, et un remède général contre tous les dérèglements des passions, il me semble que cette considération mérite bien d'être remarquée.

The process whereby a character attains to this perfection is shown precisely in *Cinna;* see Lanson, *Hommes et livres*, p. 125. A further citation from *Horace* may be of interest; the words are those of the king at the end of the play, vs. 1759:

> Vis donc, Horace, vis, guerrier trop *magnanime:*
> Ta vertu met ta gloire[1] au-dessus de ton crime.

Cf. the *Cid*, vs. 493:

> Chimène a *l'âme haute*, et quoiqu' intéressée,
> Elle ne peut souffrir une basse pensée.

Fourth, the passions are nevertheless not to be wholly rejected; a "good" passion, wisely chosen, gives strength to the soul and insures the victory of the reason.

Cort. 367. Però non è conveniente, per levar le perturbazioni, estipar gli affetti in tutto; ché questo saria come se per fuggir la ebrietà, si facesse un editto che niuno bevesse vino, o perché talor correndo l'ome cade, si interdicesse ad ognuno il correre. . . . *Gli affetti* adunque, modificati dalla temperanzia, sono *favorevoli alla virtú*, come l'ira che aiuta la fortezza, l'odio contra i scelerati aiuta la giustizia, e medesimamente l'altre virtú sono aiutate dagli affetti; li quali se fossero in tutto levati, lassariano la ragione debilissima e languida, di modo che poco operar potrebbe, come governator di nave abbandonato da' venti in gran calma.

Ibid. 366. Ed a me pare che quella virtú la quale, essendo nell' animo nostro discordia tra la ragione e l'appetito, combatte e *dà la vittoria alla ragione*, si debba estimar piú perfetta che quella che vince non avendo cupidità né affetto alcuno che le contrasti.

Here again the student of Corneille and Descartes recognizes the principle of combatting one passion with another, as Émilie does in *Cinna*, Pauline in *Polyeucte*, Chimène and Rodrigue in the *Cid*, etc.,

[1] On the use of the word *gloire* in the seventeenth century, see Huguet, *Glossaire des classiques*, p. 184. Descartes, Art. 204, says: "une espèce de joie, fondée sur l'amour qu'on a pour soi-même, et qui vient de l'opinion ou de l'espérance qu'on a d'être loué par quelques autres. Ainsi elle est différente de la satisfaction intérieure, qui vient de l'opinion qu'on a d'avoir fait quelque bonne action."

the occasion of so many of Corneille's *tirades*, and the essence of the following passages in the *Traité:*

Art. 45. Nos passions ne peuvent pas aussi directement être excitées ni ôtées par l'action de notre volonté, mais elles peuvent l'être indirectement par la représentation des choses qui ont coutume d'être jointes avec *les passions que nous voulons avoir*, et qui sont contraires à celles que nous voulons rejeter.

Art. 48. Or c'est par le *succès* de ces combats que chacun peut connaître la force ou la faiblesse de son âme. Car ceux en qui naturellement la volonté peut le plus aisément vaincre les passions et arrêter les mouvements du corps qui les accompagnent, ont sans doute les âmes plus fortes.[1]

In particular, cf. *Horace*, vs. 433:

> Il [le sort] épuise sa force à former un malheur
> Pour mieux *se mesurer* avec notre valeur;

and *Polyeucte*, vs. 165:

> Une femme d'honneur peut avouer sans honte
> Ces surprises des sens que la raison surmonte;
> Ce n'est qu'en ces *assauts* qu'éclate la vertu,
> Et l'on doute d'un coeur qui n'a point *combattu*.[2]

Finally, the supreme aim is tranquillity: the serene soul, *le repos d'âme.*

Cort. 366. Cosí questa virtú non sforzando l'animo, ma infondendogli per vie placidissime una veemente persuasione che lo inclina alla onestà, lo rende quieto e pien di riposo, in tutto eguale e ben misurato, e da ogni canto composto d'una certa concordia con sé stesso, che lo adorna di cosí *serena tranquillità* che mai non si turba, ed in tutto diviene obedientissimo alla ragione, e pronto di volgere ad essa ogni suo movimento, e seguirla ovunque condur lo voglia, senza repugnanzia alcuna. . . . Questa virtú è perfettissima, e conviensi massimamente ai principi, perché da lei ne nascono molte altre.

Descartes, Art. 148. Car quiconque a vécu en telle sorte, que sa conscience ne lui peut reprocher qu'il ait jamais manqué à faire toutes les choses qu'il a jugées être les meilleures (qui est ce que je nomme ici suivre *la vertu*),

[1] See Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[2] On this whole question see also Coeffeteau, *Tableau des passions humaines* (Paris, 1620), pp. 60 ff.: "Et certes il semble que les Stoïques n'ont remarqué en l'homme autre composition que celle du corps & de l'ame, et qu'ils ont ignoré la diuersité des puissances intellectuelles & sensitiues, de la raison & de la sensualité; veu qu'autrement il n'y a nulle apparence qu'ils eussent voulu laisser l'Appetit sensitif ocieux en l'homme comme il faut, une fois deliuré de tous les mouuements des Passions. . . . Aussi l'effort de la vertu ne consiste pas à exterminer ou à arracher entièremẽt de l'ame les Passions naturelles, mais à les moderer & à les regir auec le frein de la raison."

il en reçoit une satisfaction, qui est si puissante pour le rendre heureux, que les plus violents efforts des passions n'ont jamais assez de pouvoir pour troubler *la tranquillité* de son âme.

Nicomède is perhaps the best single example of the possession of this trait. But note also the following:

Polyeucte, vs. 723:

> Douce *tranquillité*, que je n'ose espérer,
> Que ton divin rayon tarde à les éclairer![1]

Ibid., vs. 1191:

> J'ai de l'ambition, mais plus noble et plus belle:
> Cette grandeur périt, j'en veux une immortelle,
> Un bonheur assuré, sans mesure et sans fin,
> Au-dessus de l'envie, au-dessus du destin.

And the passage from *Pompée*, vs. 489, which Voltaire condemned for its *esprit faux:*

> La même majesté sur son visage empreinte
> Entre ses assassins montre *un esprit sans crainte;*
> Sa vertu tout entière à la mort le conduit.
> . . . . . .
> Immobile à leurs coups, en lui-même il rappelle
> Ce qu'eut de beau sa vie, et ce qu'on dira d'elle;
> Et tient la trahison que le roi leur prescrit
> Trop au-dessous de lui pour y prêter l'esprit.
> Sa vertu dans leur crime augmente ainsi son lustre;
> Et son dernier soupir est un soupir illustre,
> Qui de cette grande âme achevant les destins,
> Étale tout Pompée aux yeux des assassins.[2]

By way of corollary it may be added that Corneille's concept of the Prince is entirely in accord with the foregoing ideal. His

[1] Cf. Mme de la Fayette, *La Princesse de Clèves*, 1ière partie: "Elle lui faisoit voir . . . quelle *tranquillité* suivoit la vie d'une honnête femme, et combien la *vertu* donnoit d'éclat et d'élévation à une personne qui avoit de la beauté et de la *naissance*."

[2] Corneille, according to the *Au Lecteur*, used Lucan as his source for the play. Amyot, who relates the story after Plutarch, says in the simplest language: "et adonc Pompeius tira sa robe à deux mains au devant de sa face, sans dire ne faire aucune chose indigne de luy, et endura *vertueusement* les coups qu'ilz luy donnerent, en soupirant un peu seulement, estant aagé de cinquante neuf ans, et ayant achevé sa vie le jour ensuyvant celuy de sa nativité" (Darmesteter-Hatzfeld, *Seizième siècle*, Part II, p. 151).

dramas, to be sure, are not lacking in contemporary political references.[1] But the "type" is nevertheless well defined. In *Pompée*, vs. 1193, Cléopâtre says:

> Il vous plaint d'écouter ces lâches politiques
> Qui n'inspirent aux rois que des mœurs tyranniques:
> Ainsi que la naissance, ils ont les esprits bas.
> En vain on les élève à régir des États:
> Un cœur né pour servir sait mal comme on commande.

Thus according to Castiglione (353), being nobly born, graceful, agreeable, and expert in so many exercises would be vain if

> il Cortegiano non producesse altro frutto che l'esser tale per sé stesso. . . . Il fin [354] adunque del perfetto Cortegiano . . . estimo io che sia il guardagnarsi, per mezzo delle condizioni attribuitegli da questi signori, talmente la benivolenzia e l'animo di quel principe a cui serve, che possa dirgli e sempre gli dica la verità d'ogni cosa che ad esso convenga sapere, senza timor o periculo di dispiacergli. . . . [and] far vedere al suo principe, quanto onore ed utile nasca a lui ed alli suoi dalla giustizia, dalla liberalità, dalla magnanimità [etc.].

And the ideal, thus led up to, Castiglione completes in the statement that the sovereign is (373) "piú presto semideo che omo mortale." For

> così come nel cielo il sole e la luna e le altre stelle mostrano al mondo, quasi come in specchio, una certa similitudine di Dio, cosí in terra molto piú simile imagine di Dio son que' bon principi che l'amano e reveriscono, e mostrano ai popoli la splendida luce della sua giustizia, accompagnata da una ombra di quella ragione ed intelletto divino.

Here we have the idea of the Roi-Soleil in one of its earliest forms—an idea which, strange to say, Corneille places in the mouth of Camille in *Horace*, when, speaking of the gods, she says, vs. 843:

> Ils descendent bien moins dans de si bas étages
> Que dans l'âme des rois, leurs vivantes images,
> De qui l'indépendante et sainte autorité
> Est un rayon secret de leur divinité.

One might also dwell further on Corneille's treatment of love as essentially neo-Platonic. What binds Chimène to Rodrigue is the love of perfection (the *Cid*, vs. 931):

> Tu t'es, en m'offensant, montré digne de moi;
> Je me dois, par ma mort, montrer digne de toi.

[1] See Jules Levallois, *Corneille inconnu*, 231 ff.

Pauline loves Sévère because (*Polyeucte*, vs. 181):

> jamais notre Rome
> N'a produit plus grand cœur, ni vu *plus honnête homme.*

In *Othon*, Plautine pleads (vs. 311):

> Il est un autre amour dont les voeux innocents
> S'élèvent au-dessus du commerce des sens.
> Plus la flamme en est pure et plus elle est durable;
> Il rend de son objet le cœur inséparable;
> Il a de vrais plaisirs dont ce cœur est charmé,
> Et n'aspire qu'au bien d'aimer et d'être aimé.

All of this agrees with the famous discourse from the lips of Cardinal Bembo at the close of the *Cortegiano* (421):

> deve allor il Cortegiano, sentendosi preso, deliberarsi totalmente di fuggir ogni bruttezza dell'amor vulgare, e cosí entrar nella divina strada amorosa con la guida della ragione, e prima considerar che'l corpo, ove quella bellezza risplende, non è il fonte ond'ella nasce, anzi che la bellezza, per esser cosa incorporea, e, come avemo detto, un raggio divino, perde molto della sua dignità trovandosi congiunta con quel subietto vile e corruttibile; perché tanto piú è perfetta quanto men di lui partecipa, e da quello in tutto separata è perfettissima.

Where is there a clearer justification for the drama of ideas as opposed to the realities of life? of the Platonism of Corneille as opposed to the Aristotelianism of Chapelain? of the "fiction" of *Polyeucte* as opposed to the "truth" of Racine's *Bérénice?*

But enough has been said to show the relevancy of the comparison. Corneille's conception of character—of human strength and weakness, motive and purpose, etc.—and that of Castiglione practically agree. Not that Corneille need, in any sense, have "copied" the *Cortegiano;* the subject was in the air, and Castiglione's work was itself modeled on the stoical ideals that had long been current. In general, we can agree with Lanson that Richelieu, Retz, Turenne exemplified the heroic type in real life. Some truth certainly there is in Lanson's statement: "Le type intellectuel et actif nous échappe. Nous le nions: nous accusons Corneille de l'avoir inventé. Mais Descartes nous avertit que Corneille n'a pas rêvé." Every philosophy worthy of the name has a background in belief and therefore in reality. Nevertheless, the fact remains (1) that beginning with the *Cid*

voices were raised against the unreality of Corneille's plays, (2) that his great tragedies are practically all of the heroic cast, and (3) that he began to treat the type at a definite moment in his career and in a detailed and consistent manner. "Si c'était rencontre," says Brunetière (187), "ou hasard dans *le Cid*, c'est de parti pris maintenant qu'il va rompre avec l'imitation de la vie commune; et dans le dessin des caractères, il ne se laissera plus désormais guider que par la recherche de l''illustre' et de l''extraordinaire.' Le cas mérite qu'on le signale à ceux qui répètent qu'en tout art, en tout temps, l'imitation de la nature a été l'objet de l'artiste ou du poète." Rather than explain the change, as Brunetière does, by Corneille's "imagination . . . forte et hardie, héroïque et hautaine, subtile et chicanière"; or, as Lanson explains it, by his "intense actualité,"[1] I should, without denying an element of truth in both of these opinions, explain it specifically by the poet's closer contact with the court (after 1633), where the "ideal" of the courtier was certainly discussed, if not always followed. I repeat: Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, paraphrased by le sieur Faret in 1630, was the breviary of the *honnêtes gens*. That builder of phrases, Balzac, knew the Italian work, and pilfered from it in his *Aristippe*. Why should not Corneille have been influenced by it?

In conclusion, let me say that despite his vanity (which at times seems inordinate) Corneille was by nature timid and simple, at least so La Bruyère avers.[2] His ineffectual struggle against the rules shows that he did not have that daring, which M. Jusserand, for example (*Shakespeare in France*, 92), would grant him. As Searles has shown,[3] the originality which Lanson sees in his independence from Artistotle is itself in large measure an imitation of the Italians: Minturno, Castelvetro, Vettori, etc. Thus his originality consists, not in theory, but in "realization." All his life long he curried the favor of the great: his *examens* and prefaces show that, his *discours* wherein he defends himself, and passage after passage in his plays. Clearly he was not adroit. But he was successful; because his particular genius, rhetorical and enamored of the

[1] See above, p. 134.

[2] *Les Caractères*, édition variorum, p. 296; cf. Levallois, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[3] "Corneille and the Italian Doctrinaires," *Modern Philology*, XIII (1915), 169 ff.; see also Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 2d ed., p. 246.

grandiose, found an outlet in the heroic type in which his particular age pictured to itself its ideal. In expressing this ideal he is both varied and resourceful, to an eminent degree.

The second quarter of the seventeenth century, with its "blue chambers," its sighing marquises, its aristocratic impulses—above all its preciosity and grandiloquence—was after all an attempt to break with the realities of existence; to realize the individual, not as he is, but as he should be. The parallelism with the early nineteenth century is apparent. Corneille's Médée cries out at the apex of her misfortunes:

> (Dans un si grand revers que vous reste-t-il?)—Moi:
> Moi, dis-je, et c'est assez. [*Médée*, vs. 320.]

And the reaction, completed in Racine, is inevitable. Pascal, *Pensées*, §455,[1] reads: "Le *moi* est haïssable . . . car chaque *moi* . . . voudrait être le tyran de tous les autres." In short, like Hugo, Corneille is a romanticist, not of the emotions but of the reason. "One can understand," says Professor Strachey, "how verse created from such material might be vigorous and impressive; it is difficult to imagine how it could also be passionate—until one has read Corneille. Then one realizes afresh the compelling power of genius. His tragic personages, standing forth without mystery, without 'atmosphere,' without local color, but simply in the clear white light of reason, rivet our attention, and seem at last to seize upon our very souls."[2]

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[1] Ed. Brunschvicg (Hachette, 1907).

[2] *Landmarks in French Literature*, p. 52.

[NOTE.—Mr. Van Roosbroeck, of Minneapolis, has called my attention to the interesting fact that a reprint of Chappuis' translation of the *Cortegiano* was printed by Georges l'Oyselet in Rouen; it is the edition published in Paris, by Cl. Micard, in 1585; cf. Brunet, *Manuel*, p. 1631.

Correction: "pétardes" on p. 3 of the first article should, of course, read: "pétarades."]

THE CONSULTATION SCENE OF *L'AMOUR MÉDECIN*

L'Amour Médecin, according to Molière himself, is "un simple crayon, un petit impromptu, dont le Roi a voulu se faire un divertissement." It was "proposé, fait, appris et représenté en cinq jours" (September, 1665). The comic elements of the little sketch are furnished chiefly by four doctors who, summoned by Sganarelle for a consultation on the case of his sick daughter, spend their time in irrelevant conversation (II, 3); in a dispute as to the nature of the patient's malady and the proper remedies to be prescribed (II, 4, 5); in a reconciliation (III, 1, 2) at the suggestion of a fifth doctor, who urges his colleagues to cease their disputes in order to deceive their clients more effectively. While this is going on, the patient is supposed to be lying at the point of death.

The study devoted to this little play in the Grands Écrivains edition of Molière's works presents most of the contemporary illustrative material which is available, and arrives at the conclusion that *L'Amour Médecin* is not based upon any special contemporary event.[1] It is the purpose of this paper to review the old and to present some new evidence in an effort to establish, or at least render more probable, the contrary point of view.

In the consultation scenes (II, 3–5) which form the kernel of the piece, M. Tomès, after some turmoil, delivers his opinion first: "Monsieur, nous avons raisonné sur la maladie de votre fille, et mon avis, à moi, est que cela procède d'une grande chaleur du sang: ainsi je conclus à la saigner le plus tôt que vous pourrez." M. des Fonandrès then makes his pronouncement: "Et moi, je dis que sa maladie est une pourriture d'humeurs, causée par une trop grande réplétion; ainsi je conclus à lui donner de l'émétique." These two worthies enter upon a violent discussion as to the proper remedy and finally leave the room. In the following scene (II, 4) M. Macroton and the subservient M. Bahys in perfect harmony give their diagnosis and outline a method of treatment. They agree that the patient's symptoms are: "indicatifs d'une vapeur fuligineuse

[1] *Œuvres de Molière* (Paris, 1873), V, 275.

et mordicante qui lui picote les membranes du cerveau"; that "cette vapeur que nous nommons en grec *atmos* est causée par des humeurs putrides et conglutineuses qui sont contenues dans le bas ventre." After outlining a formidable program of cathartics, M. Macroton and his satellite, M. Bahys, admit that the girl may die, but point out to the distracted father that he will, at least, have the satisfaction of knowing that she has died "dans les formes." According to a note found among the manuscripts of Brossette, Boileau furnished Molière with the names, derived from Greek, of the four doctors who figure in these scenes: Des Fonandrès (mankiller) designated Beda des Fougerais; Macroton (long or great tone) was Guénaut; Tomès (bloodletter) signified d'Aquin; and Bahys (barker or yelper, "aboyeur") designated Esprit.

A scene, similar to the one portrayed by Molière, was enacted in 1661 by four doctors who sat in consultation during a crisis in the last sickness of the cardinal Mazarin. This is the description of it as given by Gui Patin:

> Ce matin le Mazarin a reçu l'extrême-onction et de là est tombé dans une grande faiblesse. . . . Hier à deux heures . . . quatre de ses médecins, savoir: Guénaut, Valot, Brayer et Beda des Fougerais, *alterquoient* ensemble et ne s'accordoient de l'espèce de la maladie dont le malade mouroit; Brayer dit que la rate est gâtée; Guénaut dit que c'est le foie; Valot dit que c'est le poumon et qu'il y a de l'eau dans la poitrine; des Fougerais dit que c'est un abcès du mésentère, et qu'il a vidé du pus, qu'il en a vu dans les selles, et en ce cas-là il a vu ce que pas un des autres n'a vu. Ne voilà pas d'habiles gens. Ce sont les fourberies ordinaires des empiriques et des médecins de cour, qu'on fait suppléer à l'ignorance.[1]

The situation is the same, and two of the doctors, Guénaut and des Fougerais, are by common consent identical in both cases.

In his *Les Médecins au Temps de Molière*,[2] Maurice Raynaud attempted to identify the other two also, Vallot and Brayer with Tomès and Bahys. According to him, d'Aquin "était grand donneur d'antimoine, par conséquent grand ennemi de la saignée. . . . Il est plus probable qu'il s'agit de Vallot, alors premier médecin du Roi, et qui saignait en effet beaucoup, à commencer par son maître." In opposing the conclusion of Raynaud, the editors of Molière present

[1] *Lettres de Gui Patin* (Paris, 1843), III, 338 *f.*

[2] Paris, 1862, pp. 135 *f.*

in the first place a very doubtful argument: "Il est vrai que lorsqu'il [d'Aquin] eut succédé à Vallot (1671), il se garda de pratiquer, comme lui (Vallot) des saignées sur le Roi, qu'il savait en être effrayé: d'Aquin était avant tout courtisan."[1] They also cite in support of their argument Gui Patin, according to whom Vallot opposed bleeding the king in 1658, but they neglect to add the fact cited by them later (p. 327, n. 2), that Patin here is in contradiction with the *Journal de la Santé du Roi*.[2] They are greatly influenced, if not absolutely determined, by the consideration that Molière would naturally have hesitated to present in his comedy, "le premier médecin du Roi," because "Le Roi . . . pouvait trouver bon qu'on le fît rire aux dépens des premiers médecins de sa famille, très mauvais qu'on se moquât du sien, à qui une vie si auguste était particulièrement confiée" (*ibid.*, p. 273). This consideration has weight; it may well have caused the transference of the identification of Tomès from Vallot to d'Aquin by writers like Brossette and Cizeron Rival,[3] who, writing many years later, could hardly have known all the circumstances.

Neither Raynaud nor the editors of Molière make any effort to establish just what was the standing of Vallot at court at the time when *L'Amour Médecin* was produced. In a letter of 1655, Gui Patin writes: "La reine a refusé à Valot la permission de faire venir des médecins pour traiter avec lui le roi et pour consulter pour lui à Fontainebleau. . . . On tient Valot en grand danger d'être chassé . . . au moins en est-il en danger si le cardinal ne le remet aux bonnes grâces du roi et de la reine avec lesquels il est fort mal."[4] Later in the same letter he asserts: "J'ai appris que Valot est fort mal en cour, que la reine l'a rudement traité et presque chassé; que le roi l'a menacé, et qu'il ne tient plus qu'à un filet" (II, 211). A week later he announces: "Aujourd'hui le Mazarin défend Valot et

[1] *Op. cit.*, V, 272.

[2] They also allege the fact that a bloodletting administered by d'Aquin was said to have hastened the death of Marie Thérèse. But, as this event did not occur till 1683, it could not have had any influence upon Molière or Boileau; it may, however, have influenced the identification of Brossette.

[3] Cizeron Rival enlarged upon the notes of Brossette in his *Récréations littéraires* (Paris, 1765), and is generally cited in this connection.

[4] *Op. cit.*, II, 209.

tâche de le remettre aux bonnes grâces du roi et de la reine, en disant qu'il n'a rien fait que par son ordre" (II, 214). A year later we read: "Valot avoit encouru la disgrâce générale de toute la cour, et même du roi et de la reine; mais le Mazarin l'a maintenu par raison d'Etat et la sienne particulière" (III, 65). A letter of the following year notes with evident relish that Vallot is being called Gargantua: "depuis qu'il tua Gargant, intendant des finances" (III, 77). He is said to have come near losing even the favor of the cardinal (II, 360), but seems to have soon effected a reconciliation, for in a letter of 1658 Gui Patin reiterates: "Le roi d'une part et la reine de l'autre, vouloient faire chasser Valot, et l'eussent fait, mais Mazarin l'a maintenu" (III, 90). A letter of 1659 must reflect at least something of contemporary opinion: "Nous avons à la cour deux médecins fort superbes. Valot est le premier, qui fait tout ce qu'il peut pour attrapper de l'argent et se remplumer de *la grosse somme qu'il a donnée* pour être premier médecin" (III, 153).[1] In 1660 we read: "La reine-mère est fort dépitée contre Valot; on a parlé de lui ôter sa charge, et de le réduire à une pension viagère, en donnant sa place à un autre" (III, 247). A short time afterward: "Valot n'est pas bien en cour. S'il perd une fois son patron il est mal en ses affaires, et sera renvoyé comme ignorant" (III, 257). A letter of November of the same year contains in the way of gossip this item: "Le roi s'est dépité contre Valot, et au lieu de prendre sa médecine l'a jetée par terre" (III, 289). In September of the following year it is said: "Valot est malade de fièvre, rhumatisme et érysipèle. On dit aussi que c'est de regret de ce que le roi lui a reproché qu'il étoit espion et pensionnaire du sieur Fouquet" (III, 390). Finally on August 18, 1665, less than a month before the representation of *L'Amour Médecin*, the king is said to have manifested his displeasure against Valot for something the latter had said against the physician of the queen-mother (III, 549). Granting that the statements of Gui Patin must often be considerably discounted, it seems nevertheless evident that the king could have felt no great displeasure in seeing this physician held up to ridicule, even though he was occupying the charge of "premier médecin du roi."

[1] The italicized phrase may well have some relation to the continued retention of Vallot at court.

The editors of Molière come to this conclusion finally: "D'Aquin et Vallot aimaient, l'un comme l'autre, la saignée; dès lors reste-t-il une bonne raison de substituer au nom de celui-là le nom de celui-ci?" (V, 273). There *is* a good reason, and it consists in the record of bloodlettings attributed to Vallot by Gui Patin, who has very little to say in this regard concerning d'Aquin. To begin with, here is a very significant item from a letter of 1657:

> La Duchesse de Lorraine a pris deux fois d'une certaine drogue stibiale, que le charlatan appelloit de l'or potable; et d'autant qu'elle empira fort, le sieur Valot la fit rudement saigner, *inter stibium et lethum:* d'où vient la grosse querelle qui est aujourd'hui entre lui et le petit Vignon . . . qui a dit tout haut que Valot l'avoit tué (*sic*) de l'avoir tant fait saigner; sur quoi j'apprends qu'il court un papier latin imprimé contre le dit Valot [I, 222].

The station of the unfortunate patient and the publicity given to the event were in themselves enough to have fastened upon the physician the reputation of being a bloodletting zealot. During the illness of Mazarin (1660) the statement is made that "Le cardinal Mazarin a été saigné (ce dimanche 1er août) en tout sept fois" (III, 245).[1] A little later in the course of the same illness it is announced that the cardinal "a été déjà saigné cinq fois. Valot est bien empêché" (III, 257). Six months later he writes: "Le cardinal a fait de grands reproches à Valot de ne l'avoir pu guérir et d'être cause de sa mort; l'autre, pour paroître fâché de tels reproches, s'est mis au lit et s'est fait saigner trois fois" (III, 337). Finally in announcing a sickness of Vallot himself (1662) Gui Patin announces that, as a preliminary treatment, "Il (Vallot) a été saigné plusieurs fois" (III, 410). These details of resemblance and of circumstance should have at least as much weight as the identification made by Brossette more than thirty years after the event.

The other identification which must be established if possible is that of M. Bahys. In the manuscript notes of Brossette the name of Esprit ("premier médecin de Monsieur") is bracketed after the name Bahis, or Bahys. Cizeron Rival, editor of the correspondence of Boileau and Brossette, enlarges upon this note (*op. cit.*, pp. 25 f.) and adds that Boileau "donna à M. Esprit, qui bredouillait, celui (le nom) de Bahis, qui signifie jappant, aboyant." It is apparent

[1] Inasmuch as Vallot is represented in the closest attendance on the Cardinal at this time, it must have been by his orders.

that a Greek word meaning "to yelp" or "to bark" was not a very apt designation for a man who "stammered." It was for this reason that Raynaud connected the name of M. Bahys with Brayer, the doctor who figures in the consultation on the case of Mazarin. But the editors of Molière reject this identification: "Supposer que Bahys (aboyeur) pourrait bien être Brayer (prononcer brailler) est sans doute une conjecture séduisante; mais puisqu'on nous dit qu'Esprit bredouillait l'allusion devient plus claire encore; tenons-nous-en à Esprit" (p. 274). But a few pages farther on (p. 288) these same editors admit that "La prononciation lente de M. Macroton et le bredouillement de M. Bahys seraient des indications fort claires, s'il était prouvé que Guénaut[1] et Esprit parlassent ainsi; mais nous ne sommes informés que par des commentateurs de la pièce qu'on pourrait soupçonner d'avoir avancé, pour accréditer leurs explications, ce qu'ils ne savaient pas bien." As a matter of fact, the tradition that Esprit stammered seems to rest upon no more solid foundation than the statement of Cizeron Rival, and his statement seems to have as a basis only the stage direction to the first speech of Bahys: "Celui-ci parle toujours en bredouillant." In other words it all depends upon the correctness of the identification whether we credit Brayer or Esprit with an impediment of speech.

The identification of M. Bahys with Esprit seems however to have existed from the first. The earliest notice of it appears in a letter of Gui Patin, written September 25, 1665, some ten days after the first public representation of the play: "On joue présentement à l'hôtel de Bourgogne *L'Amour Malade* (*Médecin*): tout Paris y va en foule pour voir représenter les médecins de la cour, et principalement Esprit et Guénaut . . . on y ajoute des Fougerais, etc. Ainsi on se moque de ceux qui tuent le monde impunément" (III, 556). Since Gui Patin has stated incorrectly the name of the theater where the play was given and the name of the piece,[2] it is evident that Gui Patin did not attend the performance in question. He merely cited current gossip. Gui Patin apparently never attended the theater. In that respect he followed, according to

[1] The fact that Guénaut at this time was a very old man, over seventy, lends color to the epithet in his case.

[2] He confuses it with a ballet of Benserade and Lully given in 1657.

Raynaud, the example of reputable physicians of his time: "Un médecin, comme un magistrat, se serait fait montrer au doigt et se fût perdu dans l'opinion s'il eût paru au théâtre" (p. 409). This statement is quite in harmony with the attitude toward worldly and social amusements assumed by the doctors whom Molière represents. It is suggested also by the query of Pascal: "Qui pourrait avoir confiance dans un médecin qui ne porte pas de rabat?" And in the seventh *Epître* of Boileau, where the satirist passes in review the different types who go to see themselves represented on the stage by Molière, the doctors are conspicuously absent from the list. The editors of Molière, while citing Gui Patin's testimony, admit: "Il est incontestable que Gui Patin ne parlait que par ouï-dire; il n'est donc pas étonnant que, dans les bruits qu'il avait recueillis, il y en eût de faux" (p. 268). It was quite natural that the general public, through which Gui Patin's information came, when it saw Guénaut, Vallot—both court doctors—and des Fougerais, who was often called there for consultation, should have jumped at the conclusion that they must have all been court doctors and so have seen in M. Bahys, Esprit, "premier médecin de Monsieur." And so the report came to Gui Patin who, in turn, became the source of Brossette's identification, for Brossette cites a parallel passage from one of Gui Patin's letters in this very connection.[1] There is then no serious obstacle in the way of an identification of Bahys with Brayer, whose name offers such a close analogy to that of the doctor in the comedy.

Molière insisted that the writer of comedy must make "ses portraits ressemblants." And that leads us to a positive and quite convincing argument in favor of the identification of Bahys with Brayer. In the fifth scene of the second act, the diagnosis is taken up and carried on by Macroton and Bahys in a manner which contrasts sharply with the violence of the preceding scene between des Fonandrès and Tomès. Each utterance of M. Bahys merely echoes and stresses what Macroton has just said. For example, "Vous aurez la consolation," says Macroton (Guénaut), "qu'elle sera morte dans les formes." Whereupon M. Bahys (Brayer) chimes in: "Il

[1] *Lettres choisies de feu M. Gui Patin* (Cologne, 1691). This proves that Brossette did not pen his notes till nearly thirty years after the production of the play. His identifications therefore are not to be taken too literally.

vaut mieux mourir selon les règles, que de réchapper contre les règles." Now the names of Esprit and Guénaut are occasionally linked in the correspondence of Gui Patin, but never in a way to suggest a subserviency on the part of Esprit, a point which would lend color to the attitude of M. Bahys in this scene. In fact, a letter of August 10, 1660, dealing with this very illness of Mazarin, which we are presenting as Molière's model, relates that Esprit opposed a prescription of Vallot and Guénaut (III, 245). Three weeks later Gui Patin writes again: "Il (Vallot) a eu de grandes prises avec M. Esprit, en présence de la reine et de Guénaut" (III, 257). On the other hand, here is a passage from a letter of Gui Patin to Falconnet, written in 1663, which presents in the most vigorous terms Brayer in precisely this attitude of subserviency maintained by Bahys. Gui Patin, after stating that: "M. de Longueville est mort à Rouen, *ex duplici quidem febre tertiana, et duabus dosibus vini emetici,*" goes on to say:

> Notre M. Brayer (Bahys) qui y avoit été envoyé, lui en a fait prendre malgré le refus et les plaintes des trois médecins de Rouen, qui étoient d'avis contraire. Ce n'est pas qu'il ne sache fort bien que le vin émétique est un dangereux remède et un pernicieux poison; *mais il en ordonne quelquefois comme cela à cause de Guénaut* (Macroton) *qui est son ami, et duquel il espère d'être avancé a la cour*, bien que s'il vouloit être homme de bien il passeroit Guénaut de bien loin; mais avoir Guénaut (Macroton) pour ami par lâcheté, dire quelques mots grecs, avoir 300,000 écus de beau bien, et être le plus avaricieux du monde, cela fait venir de la pratique à Paris [III, 437].

It will be noted in the passage just cited that Gui Patin touches upon the pedantry of Guénaut and Brayer—"dire des mots grecs." Now in his first speech of the diagnosis, Macroton (Guénaut) concludes his discourse upon the necessity of proceeding cautiously with a reference to Hippocrates. Thereupon M. Bahys (Brayer) in the tone of an obsequious disciple, glosses upon what his master has just said and, as if anxious to show that he knows the reference is to the first Aphorism of Hippocrates, cites in Latin the two words upon which the Aphorism may be said to center: "experimentum periculosum." Had Gui Patin been as familiar with the play as he was with the frailties of his colleagues in the practice of medicine there would probably be no need of these researches to prove that the four doctors of Molière, Tomès, des Fonandrès, Macroton, and Bahys,

represented respectively the four doctors of the Mazarin consultation, Vallot, des Fougerais, Guénaut, and Brayer.

The fact that Boileau furnished the Greek names of these doctors is attested by Brossette and has never been questioned.[1] And this suggests a certain amount of collaboration. That, in turn, calls to mind those convivial gatherings held by Boileau, La Fontaine, Chapelle, Molière, and others among whom was probably numbered the poet's physician friend, Mauvillain.[2] At these gatherings, "On trouvait au fond des pots les idées hardies ou plaisantes; d'insolentes facéties comme le *Chapelain décoiffé* et *La Métamorphose de la perruque de Chapelain en astre*, naissaient comme d'elles-mêmes après boire."[3] The consultation in question furnished all the elements for one of these "bold" or, if one likes, "insolent" manifestations of the satiric verse of this group of seventeenth-century men of letters. The names produced by Boileau furnish one bit of evidence; another is offered by an allusion in scene iii of the play, which is preparatory to the consultation scenes which follow. In this scene the doctors, instead of discussing their patient's case, spend their time in irrelevant conversaton. Tomès (Vallot) and des Fonandrès (des Fougerais) enter upon an argument as to the relative merits of the former's mule and the latter's horse. Now it seems that about the middle of the seventeenth century the mule was the conventional mount for physicians, and the adoption of the horse as a means of conveyance was looked upon as a notable innovation. In fact, according to Raynaud (pp. 79, 80), the horse became a kind of symbol distinguishing the progressives, in the practice of medicine, from the conservatives. The former, moreover, were enthusiastic adepts of antimony, while the conservatives upheld vigorously the decree of the faculty of medicine which proclaimed this remedy a poison. It is significant that in this very year of Mazarin's consultation, Boileau

[1] For another example of such collaboration see Lanson, *Boileau* (Paris, 1892), p. 20: "Un jour, avec Molière, entre Ninon et Mme de la Sablière, il fabrique le latin macaronique du *Malade Imaginaire*."

[2] Mauvillain is generally credited with having furnished Molière with material for his satires against the medical profession. He came from Montpellier and did not find himself at ease in Paris. "Il doit nourrir," says Raynaud, "contre Guénaut et des Fougerais un peu des méfiances que tout médecin étranger à la cour a pour ceux de ses confrères qui courent les places et les hommes" (*op. cit.*, p. 436). See in confirmation of this a letter of Gui Patin of 1662, III, 412.

[3] Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

was writing the sixty-eighth verse of the sixth Satire (published in 1666): "Guénaut *sur son cheval* en passant m'éclabousse." And Guénaut was one of the most ardent prescribers of antimony according to both Gui Patin (*Lettres, passim*) and Boileau (Satire IV). But des Fougerais was a no less energetic exponent of this "drug," and according to Gui Patin, who was a staunch conservative, "tue plus de monde avec son antimoine que trois hommes de bien n'en sauvent avec les remèdes ordinaires" (II, 595). In 1661 then this matter of the mule and horse was a subject for discussion and satire, but it seems hardly probable that such a minor detail of fashion would have continued so throughout the four years which elapsed before the representation of *L'Amour Médecin*. That Boileau, who certainly had some part in the production of these scenes of Molière, should have touched upon this point at this very time is a decidedly striking coincidence.

After two bits of satire directed against the formalities observed in consultations, the father of the patient appears and insists that the doctors render a verdict. In constructing the two scenes which follow, the author, or authors, evidently had in mind the third scene of the second act of *Phormio*. In the Latin play, Demipho, involved in difficulty by his son, consults three men of law. Two of these, Hegio and Cratinus, after insisting in turn that the other speak first, deliver two opinions which are diametrically opposed. Cratinus: "It is my opinion that what this son of yours has done in your absence, in law and justice ought to be annulled." Hegio: "It doesn't appear to me that what has been done by law can be revoked; and it is wrong to attempt it." Then the third man of law, Crito, says: "I am of the opinion, that we must deliberate further; it is a matter of importance." These few lines of Terence seem, almost without question, to have been the scenario upon which Molière, or Molière and his friends, constructed the two most effective scenes of *L'Amour Médecin*.[1] M. Tomès and M. des Fonandrès each begin by insisting that the other speak first and then offer diagnoses and remedies which are diametrically opposed. The comic element is heightened by the greater rapidity of the dialogue and more violence in the discussion, which, after nearly resulting in physical violence,

[1] My attention was first called to this point by my colleague, Professor J. B. Pike.

ends by their abandoning the consultation.[1] Tomès believes that the patient's illness is due to "une grande chaleur de sang." That may or may not have any relation to the diagnosis given by Vallot in the Mazarin consultation, in which he said, according to Gui Patin, "que c'est le poumon et qu'il y a de l'eau dans la poitrine." The bleeding which he prescribes was, as we have established above, quite characteristic of his method. Des Fonandrès opines that the patient's malady "est une pourriture d'humeurs, causée par une trop grande réplétion." And that is quite in harmony with the solicitude shown by des Fougerais in his examinations of the stools of the cardinal. The remedy that he prescribes, antimony ("vin émétique"), is also in conformity with his usual practice.

The following scene (the fifth) is much more important from the standpoint of this study. The line and a half of Terence is expanded in this scene into three pages. The character of Cratinus becomes Macroton and Bahys. This addition of a character to the three contained in the scenario taken from the Latin play is significant. There was no reason in the nature of the case why another character should have been added and the fact that it is done is a strong presumption in favor of the view that the Mazarin consultation did exert a very direct influence upon the composition of *L'Amour Médecin*. And another argument may be found in the material which is used for filling out this scene. Gui Patin, in a letter written a few weeks before the consultation in question, but relating to the same illness, gives the following account of an earlier conference held by some of these same doctors. It will be noted that Guénaut fills the leading rôle as in the play:

Enfin le mal du cardinal Mazarin est augmenté. . . . On a assemblé plusieurs médecins, quelques consultations ont été faites; il a été saigné du pied et purgé de deux verres de tisane laxative, nec quidquam melius habet. On parle de le repurger, et peu après ils aviseront de lui faire prendre du lait d'ânesse, ou des eaux minérales; *n'est-ce pas afin qu'il ne meure point sans avoir tous les sacrements de cette nouvelle médecine*, quae semper aliquid molitur, miscet, turbat, novat, etc. Guénaut (Macroton) qui est grand maître en ce métier, *dit qu'il ne faut pas demeurer en chemin; quand on ne peut plus sur un pied, qu'il faut danser sur l'autre*, et que *aegri sunt decipiendi varietate, novitate et multiplicitate remediorum* [II, 456].

[1] The similarity between this ending of the scene and an incident which took place during a certain illness of the king has been discussed (Molière, *Œuvres*, V, 327).

The passage, which leads from what is contained in this letter to the conclusion of the dialogue, or rather the two-part monologue, of Macroton (Guénaut) and Bahys (Brayer): seems very short indeed.

Macroton: Si bien donc que pour tirer, détacher, arracher, expulser, évacuer les dites humeurs, il faudra une purgation vigoureuse. Mais au préalable je trouve à propos, et il n'y a pas d'inconvénient, d'user de petits remèdes anodins, c'est-à-dire de petits lavements, rémollients et détersifs, de julets et de sirops rafraîchissants qu'on mêlera dans sa ptisanne.

Bahys: Après, nous en viendrons à la purgation, et à la saignée, que nous réitérerons, s'il en est besoin.

Macroton: Ce n'est pas qu'avec tout cela votre fille ne puisse mourir, mais, au moins vous aurez fait quelque chose, et vous aurez la consolation qu'elle sera morte dans les formes.

Bahys: Il vaut mieux mourir selon les règles, que de réchapper contre les règles.

The final illness of a man so powerful in the state as Mazarin and at the same time so distrusted and so feared could not fail to interest keenly the people of the time and place. It was, in fact, for several months a topic of general conversation and speculation. No subject, not even the pedantry of a Chapelain, offered such seductive opportunities for the production of an *insolente facétie* to a convivial group of seventeenth-century men of letters as the serio-comic incidents connected with the passing of the *eminentissime* under whose power the state and the court chafed. It is inconceivable that Molière should have failed to grasp its possibilities and that he should not have been tempted to appropriate this comic material (his *bien*) which offered itself so conspicuously. That he, alone or aided by his friends, in accordance with his practice in other plays, should have done this while the impression was fresh is a natural supposition. That this was done, and that the little sketch which was thus put together was preserved, and four years later incorporated in the *divertissement* which he was called upon to prepare in the space of five days, is a conclusion which, in view of the structure of the play, of the points of resemblance and the well-attested practice of Molière, seems wholly reasonable.

The close of the second act of *L'Amour Médecin* is hurried and artificial. Sganarelle, unable to make anything out of the discussion of the doctors, decides, in a monologue of four and a half lines, to

go in search of a seller of orviétan. This personage then appears and sings some verses in praise of his drug. He does not appear again in the play, and the whole is evidently a rather lame device to end the act with a little music and a *pas de ballet.*

In the third and last act, one would naturally expect to see the lover appear at once as a beginning of the dénouement. Instead of that, there are two short scenes; the second is short and transitional, while the first represents Macroton, Tomès, and Filerin in a dialogue which has no essential connection with the rest of the play. Filerin is here the chief character, and he delivers a long harangue composed largely of material taken from Montaigne, in which he adjures his colleagues not to risk their standing and their chances of making large profits by quarreling among themselves. He closes with this thoroughly Machiavellian exhortation: "N'allons pas détruire sottement les heureuses préventions d'une erreur qui donne du pain à tant de personnes, et de l'argent de ceux que nous mettons en terre, nous fait élever de tous côtés de beaux héritages."[1]

Filerin was identified by Brossette with Yvelin, "premier médecin de Madame." This is his note: "Acte III, scène I^re^ M. Fillerin. C'est M. Yvelin, un des médecins de la cour, duquel il est parlé en plusieurs lettres de Patin. Le nom. . . ." The note ends there. It is evident that he did not have before him the Greek of Boileau. Cizeron Rival, who enlarges upon the derivation of the other four names, has nothing to say concerning the origin of Filerin. Later commentators of Molière have derived it from Greek words meaning "lover of disputes," which does not accord at all with the rôle played by the personage. Others have suggested a combination of Greek words meaning "lover of death" all of which indicate that this name is not in the same category as the other four, which are perfectly clear and appropriate. And that fact bears out our contention that the scene does not belong to the play as it was originally conceived. It also supports, indirectly at least, our conjecture that the scenes of the consultation of the four doctors were not composed at the same time as the rest of the play.

[1] Raynaud objected: "Ici on voit un peu trop que c'est Molière qui parle, plutôt que M. Filerin" (p. 86). However, if we may believe Gui Patin, one of the chief objects of this satire of Molière was in the habit of saying just such things: "Guénaut (Macroton) a dit quatre mille fois en sa vie qu'on ne sauroit attraper l'écu blanc des malades, si on ne les trompe" (III, 541). Dated June, 1665; *L'Amour médecin* is dated September, 1665.

I have been unable to discover anything in the material at my disposal which would qualify Yvelin for the doubtful honor of having been the prototype of Filerin. He plays a very small rôle in the correspondence of Gui Patin. Now if Yvelin actually corresponded in any way to the medical crook represented by Molière, it is well nigh inconceivable that he should have escaped the bitter invectives, which Gui Patin directed with especial vigor against this very class of alleged evil-doers in the medical profession. Raynaud makes a half-hearted attempt to have Filerin stand for the medical faculty of Paris. Soulié[1] having found in contemporary documents a "maître d'armes" named André Fillerin, put forth the hypothesis that Molière designated one of his doctors by this name; it was the profession of a "maître d'armes de tuer un homme par raison démonstrative." The editors of Molière are evidently right in rejecting this explanation as being too ingenious; but the fact of its being made shows the difficulty of accepting the traditional identification. It may be, however, that Filerin does not designate a doctor. It is notable that he uses no medical terms. His harangue is intended solely to induce the other doctors to come to an agreement in order the better to deceive and defraud their clients. Finally, Filerin by the rôle he plays, and the language he uses as he leaves the stage—"une autre fois montrez plus de prudence"—seems to exercise a certain amount of authority over the other doctors; and yet Tomès (Vallot) was "le premier médecin du Roi," while Yvelin was only the "premier médecin de Madame." The correctness of the traditional identification of Yvelin with Filerin becomes still more doubtful in view of these considerations.

The scene in which Filerin appears is wholly unnecessary to the action of the play and has, in fact, often been omitted in later representations.[2] Evidently it was not included in the original scheme of the play, for there is no mention of Filerin in the first and principal consultation. Moreover, Lizette, the servant, in the first sentence of the second act, expressly says that only four doctors were called, or at least were coming to the consultation, at the call of her master. The scene is then an interpolation.

[1] *Recherches sur Molière* (Paris, 1863), p. 276, n. 1.

[2] See editor's note, *Œuvres*, V, 340.

Now *L'Amour Médecin* was produced at the king's request, as Molière himself informs us, and was played before the royal family at Versailles three times between September 13 and 17, 1665.[1] The poet's words suggest clearly a certain amount of interest, amounting almost to a participation in the production of the play on the part of the king. "Ce n'est ici qu'un simple crayon dont le Roi a voulu se faire un divertissement. Il est le plus précipité de tous ceux que Sa Majesté m'ait commandés; et lorsque je dirai qu'il a été proposé, fait, appris et représenté en cinq jours, je ne dirai que ce qui est vrai." These words attest the interest of the king in the little play. It is in connection with it that he is reported to have remarked: "Les médecins font assez pleurer pour qu'ils fassent rire quelquefois." Le Bret in his edition of Molière ([1773], III, 328) goes farther: "Seroit-ce abuser de la conjecture, d'imaginer que notre auteur . . . avoit reçu de ce maître même le conseil de peindre ces nouveaux caractères, comme il en avoit reçu jadis, chez M. Fouquet celui de peindre le chasseur des *Fâcheux?*" The conjecture does not indeed lack plausibility and the parallel is exact. Having seen *Les Fâcheux,* which had also been *commandé* for his diversion, the king "dit à Molière, en lui montrant M. de Soyecourt: 'Voilà un grand original que tu n'as pas encore copié.' C'en fut assez de dit, et cette scène où Molière l'introduit sous la figure d'un chasseur fut faite et apprise par les comédiens en moins de vingt-quatre heures, et le Roi eut le plaisir de la voir en sa place à la représentation suivante de cette pièce.'"[2] Molière substantiates this statement in his letter "Au Roi," which prefaces the first edition of *Les Fâcheux:* "Il faut avouer, Sire, que je n'ai jamais rien fait avec tant de facilité, que cet endroit où Votre Majesté me commanda de travailler." We have then in the case of *L'Amour Médecin* conditions exactly similar to those which obtained in the case of *Les Fâcheux:* both, *divertissements* especially ordered for the entertainment of the king and in both of them an interpolated character. In the one case the intervention of the king is attested, in both cases it is known that he was specially interested in the poet's work. The supposition that Filerin

[1] *Registre de La Grange.*

[2] *Menagiana* (1694), II, 13; cited in Molière, *Œuvres,* III, 11.

owes his place in Molière's play to a suggestion of the king is something more than a mere conjecture.

Now the consultation of the second act should have recalled to his majesty an experience of his own which took place in 1658, the humor of which he was probably able to appreciate by 1665. This is Gui Patin's account of the event:

Le Roi ayant à être purgé, on lui prépara trois doses d'apozèmes purgatifs, qui étoient chacun de cinq onces d'eau de casse, et l'infusion de deux dragmes de séné. *Le Cardinal demanda si l'on n'y mettoit rien d'extraordinaire.* Esprit, médecin de M. le duc d'Anjou, dit que l'on y pouvoit ajouter quelque once de vin émétique. . . . Guénaut dit qu'il n'y en falloit donc guère mettre: Yvelin proposa deux dragmes de citro, alléguant qu'elles n'avoient pas tant de chaleur que le vin émétique. Guénaut répondit que la chaleur du vin émétique n'étoit point à craindre, vu que l'on en mettoit peu; *là-dessus Mazarin dit qu'il falloit donc prendre du vin émétique,* dont on mit une once dans les trois prises, le roi en prit une, sauf à lui donner les autres quand il seroit temps, au bout de deux heures le remède passa, et le roi fut ce jour-là à la selle vingt-deux fois, dont il fut fort las.[1]

The italicized passages suggest the important part played by Mazarin in this consultation. This appears still more clearly in Mazarin's own account of the same event, which is contained in a letter, addressed "aux Plénipotentiaires," and dated July 15, 1658:

Je vous diray donc que j'avois grande apprehension que, comme autrefois, *turba medicorum perdidit imperatorem,* il n'arrivast de mesme en cette rencontre, y en ayant six, *dont il n'y avoit pas grande apparence que les sentiments pussent estre fort conformes à cause du peu d'amitié qu'il y a entre quelques (uns) d'eux; mais j'employay si heureusement l'authorité et l'adresse qu'allant au-devant pour empescher leurs contestations, ils n'ont jamais pris aucune resolution sur le moindre remède que le Roy ayt pris, qu'ils n'ayent tousjours esté tous du mesme advis;* et tous unanimement ont dict et escrit qu'ils devoient beaucoup au courage que je leur avois donné, ne leur ayant jamais protesté autre chose que de traiter le Roy comme un simple gentilhomme, sans hesiter à se servir de l'antimoine, et des remèdes plus forts, s'il y avoit raison de le faire.[2]

[1] *Lettres,* III, 88 f. Mazarin, in his account, speaks of "fourteen or fifteen" visits to the stool and two vomitings. *Lettres* (Avenel ed.; Paris, 1894), VIII, 498.

[2] *Lettres,* VIII, 513. It must have been a memorable experience for the king. Here is a passage from another letter of Mazarin relating to the same event: Elle (Sa Majesté) . . . aprez avoir tremblé jusqu'à bout (*sic*) pour ne prendre une médecine qu'on luy a presentée, comme Elle est accoustumée de faire en santé, luy ayant esté dict qu'il y alloit de sa vie, (Elle) a pris sa resolution et l'a avalée en trois ou quatre reprises et Elle a commandé aux medecins que, s'il falloit prendre d'autres, et qu'Elle refusast de le faire, ils le laissent, s'il estoit necessaire, et la luy fissent prendre de force (*ibid.,* pp. 503 f.).

It is evident from this letter and especially the italicized passage that Mazarin on this occasion performed a part very similar to that played in *L'Amour Médecin* by Filerin, whose whole purpose, as far as the action of the play was concerned, is summed up in his injunction to the recalcitrant doctors: "Allons donc, Messieurs, mettez bas toute rancune, et faisons ici votre accommodement."

The two following examples are characteristic of the harangue which Molière puts in the mouth of Filerin: "Je n'en parle pas pour mon intérêt; car, Dieu merci, j'ai déjà établi mes petites affaires. . . . Les flatteurs, par exemple, cherchent à profiter de l'amour que les hommes ont pour les louanges, en leur donnant tout le vain encens qu'ils souhaitent; et c'est un art où l'on fait, *comme on voit*, des fortunes considérables." Now although this Machiavellian cynicism did not enter into Mazarin's conduct during the king's illness, it reflects what the general public thought of him. The Mazarinades are full of references to the Machiavellian policies of the cardinal; one of them offers a long list of his creatures at the court.[1] Saint-Simon reiterates the same charges with characteristic violence: "C'est à Mazarin que les dignités et la noblesse du royaume doit . . . la règne des gens de rien. . . . Tel fut l'ouvrage du détestable Mazarin, dont la ruse et la perfidie fut la vertu, et la frayeur la prudence."[2] And Chéruel,[3] while justifying largely the administration of the cardinal, admits: "L'astuce de Mazarin, son goût d'espionage, ses habitudes mercantiles, son avarice provoquaient la haine et la raillerie. L'avarice surtout flétrit ses dernières années."

Nor was this suspected and dreaded activity of Mazarin confined merely to the political side of court life; it extended also to its more personal and intimate side, for Gui Patin, in spite of his exaggerated acerbity, must reflect something of contemporary opinion when he writes to Falconnet: "La reine-mère a été saignée, le cardinal Mazarin a été purgé et commence d'user des eaux de Saint-Myon; etc. . . . voilà comment traitent ici leurs malades ceux qui disent qu'il faut attraper leur argent, *varietate, novitate, multiplicitate remediorum.*

[1] *Choix de Mazarinades* (Paris, 1853), I, 113 ff. And: "Depuis que Sa Majesté l'a appellé au Ministère, a-t-on veu autre chose que . . . bouffons et que traîtres dans la maison du Roy" (*ibid.*, p. 156).

[2] *Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon* (Paris, 1889), XIX, 37.

[3] In his *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin* (Paris, 1882), III, 408.

Mazarin a empli la cour de charlatans. . . . Les grands sont malheureux en médecins; ils n'ont que fourbes de cour, des charlatans et des flatteurs étoffés d'ignorance."[1]

It must be admitted, of course, that we have been a long time in hitting upon this similarity between Filerin and Mazarin. If it really existed how did it escape the notice of contemporaries? All that can be said is that the play was a relatively unimportant one, which attracted little attention; that the cardinal had been dead four years, and the four years which were the beginning of a brilliant and absorbing reign; that in any case the theater-going public could hardly have known very much of Mazarin's relations with the court doctors, and that these activities were quite negligible in comparison with the more spectacular and public manifestations of his power.

The writer of this article will be very well satisfied if the part of his work relating to Mazarin is accepted as at least an interesting coincidence.

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[1] *Lettres*, III, 284. Compare the Latin words cited by Gui Patin with those contained in the letter of Mazarin cited above.

As for the name: Filerin might stand for Mazarin as well as for Yvelin. Since no satisfactory explanation of the name has been offered, I would suggest that it is a combination of the final syllable of the name with *filou* ("cheat"). There is a somewhat similar play on words in *La Mazarinade*, "the most celebrated of the pamphlets directed against Mazarin." There one reads:

Va, va t'en, gredin de Calabre,
Filocobron, ou Filocabre.
[*Choix de Mazarinades*, II, 244.]

DU BARTAS AND ST. AMBROSE

The reader of *la Semaine* is immediately impressed with the author's intimate dependence upon the writers of antiquity. This sixteenth-century Huguenot, who undertook to portray at length the wonders of the universe, followed the impulse of his age in turning to Pliny and the natural historians of classic times for his details. The fact was apparent, of course, to the men of his own day, and the work evidently received an added charm from the authority of the ancients. Four years after its first appearance, the learned Simon Goulart brought out an edition with an elaborate commentary, in which we may find each marvel of the life of fishes, birds, beasts, and human kind referred back to its parallel in Pliny, Plutarch, Aelian, Dioscorides, or some other of the classic writers. But it is also evident that not pagan authors only have made their influence felt upon the poet. The division of the natural world according to the days of creation, the entire framework from the first chapter of Genesis, links the work immediately with the writings of the Church Fathers. *La Semaine* is, in fact, nothing more than a *Hexaemeron*, like those of Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Ambrose, augmented by the addition of a special discussion on the seventh day.[1]

This affinity did not entirely escape the poet's contemporaries. It was the *Hexaemeron* of George the Pisidian which was generally regarded as the model. M. Pellissier, in his study of the life and works of Du Bartas,[2] notes the expression of this opinion on the part of three early critics, Colletet (†1659), who refers the statement to Frédéric Morel (†1630), the writer of an anonymous sonnet, and Goujet (†1767). To quote from him directly:

> . . . la conception de la *Semaine* n'appartient pourtant pas à du Bartas. "Georges Pisidas, diacre et chartulaire de la grande église de Constantinople (vers 620), avait composé un grand et vaste poème en vers ïambiques, intitulé *Hexahémeron*, que du Bartas, qui n'ignorait pas les poètes latins, ni les Grecs, imita en tout et partout, hormis en ses frontispièces, en ses invocations et en ses épisodes. Du moins c'estoit la pensée de

[1] See F. E. Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature* (1912), pp. 89 ff.

[2] G. Pellissier, *La Vie et les œuvres de du Bartas* (1883), pp. 68 ff.

ce docte et fameux professeur du roi, Frédéric Morel, mon maistre, qui traduisit ce poème grec en vers latins." Ainsi parle Colletet. Dans le second volume de l'édition publiée en 1611, un sonnet, qui n'est pas signé, attribue à Pisidas l'honneur d'avoir "choisi des premiers" le sujet de la *Semaine*. Goujet qui sans doute ne connaissait ni ces vers ni les lignes que nous avons empruntées à Colletet, s'étonne qu' "aucun des critiques de du Bartas n'ait observé que notre poète avait plus qu'imité dans sa *Semaine* ce poème de Pisidas, traduit par Morel en ïambes latins."

So the belief in the dependence of Du Bartas upon the Byzantine poet has become imbedded in the history of letters. Closer examination, however, reveals serious difficulties with this traditional view. In the first place, the earliest printed edition of the *Hexaemeron* of the Pisidian was not issued until 1584, five years after the publication of *la Semaine*.[1] Du Bartas can, therefore, have known the work only from the Greek manuscript, which is a most improbable assumption. And secondly, the points of resemblance are of a quite general character, not such as to carry conviction to the critical student of sources. M. Pellissier says: "Et cependant, du Bartas ne doit à son devancier que quelques détails fort peu importants." But before examining the internal evidence in detail, it might be well to consider the question of dependence upon the earlier writers of *Hexaemera*, such as Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, and their fellows. The possibility of their influence has not been altogether overlooked. Simon Goulart mentions them from time to time in his commentary.[2] M. Pellissier, in a passing reference, recognizes the probability of some connection,[3] and Mr. Robbins, in citing authorities for the topics of the *Hexaemera*, frequently names Du Bartas in their company. But the query whether one or several of these great ecclesiastics influenced the Gascon poet and whether the resemblance is to be explained as due merely to the recollection of previous reading or to direct appropriation of particular passages, seems never to have been discussed. A few hours of study in the *Patrology* will be sufficient to persuade the reader that it was actually St. Ambrose to whom the poet owed his main idea, and that the

[1] See Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Litteraturgeschichte* (ed. 2), p. 711, note 1, and Quercius in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. XCII, p. 1171.

[2] See the notes on II, 905; II, 1001; II, 1044; III, 699; V, 546; V, 746; VI, 623; VI, 661. He quotes Ambrose directly in the note on V, 170.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

works of the Latin Father lay before him as he wrote; that, in fact, many a passage of *la Semaine* is little more than a paraphrase from the sermons of the Bishop of Milan.

Let us examine first certain transitional passages, in which the poet, in introducing or concluding a portion of his work, turns aside for a moment from the main theme to indulge in an outburst of playful fancy. It will be found that these correspond to the pulpit flourishes with which the bishop enlivens the beginning or end of his sermons. In the fifth book, for instance, Du Bartas closes his account of the fishes and sea-monsters with the words (V, 524–27):

> Muse, mon soin plus doux, sortons auec Ionas
> Du flanc de la Balene, et pour ne floter pas
> Tousiours au gré du vent, de l'onde, et de l'orage,
> Sus, sus, mon saint amour, sus, gaignons le riuage.[1]

Compare with this a sentence from the concluding paragraph of Ambrose's sermon on the same subject (V, 35):

> Sed iam rogemus dominum, ut sermo noster quasi Ionas eiciatur in terram, ne diutius in salo fluctuet.

Not only the figure and its application, but also the position in the discourse and the half-humorous tone are the same. The poet then passes to his discussion of the birds (V, 528–37):

> Cependant qu'attentif ie chante les poissons,
> Que ie fouille, courbé, les secrettes maisons
> Des bourgeois de Thetis, voyez comme la gloire
> Des oyseaux loin-volans vole de ma memoire:
> Leur cours fuyart me fuit, et mes vers sans pitié
> Retranchent de ce iour la plus belle moitié.
> Mais, courage, Oiselets: vos ombres vagabondes,
> Qui semblent voleter sur la face des ondes,
> Par leurs tours et retours me contraignent de voir
> Et quelle est vostre adresse, et quel est mon deuoir.

Note how he describes his oversight of this part of the creation with the figure of one who has bent over the water to watch the fishes and

[1] I have followed in this article the text and orthography of the edition of Du Bartas, published in 1593 by Jacques Chouet, which the Columbia University Library courteously placed at my disposal. My thanks are also due to the Harvard University Library for the use of the edition of 1583, published by Michel Gadouleau.

is recalled from his absorption by the reflection of the birds overhead. Then read the words with which Ambrose begins his discourse on the winged creatures (V, 36):

Fugerat nos, fratres dilectissimi, necessaria de natura auium disputatio, et sermo huiusmodi nobis cum ipsis auibus euolauerat . . . . itaque cum caueo, ne mari demersa praetereant et aquis operta me lateant, effugit omne uolatile, quia dum inclinatus imos aquarum gurgites scrutor, aerios non respexi uolatus, nec umbra saltem pinnae me praepetis declinauit, quae in aquis potuit relucere.

This recurrence of the same striking figures in both writers in corresponding situations is evidently something more than a coincidence. But conviction of the intimate acquaintance of Du Bartas with these sermons becomes complete when we look at what follows. The good bishop concludes his introductory paragraph with a gentle warning against possible drowsiness (V, 37):

Nec uereor ne fastidium nobis obrepat in uolatilibus requirendis, quod non obrepsit in gurgitibus perscrutandis, aut aliqui ex nobis in disputatione obdormiat, cum possit auium cantibus excitari. sed profecto qui inter mutos pisces uigilauerit non dubito quod inter canoras aues somnum sentire non possit, cum tali ad uigilandum gratia prouocetur.

This reappears in the words with which Du Bartas continues his address to the birds (V, 538–45):

Ie vous pri' seulement (et ce pour recompense
Des trauaux que i'ai pris à vous conduire en France)
Qu'il vous plaise esueiller, par vos accens diuers,
Ceux qui s'endormiront oyant lire ces vers.
Mais n'ayant peu fermer les veillantes paupieres
Parmi le camp muet des bandes marinieres,
Pourront-ils bien dormir parmi cent mille oiseaux,
Qui font ia retentir l'air, la terre, et les eaux?

A similar agreement may be noticed in the passage with which Du Bartas turns from discussing the seas to the fresh waters (III, 215–18):

Mais voy comme la mer
Me iette en mille mers, où ie crain d'abysmer.
Voy comme son desbord me desborde en parolles.
Sus donc, gaignons le port. . . .

These punning lines are nothing more than the elaboration of a play on words which Ambrose uses in the corresponding sermon (III, 17):

Sed, ut uidetur, quoniam de mari loquebar, aliquantum exundauimus.

Again, in opening his account of the sixth day, the Gascon compares himself to a guide showing strangers the sights of a town (VI, 1–11):

Pelerins, qui passez par la cité du monde,
Pour gaigner la cité, qui bien heureuse abonde
En plaisirs eternels, et pour anchrer au port,
D'où n'approchent iamais les horreurs de la mort:
Si vous desirez voir les beaux amphitheatres,
Les arsenals, les arcs, les temples, les theatres,
Les colosses, les ports, les cirques, les rempars,
Qu'on void superbement dans nostre ville espars:
Venez auecque moy. Car ce grand edifice
N'a membre, où tant soit peu luise quelque artifice,
Que ie ne le vous monstre.

This was evidently suggested by the paragraph with which Ambrose introduces the same subject (VI, 2):

Etenim si is qui explorat nouorum aduentus hospitum, dum toto eos circumducit urbis ambitu praestantiora quaeque opera demonstrans, non mediocrem locat gratiam, quanto magis sine fastidio accipere debetis quod uelut quadam sermonis manu per hanc communionem uos circumduco in patria et singularum rerum species et genera demonstro ex omnibus colligere cupiens, quanto uobis creator uniuersorum gratiam uberiorem quam uniuersis donauerit.

Once more, Du Bartas cuts off his rather slight discussion of the internal organs of the human body thus (VI, 699–704):

Mais non, ie ne veux pas faire vne ample reueue
Des membres que l'ouurier desrobe à nostre veue.
Ie ne veux despecer tout ce palais humain:
Car ce braue proiet requiert la docte main
Des deux fils d'Aesculape, et le labouré style
Du disert Galien, ou du haut Herophile.

This is the elaboration of the apology which Ambrose makes for his brevity on the same subject (VI, 70):

Haec ideo strictim percurrimus, ut tamquam indocti obuia perstringere, non tamquam medici plenius scrutare uideamur et persequi quae naturae latibulis abscondita sunt.

Not only in these transitional passages, but scattered throughout the main narrative there will be found many instances in which the poet owes his material to the Milanese bishop. Among these, I have selected for illustration the account of the parts of the human body; and this, for a particular reason. These sermons of Ambrose are not original. In great part they, also, depend on another source, the Greek *Hexaemeron* of St. Basil. Ambrose has adapted and expanded, but to a considerable extent the substance of the discourse is the same.[1] Hence the query arises whether Du Bartas might not have drawn his ideas directly from Basil. A comparison of texts will demonstrate his closer relation to Ambrose. Thus, in the passages already quoted, while the germ of the idea is in two cases[2] to be found in Basil, no one after looking at both authors would doubt that it is Ambrose on whom Du Bartas depends. In the discussion of the bodily structure of man, however, no such complicating question need be considered, as Basil did not take up the subject in detail and the descriptions are quite independent of his influence. First let us compare the eulogies of the head:

> Mais tu logeas encor l'humain entendement
> En l'estage plus haut de ce beau bastiment:
> Afin que tout ainsi que d'vne citadelle
> Il domptast la fureur du corps. . . .
>
> [VI, 499–502.]

. . . . ita etiam caput supra reliquos artus nostri corporis cernimus eminere praestantissimumque esse omnium . . . . tamquam arcem inter reliqua urbis moenia [VI, 55].

Immediately following is the praise of the eyes:

> Les yeux, guides du corps, sont mis en sentinelle
> Au plus notable endroit de ceste citadelle,
> Pour descouurir de loing, et garder qu'aucun mal
> N'assaille au despourueu le diuin animal.
>
> [509–12.]

[1] With regard to the relation of Ambrose and Basil, see F. E. Robbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.; Foerster, *Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand*, pp. 117 ff.; and particularly Schenkl's edition of Ambrose, Vol. I, in which the parallel passages are noted.

[2] Basil makes a rhetorical reference to Jonah, *Hex.* VII, 6 (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, XXIX, 164 A). The expression of Ambrose may have originally been suggested to his mind by this, but there is no real similarity in the passages. The words of Ambrose on the oversight of the birds (V, 36) were evidently drawn from Basil, *Hex.* VIII, 3, 168 C. But the figure of the reflection in the water and the hint against drowsiness which follows are not in the Greek writer.

Adhaerent uelut quibusdam montium superciliis oculi, ut et protegente montis cacumine tutiores sint et tamquam in summo locati de quadam scaena superiore uniuersa prospectent. neque enim oportebat eos humiles esse sicut aures uel os ipsosque narium interiores sinus. specula enim semper ex alto est, ut aduenientium cateruarum hostilium explorari possit aduentus, ne inprouiso occupent otiantem uel urbis populum uel imperatoris exercitum. sic latronum quoque cauentur incursus, si exploratores in muris aut turribus aut montis excelsi supercilio sint locati, ut desuper spectent plana regionum, in quibus insidiae latronum latere non possint. . . . . nobis autem in summa corporis parte constitui oculos oportuit tamquam in arce et ab omni uel minima offensione defendi. . . . [VI, 59, 60].

Particular notice is given to the protected position of the eyes:

Ces miroirs de l'esprit, ces doux luisans flambeaux
Ces doux carquois d'amour, ont si tendres les peaux,
Par qui (comme à trauers deux luisantes verrieres)
Ils dardent par momens leurs plus viues lumieres,
Qu'ils s'esteindroyent bien tost, si Dieu de toutes pars,
Ne les auoit couuers de fermes bouleuars:
Logeant si dextrement tant et tant de merueilles
Entre le nez, le front, et les ioues vermeilles,
Ainsi qu'en deux vallons plaisamment embrassez
De tertres, qui ne sont ni peu ni trop haussez.
[523–32.]

Itaque ne uel usu muneris aliquid detraheretur uel aliquid ad propulsandam iniuriam <non> prospiceretur, eo loco oculos constituit, cui supercilia desuper non minimum protectionis impertiant, subter malae aliquantulum eleuatae haut exiguum munitionis adiungant, interiorem partem saepiant nares, exteriorem quoque frontis malarumque gibbi extuberantes et licet ossuum compage conexa et aequata confinia circumuallare uideantur [VI, 60].

The eye-lashes, also, are noticed:

Et puis comme le toict preserue de son aisle
Des iniures du Ciel la muraille nouuelle;
On void mille dangers loin de l'oeil repoussez
Par le prompt mouuement des sourcils herissez.
[VI, 533–36.]

Haec ne qua incidentis iniuriae offensione laedantur, pilis hinc inde consertis uelut quodam uallo per circuitum muniuntur [VI, 60].

The nose, we are told, has three uses. Of these the last two may be traced back to Ambrose:

Le nez est vn conduit qui reprend et redonne
L'esprit dont nous viuons; le nez est vn tuyau,

Par qui l'os espongeux de l'humide cerueau
Hume la douce odeur: le nez est la gouttiere,
Par qui les excremens de pesante matiere
S'euacuent en bas. . . .

[VI, 542–47.]

De naribus autem quid loquar, quae biuio et procero foramine antrum quoddam recipiendis odoribus praestant, ut non perfunctorie odor transeat, sed diutius inhaereat naribus et earum ductu cerebrum sensusque depascat? . . . . per eas quoque purgamenta capitis defluunt et sine fraude atque offensione aliqua corporis deriuantur [VI, 63].

In the treatment of the mouth and teeth, Du Bartas departs from Ambrose (VI, 65–68), and though general resemblances may be found, it is not worth while to quote the passages. But the lines on the ears show a striking agreement:

Et d'autant que tout son semble tousiours monter,
Le Tout-puissant voulut les oreilles planter
Au haut du bastiment, ainsi qu'en deux garites,
Coquillant leur canaux, si que les voix conduites
Par les obliques plis de ses deux limaçons,
Tousiours de plus en plus en allongent leurs sons:
Comme l'air de la trompe ou de la saquebutte
Dure plus que celui qui passe par la flute:
Ou tout ainsi qu'vn bruit s'estend par les destours
D'vn escarté vallon, ou court auec le cours
D'vn fleuue serpentant, ou rompu, se redouble,
Passant entre les dents de quelque roche double.
Ce qu'il fit d'autre part, afin qu'vn rude bruit
Traversant à droit fil l'vn et l'autre conduit,
N'estourdist le cerueau, ains enuoyast plus molles
Par ce courbé Dedale à l'esprit nos paroles.

[VI, 603–18.]

The use of the winding channels as a protection and particularly the comparison to the reverberation of sound in a valley or along a winding river or between crags come directly from Ambrose:

Ideo aures extantiores sunt . . . . ut in earum sinibus uox repercussa sine offensione interioris ingrediatur anfractus. nam nisi ita esset, quis non ad omnem fortioris sonum uocis adtonitus redderetur, cum inter ista subsidia frequenter inprouiso ictus clamore nos obsurdiscere sentiamus . . . . tenaces praeterea sermonis accepti ipsos esse anfractus aurium usus ipse nos docet, siquidem uel in concauis montium uel in recessu rupium uel in anfractu fluminum uox auditur dulcior et responsa suauia referens echo resultat [VI, 62].

In the discussion of the internal organs, also, the Gascon shows his familiarity with the old *Hexaemeron.* Thus his lines on the brain (VI, 645–48),

> Thresoriere des arts, source du sentiment,
> Siege de la raison, fertil commencement
> Des nerfs de nostre corps:

repeat the Latin:

Initium enim neruorum et omnium sensuum uoluntariae commotionis cerebrum est atque inde omnis eorum quae diximus causa manat [VI, 61].

And the description of the pulse (VI, 665–68),

> Là le subtil esprit sans cesse ba-batant,
> Tesmoigne la santé d'vn pouls tout-iour constant:
> Ou changeant à tous coups de bransle et de mesure,
> Monstre que l'accident peut plus que la nature,

is simply an amplification of:

Uenarum pulsus uel infirmitatis internuntius uel salutis est [VI, 73].

It is not necessary to quote further at length. I give the references to the series of passages, which I have noted, in which Du Bartas shows the influence of the Milanese bishop.[1] Among them are included several in which the details differ. Du Bartas frequently supplements the version of the church father from Pliny and other writers, or even substitutes a varying account. An asterisk is prefixed to instances in which Ambrose is independent of the *Hexaemeron* of Basil.

La Semaine I, 293 ff. The Spirit of God moves on the face of the waters. Ambrose *Hexaemeron*, I, 29.

*I, 345 ff. Theories of the Greeks as to the eternal existence of the heavens. *Hex.* I, 3.

*I, 423 ff. Why God did not complete the world in a moment. An example of patience to human workmen. *Hex.* I, 27.

II, 209 ff. The polypus as an example of changefulness. The figure may be influenced by *Hex.* V, 21, where the animal is described. It is, however, a commonplace of ancient literature.

II, 285 ff. The several qualities and mutual relations of the four elements. *Hex.* III, 18.

II, 465 ff. The cupping-glass as an illustration of the phenomenon of evaporation, *Hex.* II, 13.

[1] A number of these have already been noted by Mr. Robbins, *op. cit.*, without, however, any direct connection between Du Bartas and Ambrose being suggested.

II, 887 ff. The Aristotelian and Platonic views as to the constitution of the heavens. *Hex.* I, 23, 24. With the reference to St. Paul (947) cf. *Hex.* II, 6, 24 F.

II, 953 ff. The number of the heavens—one or more. *Hex.* II, 5, 6.

II, 1007 ff. Polemic against those who deny the existence of waters above the heavens. *Hex.* II, 9–12. For the formation of pearls (vs. 1060), cf. *Hex.* V, 33, 93 F.

III, 25 ff. God sets bounds to the sea. *Hex.* III, 10.

*III, 61 ff. Illustrations of God's power over the waters. For the Red Sea and the Jordan, see *Hex.* III, 2, 33 CD. For the deluge and the smitten rock, see *Hex.* III, 9, 36 DF.

III, 69 ff. The catalogue of gulfs and arms of the sea was probably suggested by *Hex.* III, 12, 13.

III, 97 ff. Catalogue of rivers. The Nile, the Rhine, the Danube, the Rhone, the Po, are mentioned in both accounts. *Hex.* II, 12.

III, 153 ff. The evaporation of water and its return in the streams. *Hex.* II, 12, 13.

III, 179 ff. The moon as the cause of the tides. *Hex.* IV, 30.

III, 209 ff. The saltness of the sea explained by the action of the sun. *Hex.* II, 14, 29 DE.

*III, 215 ff. Transition. Like the seas, we have escaped our bounds. *Hex.* III, 17.

III, 509 ff. The description of the vine corresponds to *Hex.* III, 49, to which, however, it shows but little resemblance.

*III, 533 ff. The beauty of the flowers. *Hex.* III, 36.

*III, 543 ff. The divine providence displayed in medicinal herbs. *Hex.* III, 37.

III, 657 f. Hemlock, a food for starlings, a poison for man. *Hex.* III, 39, 48 A.

III, 699 ff. Description of wheat and its growth. *Hex.* III, 34.

IV, 405 ff. The spirited defense of astrology was called forth by the attack upon it. *Hex.* IV, 13–20. For the influence of the moon on the marrow of animals, the meat of oysters, and the wood of trees (vs. 437 ff.), see *Hex.* IV, 29, 76 AB.

*V, 35 ff. The plants and animals of earth have their counterparts in the sea. *Hex.* V, 5, 6.

V, 93 ff. The monsters of the deep, like islands. *Hex.* V, 28, 32.

V, 119 ff. The migrations of the fishes with the seasons. *Hex.* V, 29.

V, 160 ff. Their sense for their lawful habitations and their knowledge of times and places. *Hex.* V, 28, 29.

V, 386 ff. The remora. Du Bartas drew largely on Pliny xxxii. 1. The figure of the firmly rooted oak, which is not in Pliny, seems to be an elaboration of the words *quasi radicatam* in the description of Ambrose *Hex.* V, 31.

*V, 524 ff. Transition. Like Jonah, let us seek the shore. *Hex.* V, 35.

V, 528 ff. Introduction to the account of the birds. *Hex.* V, 36, 37.

*V, 546 ff. The phoenix. *Hex.* V, 79, 80. The tale follows the *Phoenix* of Lactantius (cf. F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, pp. 220 f.). The description of the bird's plumage seems to be drawn from Pliny x. 3. The moral on the new birth (vs. 592) comes from Ambrose *Hex.* V, 80, 110 C.

V, 598 ff. The swallow. *Hex.* V, 56.

V, 616 ff. The nightingale. *Hex.* V, 85. Du Bartas substitutes an account which depends closely on Pliny x. 81–83.

V, 714 ff. The halcyon. *Hex.* V, 40–42. The description of the nest is probably drawn from Pliny x. 90, 91.

V, 746 ff. The filial stork. *Hex.* V, 55.

V, 774 ff. The instinctive affection of animals for their young. *Hex.* VI, 21, 22.

V, 826 ff. The peacock, the cock. The two descriptions in close succession may be the elaboration of the words of Ambrose: *gallus iactantior, pauus speciosior*, *Hex.* V, 49.

V, 860 ff. The republic of the bees. *Hex.* V, 67 ff.

V, 880 ff. The silk-worm. *Hex.* V, 77.

*VI, 1 ff. Introduction to the account of the beasts. *Hex.* VI, 2.

*VI, 49 ff. The fight between the elephant and the draco. *Hex.* III, 40.

VI, 129 ff. The sagacity of the hedgehog. Ambrose *Hex.* VI, 20 tells two traits of the animal: (1) it protects itself with its quills; (2) it foresees changes of the wind and shifts the opening of its den accordingly. Du Bartas repeats the first of these here; the other he has just narrated of the squirrel (vss. 117 ff.). In this he follows Pliny, who in his account of the hedgehog merely touches on the second trait, viii. 133, but tells it of the squirrel, viii. 138. Somewhat similarly Du Bartas follows Pliny ix. 89, 90, in ascribing to the ozaena (V, 212 ff.) a trait which Ambrose tells of the crab, *Hex.* V, 22.

VI, 169 ff. Why did God create serpents and poisonous animals? *Hex.* VI, 38.

VI, 401 ff. The Delphic maxim, "Know thyself." *Hex.* VI, 39.

VI, 449 ff. A development of Ambrose's reasoning on the words: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*, *Hex.* VI, 40. Apparently the abstract qualities (vss. 456 ff.) take the place of the angels whom Ambrose rejects as possible interlocutors. Are the words *Il s'aida d'vn delay* (vs. 475) a distortion of *requieuit autem, postquam hominem ad imaginem suam fecit*, *Hex.* VI, 49, 132 B?

VI, 493 ff. The upright human posture. *Hex.* VI, 54.

*VI, 499 ff. The passages on the particular parts of the body have already been quoted. *Hex.* VI, 54–74.

VI, 1026 ff. The animals reproduce, each after its kind, *Hex.* VI, 9. These lines are not found in the first edition but appear in the revised text

of 1583. They offer interesting evidence that Du Bartas returned to the sermons when revising his text. The verse on the pearl (II, 1060), which likewise appears first in the revised text, would offer another instance, if we could be sure that the passage is really due to *Hex.* V, 33.

VII, 501 ff. Sex in the palm-tree. *Hex.* III, 55.

VII, 555 ff. Bees and their monarch. *Hex.* V, 68.

VII, 569 ff. The eagle and its young. This resembles the tale which Ambrose tells of the hawk, *Hex.* V, 59. He treats of the eagle immediately afterward. Apparently Du Bartas, either inadvertently or on purpose, ascribed to the second traits which in his source were narrated of the first.

VII, 581 ff. The faithful turtle-dove. *Hex.* V, 62.

VII, 595 ff. Fishes offer a refuge to their young in their own wombs. *Hex.* V, 7.

VII, 647 ff. The ant. *Hex.* VI, 16.

We may notice in passing that the interest in the more or less fictitious natural history of the classic writers, which is so marked a feature of *la Semaine*, is already present in *Judith*, the earlier poem of Du Bartas, published in 1573. Here among the comparisons we find the honey-bee (I, 351), the ant (I, 391), the stork (IV, 145), the turtle-dove (IV, 301), the bands of the elements (VI, 230). Every one of these topics appeared later in *la Semaine*. But though they are all treated by Ambrose, there is no reason to think that at this period the Gascon was drawing from the Church Father. In fact, a comparison of the details in the descriptions leads to the contrary belief.

The question naturally arises whether a connection with Ambrose can be traced in *la Seconde Semaine*, the continuation of the poem, in which the main narrative of the Old Testament is reproduced. Did Du Bartas in writing his accounts of the patriarchs make use of the sermons on Paradise, Noah, and Abraham, in the same way that he had made use of the *Hexaemeron?* Not by any means to the same extent; but here also there occur from time to time passages which can be referred with confidence to the influence of the Church Father. There is, for instance, an interesting paragraph in *Eden* (143–52) in which Du Bartas protests against the allegorical method of scripture interpretation:

> N'estime point encor que Moyse t'ait peint
> Vn Paradis mystique, allegorique, et feint.
> C'est vn iardin terrestre, heureux seiour des Graces,

Et corne d'abondance: à fin que tu ne faces
D'vn Adam Ideal fantasque l'aliment,
La faute imaginaire, et feint le chastiment.
Car on nomme à bon droict le sens allegorique,
Recours de l'ignorant, bouclier du fanatique:
Mesmes quand es discours, où l'histoire on descrit,
On fait perdre le corps pour trop chercher l'esprit.

The casual reader would assume that these spirited lines were directed against some contemporary theologian of too liberal tendencies. In reality, the antagonist seems to be none other than the Bishop of Milan, who in his sermon *De paradiso* (51) shows a disposition to view with favor a symbolical explanation, derived from Philo of Alexandria.[1]

Unde plerique paradisum animam hominis esse uoluerunt, in qua uirtutum quaedam germina pullulauerint, hominem autem et ad operandum et ad custodiendum paradisum esse positum, hoc est mentem hominis, cuius uirtus animam uidetur excolere, non solum excolere, sed etiam cum excoluerit custodire. bestiae autem agri et uolatilia caeli, quae adducuntur ad Adam, nostri inrationabiles motus sunt, eo quod bestiae uel pecora quaedam diuersae sint corporis passiones uel turbulentiores uel etiam languidiores. uolatilia autem caeli quid aliud aestimamus nisi inanes cogitationes, quae uelut uolatilium more nostram circumuolant animam et huc atque illuc uario motu saepe transducunt?

This method of dealing with Holy Writ called forth the protest of the Huguenot in the same way that Ambrose's arguments against astrology roused him to the polemic, mentioned above.

I add a series of examples from the earlier books of *la Seconde Semaine*, which betray the influence of Ambrose.

Eden 633–38. The illustration of innate knowledge from the new-born lamb and the wolf. Cf. *De par.* 29.

L'Imposture 49–54. The devil's envy of man. Cf. *De par.* 54.

L'Imposture 87–90. The devil's reflection that if he should deceive man in the form of an angel of light, the Almighty might pardon the disobedience of the latter, may have been due to *De par.* 73, 178 F.

L'Arche 235–44. The justification of the Almighty for the destruction of innocent animal life in the deluge. Cf. *De Noe* 31–33.

L'Arche 349–56. The quaint query whether the olive leaf brought back by the dove was an old growth that had remained fresh under the waters or a new shoot, which had lately budded. Cf. *De Noe* 68.

[1] For the influence of Philo upon Ambrose, see Foerster, *Ambrosius Bischof v. Mailand* pp. 102 ff., and Schenkl's edition, where the parallel passages are noted.

L'Arche 362–64. Noah will not leave the ark without a sign from God. Cf. *De Noe* 75.

L'Arche 427–34. God's charge against homicide. Cf. *De Noe* 94–96.

Of the later portions of *la Seconde Semaine*, which were left unfinished at the author's death and gradually published later, I have been unable to see the French text. If, however, one may base conclusions on the English translation of Joshua Sylvester, here also may be found occasional instances of the influence of Ambrose. The encomium of hospitality in the story of Lot and the angels (Sylvester, *The Vocation*, p. 411, 1026–44) follows closely the sermon *De Abrahamo* I, 34. And the line (1022) in which Abraham recognizes the Almighty in one of his three visitors, "when, seeing three, he did adore but one," seems to reflect a direct translation of the words of Ambrose, *tres uidit et unum dominum adpellauit* (*De Abrahamo* I, 36, 296 B). Again, in the account of the trial of Abraham, the distinction made between the tempting of God and that of the devil (*The Fathers*, p. 422, 27–73) is drawn from *De Abrahamo* I, 66.

It remains to consider the relation of Du Bartas to George the Pisidian. We have noticed that the *Hexaemeron* of the latter did not appear in print until five years after the publication of *la Semaine*. Are there internal indications which would justify the supposition of an acquaintance on the part of Du Bartas with the manuscript of the Byzantine author? I have noted four topics, which are not to be found in Ambrose, but which occur in both George the Pisidian and Du Bartas. Here one might look for direct connection. But closer examination indicates that the source of the French poet was not the Byzantine *Hexaemeron*, but in three cases Pliny and in the fourth Aelian. The topics are: the marvelous structure of insects (Du Bartas V, 837 ff.; Georg. Pisid. 1253 ff. [Hercher's edition]; Pliny. *N.H.* xi, 2); the trochilus (Du Bartas VI, 255 ff.; Georg. Pisid. 971 ff.; Pliny viii. 90); the spider (Du Bartas VII, 621 ff.; Georg. Pisid. 1166 ff.; Pliny xi. 80–84); the griffin (Du Bartas V, 664 ff.; Georg. Pisid. 921 ff.; Aelian *H.A.* iv. 27). There are, further, sixteen topics which are handled by all three. Four of these may be dismissed as inconclusive when taken by themselves. These are: the peacock (Du Bartas V, 826 ff.; Ambrose V, 49; Georg.

Pisid. 1231 ff.); the cock (Du Bartas V, 829 ff.; Ambrose V, 49, 89; Georg. Pisid. 1101 ff.); the Delphic maxim (Du Bartas VI, 401 ff.; Ambrose VI, 39; Georg. Pisid 624 ff.); the digestive process (Du Bartas VI, 677 ff.; Ambrose VI, 71; Georg. Pisid. 681 ff.). Of the others, I quote in full one which deserves notice, as it has been cited by M. Pellissier (p. 71) as an instance of definite connection between the Pisidian and Du Bartas. The Byzantine poet has been treating of the union of the four warring elements and, in that connection, speaking of the gradual transition from one season to another. He then says (286–89):

καὶ ταῦτα δρῶσιν ἐξ ἀμοιβαίου δρόμου
κόραις ὁμοίως συγχορευούσαις ἅμα
καὶ συμβαλούσαις τοὺς ἑαυτῶν δακτύλους,
ὅπως χορὸν πλέξωσιν εὔρυθμον βίου.

The lines of Du Bartas are (II, 305–13):

Neree, comme armé d'humeur et de froidure,
Embrasse d'vne main la terre froide dure,
De l'autre embrasse l'air: l'air comme humide chaut,
Se joint par sa chaleur à l'element plus haut,
Par son humeur à l'eau: comme les pastourelles,
Qui d'vn pied trepignant foulent les fleurs nouuelles,
Et maryant leurs bonds au son du chalumeau,
Gayes, ballent en rond sous le bras d'vn ormeau,
Se tiennent main à main, si bien que la premiere
Par celles du milieu se joint à la derniere.

The resemblance is apparent. But let us look at the corresponding statement of Ambrose (III, 18):

Ergo aqua tamquam brachiis quibusdam duobus frigoris et umoris altero terram altero aerem uidetur amplecti, frigido terram, aerem umido. aer quoque medius inter duo conpugnantia per naturam, hoc est inter aquam et ignem utrumque illud elementum conciliat sibi, quia et aquis umore et igni calore coniungitur.

It will be seen that the first four lines quoted from the French poem are a direct translation from this passage. And for the dance of the elements we may look to the words that follow:

. . . . atque ita sibi per hunc circuitum et chorum quendam concordiae societatisque conueniunt.

We must conclude then that Du Bartas has not in this case borrowed from George the Pisidian, but that the similarity of the two passages is due to their common ancestry from Basil by collateral lines.

As for the other passages, those on the eye (Du Bartas VI, 509 ff.; Ambrose VI, 59, 60; Georg. Pisid. 713 ff.), the nose (Du Bartas VI, 537 ff.; Ambrose VI, 63; Georg. Pisid. 708), and the ear (Du Bartas VI, 603 ff.; Ambrose VI, 62; Georg. Pisid. 697) have been quoted above. The sources of the lines on the remora (Du Bartas V, 386 ff.; Ambrose V, 31; Georg. Pisid. 997) and the phoenix (Du Bartas V, 546 ff.; Ambrose V, 79, 80; Georg. Pisid. 905, 1105) have also been considered. The remaining six passages—the bounds of the sea (Du Bartas III, 51 ff.; Ambrose III, 10, 11; Georg. Pisid. 380), the vine (Du Bartas III, 509 ff.; Ambrose III, 49, 50; Georg. Pisid. 1610), the swallow (Du Bartas V, 598; Ambrose V, 56, 57; Georg. Pisid. 1303), the silkworm (Du Bartas V, 880 ff.; Ambrose V, 77; Georg. Pisid. 1278), the bee (Du Bartas V, 860 ff.; VII, 555; Ambrose V, 67–69; Georg. Pisid. 1151), and the ant (Du Bartas VII, 647 ff.; Ambrose VI, 16, 20; Georg. Pisid. 1200)—show details which link them with Ambrose rather than with the Pisidian, though it would be rash to assert that the Church Father was the sole and only source.

We find, therefore, no satisfactory evidence for the use of the Byzantine poem by Du Bartas, and the early French critics were over-hasty in pronouncing it to have been his model. Their instinct, however, was correct in looking for an *Hexaemeron* as a determining influence in the construction of *la Semaine*. In view of all the evidence, it may be safely asserted that Ambrose of Milan guided Du Bartas in the framework of his poem and contributed largely to its subject-matter.

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THE ULTIMATE SOURCE OF ROTROU'S *VENCESLAS* AND OF ROJAS ZORRILLA'S *NO HAY SER PADRE SIENDO REY*

As early as 1722 it was known[1] that Rotrou derived the plot and the leading characters of *Venceslas*, his most celebrated work, from *No hay ser padre siendo rey*, but the source of the latter play remained undiscovered in spite of the various researches that it occasioned. Voltaire considered Rotrou's plot entirely fabulous.[2] Proper names, usually the principal resource of investigators, have in this case led them astray by suggesting that the history of a king called "Venceslas" was the source of the plays, although this name, found in Rotrou's play, does not occur in the Spanish work, where the monarch is referred to merely as *Rey de Polonia*. It has even been assumed that the sovereign treated is the Venceslas who was king of Poland and Bohemia at the end of the thirteenth century,[3] even though the life of that monarch is admitted to offer no resemblance to the incidents of the French tragedy, and it is difficult to see how this man, who was not yet thirty-five at his death, could be the prototype of the elderly king described by Rotrou and Rojas. Person[4] searched through various histories of Poland and Bohemia for sovereigns named "Venceslas," who might guide him to some anecdote on which the play could have been based. But it should have been evident enough to him that Rotrou's proper names could furnish no guidance, except in so far as they agreed with those of his Spanish source, for it is highly improbable that Rotrou had the least idea of the material

[1] *Mercure* for February, 1722, cited by the Frères Parfaict, VII, 180, 181.

[2] Second part of the Preface to *Sémiramis*.

[3] *Biographie universelle*, XLVIII, 111.

[4] *Histoire du Venceslas* (Paris, 1882), pp. 30 f., cited by Crane, *Jean Rotrou's Saint Genest and Venceslas* (Boston: Ginn, 1907), pp. 103, 104. It is also the influence of the name Venceslas that makes M. G. Reynier suggest that the source of Rojas and Rotrou was Belleforest's account of the murder of St. Venceslas by his brother. Cf. *Le roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, p. 162, note 7, and the reply made to this suggestion by M. Haškovec in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XVII, 156–57. While the latter writer makes it clear that Rojas owed nothing to Belleforest, he also shows that Dubravius was used as a source in western Europe long before the time of this Spanish dramatist.

that lay back of Rojas. Knowing that the latter laid his scene in Poland, Rotrou introduced the familiar Slavonic names Venceslas and Ladislas simply for local coloring, the same motive that led him to add to his Spanish model the geographical names Curlande, Cunisberg, and Moscovie.[1]

Evidently the only names that can help us are those of the Spanish play; but here the personal names, Rugero, Alejandro, Federico, Casandra, tell us little. The only real clue is given by the title *Rey de Polonia*, which suggests that the ultimate source deals with the history of some Slavonic country, if not with that of Poland itself. Following this suggestion, I decided to examine histories of Slavonic countries for the incidents and characters rather than for the proper names of the Spanish play. Before relating what I discovered, I must recall briefly to the reader what were the main objects of my search.

Rugero and Alejandro, the two sons of the King of Poland, are in love with the Duchess Casandra. Alejandro is secretly married to her. Rugero, a violent and passionate character, thinking that his rival is Duke Federico, whom he hates and who is his father's adviser, breaks into the nuptial chamber and kills the man at Casandra's side, whom he later finds to be his brother. The king, obliged to judge one son for the assassination of the other, at first condemns him, then saves him by abdicating in his favor, so that Rugero, now king, cannot be condemned, and his father, king no longer, can pardon his son.

In the histories of Poland and Russia I find no anecdote from which this plot may have been derived, but among the kings of the sister Slav state, Bohemia, there was an illustrious monarch, Vladislas II, who in 1173 abdicated in favor of his son Frederick. This same Vladislas had a faithful and efficient minister, Vogislas, and a violent son, Svatopluk, who, jealous of the minister's power, slew him before his father's eyes. I quote from Dubravius,[2]

Paulatim inde rex aetate ingrauescente, curis regni, & laboribus praegrauari, secumque meditari de onere tam graui vel deponendo, vel alleuando, idque cum fieri posse, nisi aliquo in sollicitudinis partem admisso, non

[1] Cf. *Dramatis personae* and verse 75.

[2] *Historia Bohemica* (Hanau, 1602), p. 103.

videret, ad Vogislaum, quem praeter caeteros proceres beneuolentia prosequebatur, grauiorem negotiorum molem conuertit, additis cum quibus consilia actionesque communicaret. . . . . Caeterum breui tempore Vogislaus, magnam in se multorum, inter quos Suatopluci quoque regis filii, inuidiam conflauit, propter benignum & largum erga se regis fauorem, ex re bene administrata conceptum, adeo vt idem Suatoplucus obuium sibi eum ante cubiculum regium habens, eiusmodi verbis inuaserit: *Quousque tandem regnum spoliare per regias largitiones abs te exortas non cessabis? Quoad,* inquit, *tu rex designatus non fueris.* Quo ille responso irritatus, stringit pugionem, & fugientem in cubiculum, rege coram, sauciat, nemine in illum iniicere manum auso, quamquam rex comprehendi illum iusserit. Sed nunquam deinde in conspectu regis Suatoplucus venit, aliquandiu in Hungaria apud Stephanum regem, posthac vxore mortua in Bauaria apud Albertum fratrem suum, vsque ad exitum vitae commoratus. At rex ocio, & secessu Strahouiensi,[1] vel primoribus tantum labiis degustato, abduci ab illo ne hoc quidem incommodo accepto, potuit, sed regno potius toto cedere Friderico filio maluit, non omnibus consilium illius comprobantibus; non quod Fridericus successione parum dignus esset, sed quod vnum regnum, duos reges alere vix bene posset, quodque duobus seruire dominis videretur difficillimum.

It seems to me that we have here most of the elements of the Spanish play and that the changes and additions made by Rojas can be easily explained. In both works there are four important male characters, a king, his two sons, and a noble who assists in the government. The king is old, experienced, overburdened with the cares of state. He objects to violence in his son. He abdicates in favor of a son. He does not in the chronicle give up his throne to save his son's life, but the murder is at least partly the cause of the abdication. The noble is in both cases useful to the state, trusted by the king, firm and dignified toward the prince who seeks his life. Compare with the Latin account of Vogislas the king's speech to Rugero:

> Al Duque, que me sustenta
> La carga de mis cuidados,
> Con rigor y con soberbia
> Le quereis quitar la vida
> Porque yo le quiero.[2]

[1] He had built himself a retreat in the wilds of Strahof, where he consorted with monks and to which he retired after his abdication.

[2] *Biblioteca de autores españoles, Comedias de Rojas Zorrilla,* 389. Cf. also p. 390, where Rugero declares "El Duque en tu Estado reina."

In both works one son is sympathetically treated, represented as worthy to reign, while the other is violent, lacking in respect for his father's authority, hating the nobleman and desiring to kill him.

> ¿El Duque en qué os ofendió,
> Que con la espada sangrienta
> Le buscais puertas al alma
> Y á vuestras venganzas puertas?[1]

As in the Latin it is with a dagger that the murder is finally committed.

The differences between the Latin chronicle and the Spanish play are not difficult to explain. In the original text the murder is followed immediately by the abdication, a fact that would easily suggest to Rojas the addition of a causal connection between the two incidents. For the king to abdicate to save his son's life, rather than on account of old age and the cares of state, would give unity and dramatic interest to the tale. The addition of a love theme was to be expected. Political jealousy, however, which is the prince's motive in the Latin, is retained, though now overshadowed by the more romantic passion. The substitution of the brother for the nobleman as the victim is not, in its conception, a great change, for the intent to kill the duke is still a prominent motive in the play. It is probable that Rojas substituted the brother as the person actually killed to heighten the dramatic effect and to make it certain that Rugero deserved the death penalty. For a prince to murder a mere nobleman might not be considered a capital offense by the author of *Del Rey abajo ninguno*. Similarly the altered *dénouement* would necessitate the change of age between the two brothers. If the guilty brother remained the younger, his crime might seem to be inspired by a desire to clear the way for his own succession, which would make of the protagonist a calculating, rather than a passionate, criminal. It would also follow from the change of victim that the scene of the murder could not be acted as Dubravius described it, since there could have been no mistaking Alejandro for the duke, if the deed had taken place in the presence of king and court. Why Rojas preferred to lay his scene in Poland rather than in Bohemia is

[1] *Biblioteca de autores españoles, Comedias de Rojas Zorrilla*, 389.

not entirely clear. It is probable that the distinction between these two distant lands of allied speech meant little to either author or audience. Poland had, at least, the advantage of being an independent state, while Bohemia had become an Austrian dependency. The changes in personal names are more easily understood, for the three Slavic names, which are abandoned, probably grated on the Spanish ear. The more familiar Fridericus, though no longer assigned to the king's older son, is retained in its Spanish form and given to the duke.

Nor is it difficult to explain how a Spanish dramatist happened upon a subject from Bohemian history. Rojas was a favorite at the court of Felipe IV, whose queen was sister to the king of Hungary and Bohemia. The fact that the latter sovereign was made emperor in 1637, an event celebrated with great pomp at the Spanish court,[1] may have made fashionable the history of his domains.[2] It is not unlikely that some Austrian among the queen's attendants introduced Rojas to Dubravius' book, a work that had already been published at least three times[3] before the birth of the Spanish dramatist. I say Dubravius rather than Aeneas Sylvius, for the latter's history of Bohemia makes no mention of Svatopluk's deed. Of course Rojas may have used an intermediate source, but it has not been discovered.

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that the ultimate source of the two plays is the historical event related by Dubravius. A dramatic imagination would be naturally attracted by the historian's account of the old Bohemian monarch, formerly a crusader, a successful warrior, a reformer of church and law, now weary of his rule, longing for his retreat in the wilds and for communion with his monks. Rojas must have been especially struck by the character of the prince, insolent, jealous, passionate, heedless of his father's commands, murdering the able and admirable minister whom he looked upon as an upstart intriguer. Finally, the monarch's abdication in favor of his other son must have started the train of thought that led to the composition of the plot. Having combined these

[1] *Op. cit.*, vii.

[2] *No hay ser padre siendo rey* was published in 1640.

[3] Prostau, Moravia, 1552; Bâle, 1575; Hanau, 1602. An edition of Vienna, 1554, is mentioned, on doubtful authority.

elements into a single theme, Rojas added other characters, romantic and comic situations, the dramatic scenes that resulted from the prince's mistaking his brother for the nobleman; but he kept in their essential traits the four characters of the Latin chronicle. Rotrou also, while making of the play a more sober, elevated, and psychological tragedy, held to the Slavonic setting, the four male characters, the murder and the abdication that Dubravius had described.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

La Religion de J. J. Rousseau. 3 vols. (I, *La Formation religieuse de Rousseau;* II, *La Profession de foi de Jean-Jacques;* III, *Rousseau et la restauration religieuse.*) By PIERRE MAURICE MASSON. Paris: Hachette, 1916. 10 fr. 50.

M. Masson, professor of French literature at Fribourg (Switzerland), had already made important contributions to the study of Rousseau, notably his critical edition of the *Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard* (1914). The present volumes were completed and partly in type before the outbreak of the war. The proofs were corrected by M. Masson while serving as second lieutenant in the French infantry. In April, 1916, he was instantly killed in action in the Argonne.

This work deals, not merely with Rousseau, but in no small measure with the whole religious development in France from the early eighteenth century to Chateaubriand. It has the thoroughness and accuracy that one has come to expect from the school of M. Lanson. There is also some suggestion of the defect to which this type of scholarship is exposed: the broad lines of the subject tend at times to be obscured by the accumulation of erudite details. A system of numbers in the footnotes refers to the bibliography at the end of the third volume, which runs to 643 titles. The extent of M. Masson's reading is also suggested by his nineteen-page index of proper names.

Extensive as is M. Masson's reading it needed in some respects to be even more extensive. His subject is, for the most part, the great deistic movement, and this movement is pre-eminently international. Deism marks an important stage in the process that has been going on for centuries, namely, the passage of man in his views about himself and his own destiny from a pure supernaturalism to a pure naturalism. Now deism was either rationalistic or sentimental. The chief rationalistic deist of the French eighteenth century was Voltaire; the chief sentimental deist, Rousseau. The origins of both types of deism are largely English. Some knowledge of men like Shaftesbury and Hutcheson is as helpful in understanding Rousseau as a knowledge of men like Locke and Bolingbroke is for understanding Voltaire. M. Masson's references to the English background are slight and superficial. On the other hand, he is very full and interesting on once-popular but now forgotten French authors of deistic tendency, like Claville and Saint-Aubin, of whom Rousseau made a careful study in his youth. M. Masson has also much to say of the deistic physicists (Pluche,

Nieuwentyt, etc.), who are even more anthropocentric than the earlier supernaturalists, who saw everything in nature arranged by a benevolent deity for man's especial benefit (hence the moral commotion caused by the Lisbon earthquake). This harmonizing of man and God and nature by a recourse to final causes, of which Rousseau himself is rather chary, reaches its extravagant culmination in a book like Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Études de la nature* (1784). Anticipations of the point of view of the Savoyard Vicar are also found by M. Masson in various Genevan writers (Marie Huber, Muralt, etc.).

One is struck by the hostile attitude toward intellect and science that already appears in a number of these writers. Up to a certain point the rationalistic and the sentimental deists worked together; they were both arrayed against supernatural religion, against revelation and miracles. Rousseau himself appears as one of the keenest of rationalists[1] in his attitude toward miracles. Voltaire, as we know from his annotated copy of the *Profession*,[2] took satisfaction in all this portion of Rousseau's argument. But having thus used reason as a weapon against the supernatural, Rousseau would then have it abdicate before sentiment, and at this abdication of reason Voltaire feels only disgust. Rousseau's great thirst is for immediacy. The inner oracle to which he is ready to sacrifice everything that is not immediate (including reason) he names variously sentiment, conscience, soul, heart. Rousseau's motto *vitam impendere vero* implies that he was willing to lay down his life for the truth, but as a matter of fact he had little concern for the truth unless, indeed, one holds that the individual is justified in identifying the truth with his own emotions. An error that consoled Rousseau seemed to him preferable to a truth that afflicted him.[3] Instead of adjusting his temperament to religion, he adjusts religion to his temperament. One may thus set up as religious without having to renounce one's ordinary self. M. Masson traces this development with psychological subtlety. "Il ne s'agit point de se perdre en Dieu, mais plutôt d'absorber Dieu en soi. . . . Dans le paradis de Jean-Jacques, Dieu lui-même s'effacera discrètement pour laisser place à Jean-Jacques."[4]

Rousseau's attitude toward religious truth is in the broadest sense of the word aesthetic. He not only tends, like Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, to identify beauty and truth, but conceives beauty as the pursuit of pure illusion. "There is nothing beautiful," he was fond of saying, "save that which is not."[5] Religion may be not only beautiful and consoling to the individual, but it may also be justified by its utility, its social beneficence. "Il ne s'agit pas," says Rousseau, "de savoir ce qui est mais seulement ce qui est utile."[6] This is what we should call nowadays the pragmatic test. M. Masson indicates skilfully the relationship between Rousseau and recent

[1] See dialogue in the *Profession de foi* between "l'inspiré" and "le raisonneur."

[2] See *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, I, 277–79.

[3] I, 235; II, 89, etc. [4] II, 120. [5] II, 260. [6] II, 256.

anti-intellectualist philosophers like James and Bergson. He might also have found in Rousseau an anticipation of Vaihinger and his theory of useful fiction.[1]

This testing of religion and philosophy, not by their intrinsic truth, but by their beauty and utility, was destined to have important developments, not merely in the Protestant, but also in the Catholic, world. Rousseau himself seems to have felt the superior aesthetic appeal of Catholicisim. He was deeply moved, as we learn from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, by the singing of "les litanies de la Providence" in the chapel on Mont Valérien.[2] M. Masson studies in detail the Catholic writers between Rousseau and Chateaubriand who tended to subordinate the truth of their religion to its aesthetic charm and social beneficence. No book was ever more thoroughly prepared for than the *Génie du Christianisme.*

The passages of Rousseau that point most plainly to this type of Catholicism are found in the *Profession de foi;* but another side of Rousseau's religious thinking, that embodied in the closing chapter of the *Contrat Social* (*la Religion civile*), is in the highest degree hostile to Catholicism, inasmuch as even the aesthetic Catholic is unwilling to subordinate himself entirely to the state. This chapter aims at nothing less than "to bring together the two heads of the eagle," as Rousseau expresses it; that is, to abolish the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal order which is at the heart of Christianity. Rousseau's attitude toward historical Christianity has, as M. Masson points out, much in common with that of Machiavelli.[3] By its insistence on humility, Christianity has made the citizen effeminate and undermined his patriotic pride. The remedy is to get rid of historical Christianity, and not only to make the state supreme, but also to set up a state religion—a religion that is not to be, properly speaking, religious, but merely an "aid to sociability." An old English poet describes religion as the "mother of form and fear." Rousseau would banish fear from religion entirely, and everything that is form and discipline being, as he holds, not of the essence of religion, he would turn over to the state. The essence of religion he sees in a fluid emotionalism, and this a man may indulge in without having two fatherlands, without dividing his allegiance between the spiritual and the temporal order, as he must do if he remains a Christian in the traditional sense.

One immediately relates Rousseau's hostility to Christianity as a form and discipline quite apart from the state to the anticlericalism that has prevailed in France from the Revolution to the present day; and the connection of Rousseau's religious ideas with those of Robespierre, for example, is close and indubitable. M. Masson makes clear, however, that we must be careful not to exaggerate the rôle of Rousseau in the rise of anticlericalism.

[1] *Die Philosophie des Als Ob* (1911).

[2] *Vie de Rousseau* (éd. Souriau), pp. 106 ff.

[3] II, 196.

Many other influences—that of Raynal, for example—tended in the same direction. M. Masson has brought out to some extent, following Aulard, the conflict in the Revolution itself between the rationalists (whether deistic or atheistical), who derive from Voltaire and the encyclopedists, and the sentimental deists, who derive from Rousseau.

The final impression one gets from M. Masson's volumes is that the main religious development from Rousseau is aesthetic and utilitarian Catholicism *à la Chateaubriand*. But sentimentalism of the type that appears in Rousseau has affected Catholicism only superficially, whereas it has eaten into the very vitals of Protestantism. To make his study of Rousseau's religious ideas complete, M. Masson would have needed to pay more attention, not only to their background in England, but also to their prolongation in Germany. "Rousseau's deeper influence is accomplished on German soil," says Professor Paul Hensel, of the University of Erlangen; "here he became . . . . the founder of a new culture"[1] (*Kultur*). Now *Kultur* when analyzed breaks up into two distinct things: on the one hand scientific efficiency, and on the other what the Germans term "idealism." Rousseau is undoubtedly a main source of this idealism, so that to get at his more significant religious influence one would need to trace the transformations of Rousseauism in the writings of Kant, Jacobi, Herder, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Schelling, etc. In these German writers deism passes over into pantheism; and just as deism is either rationalistic or sentimental, so pantheism has tended to be either scientific or emotional. This transition from deism to pantheism can be followed, not merely in the Germans, but in a contemporary of Rousseau's like Diderot. Rousseau rejected pantheism, especially of the scientific type, but there are plenty of examples in his work of pantheistic revery, though he does not develop this pantheistic revery, as does Schelling in his *Naturphilosophie*, into a system of symbolism. M. Masson does not perhaps say enough about pantheistic revery in Rousseau and its relation to his religion, though in what he does say he shows his usual psychological subtlety. For example, he remarks: "La nature que Jean-Jacques adore n'est qu'un dédoublement de Jean-Jacques." "Il s'est senti à l'aise [dans la nature] parcequ'il s'y est senti seul, parce qu'il a pu s 'y dilater jusqu'à l'envahir toute."[2] In short, communion with nature was a welcome substitute for traditional religion, because communion with nature does not impose any check upon one's ordinary self. A man may mix himself up with the landscape to any extent, and yet continue to suffer from what the philosophers term the egocentric predicament.

It should be plain from what has already been said that M. Masson's volumes are an important contribution to the history of ideas. They are not, however, for a reason that remains to be stated, an important contribution to thought. To make a contribution to thought M. Masson would

[1] *Rousseau* (1907), p. 117. [2] II, 229.

have needed to discriminate with the utmost sharpness between religion and mere sentimentalism, and this he has failed to do. His inadequacy here, combined with the psychological subtlety he so often exhibits, is positively disconcerting. For example, M. Masson says of Rousseau's religion: "C'est un christianisme sans redemption et sans repentir, d'où le sentiment du péché a disparu et dont Jean-Jacques est à la fois le prêtre et même le nouveau Christ."[1] And then he proceeds to speak of Rousseau's "christianisme profond"![2] M. Masson has not made sufficiently clear to himself or to others that the difference between the supernaturalist and the naturalist (or the man who is tending toward naturalism) does not lie in the fact that the supernaturalist insists on dogma and miracles and revelation, whereas the naturalist rejects these things; the difference between the two is inner and psychological. Rousseau opposes to supernatural religion a plea for immediacy: ("Que d'hommes entre Dieu et moi," etc.[3]). But the supernaturalist also craves immediacy, only he perceives two elements in human nature that are immediate: on the one hand a stream of impulse and desire, and on the other an element that moves in an opposite direction and is known practically as a power of control over impulse and desire. Rousseau and the sentimentalists would follow the stream of impulse and desire, live temperamentally, in short, and at the same time set up as religious. Everything that opposes "spontaneity," that is, the free expansion of impulse, they would dismiss as factitious and conventional. I am indeed dealing only with the total tendency of Rousseauism. As M. Masson points out,[4] there survive in Rousseau many traces of the older dualism, the sense of a struggle between opposing elements, both immediate, in the breast of the individual, passages that imply the "civil war in the cave" of which Diderot speaks and which he deems purely artificial.

Language seems to break down in describing this dualism of the spirit. For instance, Pascal and Rousseau both refer to the inner and intuitive side of human nature as "le sentiment," "le cœur," etc.; they mean exactly opposite things. Rousseau, indeed, can only be understood as the extreme recoil from Pascal. For Pascal, religion was not only the "mother of form and fear," but he and the whole side of Christianity for which he stands pushed the form to a point where it became a strait-jacket for the human spirit, the fear to a point where it amounted to a theological reign of terror. M. Masson, misled by the prime emphasis that both Pascal and Rousseau put on "le sentiment" and "le cœur," inclines at times to see in Rousseau, not the extreme recoil from Pascal, but his continuer.[5] Confusion, it would seem, could go no farther. M. Masson has failed utterly to define the change that took place in the eighteenth century in such words as sentiment, heart, virtue, conscience, etc. Under the influence of Shaftesbury and Rousseau

[1] II, 294. [2] III, 42. [3] *Profession de foi.* [4] II, 115, 273.
[5] I, 90; II, 57; III, 35, 103, 347, 357.

and the sentimentalists these words cease to stand for a force that puts a check on emotion, and become themselves expansive emotions. Virtue, for example, according to Rousseau, is not merely an impulse, but a passion, and even an intoxication.[1]

M. Masson shows the same inability to distinguish between religion and mere religiosity in dealing with a writer like Joubert, who comes at the end of his period. "Toute la dialectique sentimentale de Rousseau," he writes, "a trouvé ses formules définitives dans Joubert."[2] But Joubert is not, as one might gather from M. Masson, a religious aesthete; on the contrary, he is a profound and subtle moralist, a man of genuine religious insight. Now Joubert says that whereas virtue before Rousseau had been looked on as a bridle, Rousseau turned it into a spur.[3] This one remark throws more light on Rousseau's relation to religion and morality than anything that will be found in M. Masson's three volumes.

M. Bergson shows that he suffers from a confusion similar to that of M. Masson when he distinguishes two main types of French philosophy—a rationalistic type that goes back to Descartes and an intuitive type that goes back to Pascal.[4] M. Bergson would have us believe that he himself and Pascal are in the same tradition. Monstrous sophistries lurk beneath this simple assertion, sophistries which if they go unchallenged are enough to wreck civilization. M. Masson's error is so instructive indeed because it is not purely personal; because it points to some radical confusion, some grave spiritual bewilderment in this age. The men of the two chief Protestant countries are now engaged in blowing one another to pieces with high explosives and at the same time trying to starve one another's women and children *en masse*. Some might argue that a religion that has had such an outcome is bankrupt. One reason for this bankruptcy of Protestantism may lie in its failure from the very dawn of the sentimental movement to the present day to discriminate between genuine religious experience and mere emotionalism.

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[1] An influence on the eighteenth century which antedates the sentimental movement, and which in some of its aspects encourages this expansive view of virtue, is that of Jacob Boehme. This side of Boehme would seem ultimately to go back to neoplatonism. Goethe's expansive definition of the good in *Faust* and his identification of the restrictive principle with evil ("der Geist der stets verneint") plainly derives directly or indirectly from Boehme. See *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IX, chap. xii (especially pp. 352–53).

[2] III, 303.

[3] *Pensées*, etc. (éd. Paul de Raynal, 1866), II, 121; cf. also p. 364; "Rousseau a ôté la sagesse aux âmes, en leur parlant de la vertu."

[4] "On trouverait, en rétablissant les anneaux intermédiaires de la chaîne, qu'à Pascal se rattachent les doctrines modernes qui font passer en première ligne la connaissance immédiate, l'intuition, la vie intérieure, comme à Descartes . . . se rattachent plus particulièrement les philosophies de la raison pure." Article in *La Science française* (1915), I, 17.

Teatro Antiguo Español. Textos y Estudios I. Luis Vélez de Guevara, La Serrana de la Vera. Edited by RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL and MARÍA GOYRI DE MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, 1916.

With this volume is inaugurated a series of critically edited Spanish plays of the classic period—the first enterprise of its kind in Spain. In spite of the rapid growth of scholarship in that country, plays continue to be almost as carelessly edited as ever. (Witness the recent volumes of the Academy edition of the works of Lope de Vega.) The present work is a protest against slipshod methods and a model for future editors to follow. The Señores Menéndez Pidal have been happy in the play they have chosen. In the first place, it is the unedited work of one of Spain's greatest dramatists and of high intrinsic merit. Secondly, it affords the editors a splendid opportunity to make valuable contributions in the fields of dialectology, lexicography, folklore, and balladry, in all of which subjects they are so proficient. Thirdly, this is the first of a cycle of plays dealing with the same subject, the study of which is important to the history of the Spanish drama. It offers opportunity for a comparative study of works by Vélez, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and others of lesser fame who have dealt with this same folklore theme. All these matters are treated in a magisterial manner. The most captious critic can oppose only trifling suggestions; but, as this work is the first of a series and a recognized model for those studies which are to follow, a few may be pardoned.

The editors scrupulously retain the old spelling of the original, making only the modern distinctions between *u*, *v*, and *b*. The *i*'s and *y*'s remain unchanged. But, contrary to general practice, they combine with ancient orthography the most ultra-modern accentuation and punctuation. It is very difficult for editors to agree regarding the system of accentuation to be employed in editing old texts. On the one hand, it is axiomatic that an editor should not follow the custom of the authors of the period, who made little or no use of diacritical signs; still less can he follow the anarchy of seventeenth-century printers in this regard. On the other hand, the present system, in conjunction with the old spelling, is anachronistic and shocking, e.g., *onrréys*. It is all very well to accentuate *así*, but what is to be done when the word is spelled *asy?* He must either depart from his own system, as the present editors do in like cases, or have cast a new character which would offend by its novelty. The method employed by Morel-Fatio and Foulché-Delbosc seems better. Use accents sparingly—only when necessary to distinguish homonyms. The objection to this system is that it is purely artificial—an editor's invention; but it is less shocking to the reader. Similarly, the inverted interrogation and exclamation points give offense. Since the editors adopted the system they did, *quien* should bear the accent in

l. 512; *Esta* in l. 645; *si* in l. 665; *di* in l. 3066. The captain's speech, ll. 501–2, is plainly a question. The editors have followed the now almost universal custom of indenting the initial verse of each strophe, but have failed to indent the following lines: 37, 41, 269, 273, 463, 811, 823, 903, 2202, 2608, 2854. Lines 36 and 40 are erroneously indented. The proof-reading might have been more carefully done. The editors fail to indicate "asides," and such stage directions are helpful to the reader. The speeches beginning with ll. 2978 and 3014, for example, are manifestly to be taken as *apartes*.

La Serrana de la Vera was dated at Valladolid, 1603. This date is rejected on the ground that the author could not possibly have been at the time in the city named; 1613 is favored instead. Certain possible reminiscences of the *Don Quijote* may tend to confirm the impossibility of the earlier date. Madalena escapes through a *puerta falsa*, just like Don Quijote and Sancho (l. 1432). The composition of Giraldo's *olla* (l. 1808) is similar to that mentioned in the first chapter of the novel. Compare also Gila's vow (l. 2139). These resemblances may be wholly fortuitous, and are perhaps too slight to deserve mention. In the discussion of the *mujer hombruna* type, Tirso's *Antona García* and *La Gallega Mari-Hernández* might have been profitably studied. The type is precisely the same as that of Vélez' *Gila*, and some of the incidents are very similar.

The notes are so good that we wish they were even fuller. It would be too much to say that every difficulty of the text has been explained. To expect of an editor utter completeness of elucidation in connection with any text whatsoever is, as the good knight would have said, *pensar en lo excusado*. But in this case the gleanings left for future investigators are very few. The Señores Menéndez Pidal have once more given proof of their industry, conscientious method, and vast erudition.

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VERGIL'S *AENEID* AND THE IRISH *IMRAMA*: ZIMMER'S THEORY

The late Professor Zimmer's ingenious effort to show that the *imram* literature, which arose in Ireland in the seventh or eighth century, came into being as a result of direct imitation of the account of the adventures of Aeneas (*Aeneid* iii-v)[1] appears to have received but passing notice. Some students who have taken cognizance of the theory have apparently been somewhat skeptical as to its validity.[2] The problem is of interest in connection with studies in the classical origin of mediaeval types of literature, and has to do with a *genre* which is important because of the inherent charm of the stories

[1] H. Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* (*ZFDA*), XXXIII (1889), 328 ff. The argument is one feature of Zimmer's efforts to stress the extent and significance of foreign influences upon early Irish literature. For a bibliography of Zimmer's works, as well as for references to other documents connected with early Irish literature referred to in this paper, see the excellent work of R. I. Best, *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature*, Dublin, 1913 (*Bibliog.*). For supplementary references to Zimmer's work see *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (*C.Z.*), VIII (1912), 593–94; IX (1913), 87 ff.; and *Revue Celtique* (*R.C.*), XXXI (1910), 411.

[2] Alfred Nutt (*Voyage of Bran* [London, 1895], I, 166, n. 2), A. C. L. Brown (*Harvard Studies and Notes* [*HSN*], VIII [1903], 57, n. 1), Alfred Schulze (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXX [1906], 257), and W. A. Nitze (*Modern Philology*, XI [1913–14], 465, n. 1), are noncommittal in their references to Zimmer's theory. Nutt's and Brown's theories of the composition of *Maelduin*, however, are clearly inimical to Zimmer's position, and in a recent paper ("From Cauldron of Plenty to Grail," *Mod. Phil.*, XIV [1916–17], 388, n. 6), Brown says, "Zimmer . . . . urged with little plausibility that this (*Maelduin*) and later *imrama* grew up under the influence of Vergil's *Aeneid*." To the skepticism toward Zimmer's theory indicated in class lectures by Professor T. P. Cross is due the interest leading to the present discussion. To Professor Cross I am also indebted for a number of valuable references and suggestions.

included and because of the wide influence exerted by one of them, the legend of Saint Brendan.[1]

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to show the unconvincing nature of Zimmer's arguments in favor of Vergilian influence. No effort is made to support, in any comprehensive way, the alternative hypothesis that the *genre* is an outgrowth, not only of Celtic material, but of native narrative methods.

The *imram* is a sea-voyage tale in which a hero, accompanied by a few companions, wanders about from island to island, meets Otherworld wonders everywhere, and finally returns to his native land. The stories commonly included in the *imram* canon are *Imram Brain maic Febail*, "The Voyage of Bran, son of Febal"; *Imram Curaig Maelduin*, "The Voyage of the Boat of Maelduin"; *Imram Curaig hua Corra*, "The Voyage of the Boat of the Húi Corra"; *Imram Brendain*, "The Voyage of Brendan"; and *Imram Snedgusa ocus mac Riagla*, "The Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla."[2] To this list should be added *Echtra Clerech Choluim Cille*, "The Adventures of the Clerics of Columb Cille," a variant of *Snedgus and Mac Riagla*. The first in the list, *Imram Brain*, lacks the distinctive *imram* trait of the stressing of the adventurous voyage, and is perhaps best regarded as an earlier form of the Otherworld journey, which is chiefly concerned with the hero's adventures in the land of women. It is evident from Zimmer's arguments that he does not regard *Bran* as a true *imram*, and Alfred Nutt[3] and A. C. L. Brown[4] have apparently taken a similar view. *Bran* is older than the true *imrama*, as it dates, according to Zimmer[5] and Kuno Meyer,[6] from the seventh century. The oldest complete *imram* is probably *Maelduin*, which belongs to the seventh or eighth century.[7] It should be noted,

[1] The great influence of the Brendan legend upon continental mediaeval literature is reflected in the many studies of this *imram* (see *Bibliog.*, p. 115). Interesting speculations concerning the possible influence of the story upon early voyages of discovery, notably those of Christopher Columbus, appear in a paper by T. J. Westropp, *Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy*, XXX (1912–13), 223 ff. Cf. Gustav Schirmer, *Zur Brendanus-Legende*, Leipzig, 1888.

[2] *Bibliog.*, pp. 115–16; Westropp, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Schirmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff., etc.

[3] *Voyage of Bran*, I, "The Happy Otherworld."

[4] *HSN*, VIII, 57–58; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 30, n. 2.

[5] *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 261. [6] *Voyage of Bran*, I, xvi.

[7] Zimmer's conclusions, based largely on linguistic evidence, are supplemented by Nutt's convictions based on the folklore aspect of the question. These conclusions quite

however, that Zimmer, on linguistic evidence, regards *Húi Corra* as preserving in its earlier sections the text of a much older version, which probably antedated *Maelduin.*[1] The later *imrama, Snedgus and Mac Riagla, Clerics of Columb Cille, Brendan,* and *Húi Corra* (in its present form) show increasing effects of the Christianizing process apparent in *Maelduin,* and become associated with the "visions."[2]

A discussion of Zimmer's argument must be preceded by summaries of three stories chiefly concerned.

IMRAM BRAIN MAIC FEBAIL[3]

A mortal prince, Bran son of Febal, awakened by fairy music, learns, from a beautiful young woman, of the "glorious island" where all is beauty and joy and lasting life. The lady vanishes. Bran and twenty-seven companions set sail to seek the delightful place. They reach the Isle of Laughter, where one of Bran's men is irresistibly drawn into the circle of laughing folk. His friends cannot coax him away. The supernatural Manannan, son of Ler, directs them to the Island of Women. One hundred and fifty islands are mentioned as part of this fairy realm, but only one is visited.

"They saw the leader of the women at the port. Said the chief of the women: 'Come hither on land, O Bran son of Febal! Welcome is thy advent!' Bran did not venture to go on shore. The woman throws a ball of thread to Bran straight over his face. Bran put his hand on the ball, which clave to his palm. The thread of the ball was in the woman's hand, and she pulled the coracle towards the port. Thereupon they went into a large house, in which was a bed for every couple, even thrice nine beds. The food that was put on every dish vanished not from them. It seemed a year to them that they were there—it chanced to be many years. No savour was wanting to them."

Bran's kindred plead with the hero to return to Ireland, but Bran's mistress warns them against departure. Seeing them intent on going, she cautions them against touching the soil of their native land and directs them to recover the companion lost on the Isle of Laughter. They reach Ireland and find that they are remembered only by virtue of an ancient tale of their voyage. One of the crew leaps from the coracle to the shore and immediately becomes a heap of ashes. Bran tells the assembly on the shore of his wanderings, and returns to the sea. "And from that hour his wanderings are not known."

clearly dispose of the notion that *Maelduin* is later than *Brendan,* a view held by a number of writers: Stokes, *R.C.,* IX (1888), 450; F. Lot in D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Cours de littérature celtique,* V, 451–52. The opposing views are discussed by César Baser, *Romania,* XXII (1893), 578 ff.

[1] *Op. cit.,* p. 201.

[2] On this point see C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precurser of Dante* (London, 1908), p. 120.

[3] Summarized from the translation by Kuno Meyer in *The Voyage of Bran.*

IMRAM CURAIG MAELDUIN[1]

Ailill Ocar has been killed by coast plunderers. His posthumous son, Maelduin, is reared at court with the three sons of the queen and is kept in ignorance of his real parentage. Taunted one day about his unknown father, the boy coaxes from the queen an explanation, is taken to his real mother, and learns that his father had been chief of the tribe of Owenaght of Ninus. With his three foster-brothers Maelduin goes to his father's former kingdom, and is welcomed by the people.

While casting stones one day over the charred remains of the church of Dooclone, Maelduin is taunted for not revenging his father's death. Learning now of the murder, the young hero is fired with a desire for vengeance. The culprits are said to have a rendezvous a long way off over the ocean. Maelduin goes to Corcomroe to the druid Nuca to seek advice about building a currach for the trip and to ask a protective charm. He receives full instructions: he is told the exact day on which to begin the construction of his boat and the exact day on which to begin the voyage, and is enjoined to have a crew of sixty men, neither more nor less. After the boat has left the land the three foster-brothers, for some reason not included in the party, ask permission to accompany Maelduin. Mindful of the druid's words, the hero refuses the request, whereupon the importunate foster-brothers, reckless of their lives, swim after the boat. Maelduin in mercy takes them aboard.

Episode 1: Isle of the Murderers. Shortly after midnight two small fortified islands are reached, from which proceed sounds of revelry. Maelduin overhears one boast of his feat in killing Ailill and of the son's failure to exact vengeance. A squall at sea prevents landing and the currach is blown far away. The voyagers cease rowing and let the boat drift whither it please God. The foster-brothers are blamed for the ill luck.

Episode 2: Isle of Enormous Ants. Three days later, while casting lots to determine who shall explore an island, the men see a swarm of enormous ants, the size of foals, on their way to the currach, and flee.

Episode 3: Isle of Great Birds. A high terraced island. Many great birds in the trees. The crew eat their fill of the birds and take a supply on board.

Episode 4: Horselike Monster. A huge, horselike beast tries to lure them to land and pelts them with pebbles as they retire.

Episode 5: Demons' Horse Race. A great flat island, showing vast hoofmarks. Enormous nuts on the ground. From the boat the crew observe a noisy horse race, and think there is here a meeting of demons.

[1] Summarized from the translation of Whitley Stokes, *R.C.*, IX (1888), 447–95, and X (1889), 50–95. The story appears in whole or in part in four manuscripts: the Book of the Dun Cow ([LU], before 1106); the Yellow Book of Lecan ([YBL], fourteenth and fifteenth centuries); Harleian 5280 ([H], fifteenth century); and Egerton 1782 (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). YBL and H contain verse paraphrases which are not printed or translated by Stokes in *R.C.*, but which may be found in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, I (Dublin, 1907), 50 ff.

Episode 6: Empty Banquet Hall. Hungry and thirsty after a week's rowing, the voyagers discover a high island. On the shore is a large house. A subaqueous door is closed by a valve of stone through an opening in which the waves fling hosts of salmon. In the house the men notice beds, food, and drink. They dine, thank God, and depart.

Episode 7: The Wondrous Fruit. Passing a wood-rimmed island, Maelduin seizes a rod from a tree. Three days later the rod bears a cluster of three apples, each apple sufficing the crew for food during forty days.

Episode 8: Feat-performing Beast. A huge beast races about a stone-fenced island. Halting on a height, it performs various feats, such as turning about in its skin. It flings stones at the men as they flee.

Episode 9: Fighting Horses. On this island the ground is bloody. Fierce horses are biting pieces from one another's sides.

Episode 10: Fiery Beasts and Golden Apples. Swinelike animals strike trees with their hind legs to shake down golden apples. The beasts retire, and birds come swimming about and partake of the fruit. The earth is hot, owing to the presence of the magic animals in the caverns; nevertheless, the men gather many apples, which forbid hunger and thirst.

Episode 11: The Guardian Cat. Again in hunger, the voyagers reach a small island containing a fort surrounded with a high white rampart. Outside the fort is a large house inhabited only by a small cat. In a gorgeously furnished room the men find food prepared. After the feast the "third" foster-brother attempts to carry away a necklace, but the cat leaps through him like a fiery arrow, and the thief is turned to ashes. Maelduin placates the cat, spreads the ashes on the sea, and departs "praising and magnifying God."

Episode 12: Black and White Sheep. A brazen palisade bisects the island. On one side are white sheep; on the other, black. Every sheep flung across the palisade by the giant herdsman changes color to correspond to its new environment. Rods which Maelduin casts ashore also change color. He departs in fear.

Episode 13: Giant Herdsman. Here are magic swine, enormous calves, and a burning river. Across a mountain a huge herdsman is seen guarding great hornless oxen. He remonstrates with an intruder from the boat. (This incident is apparently incomplete.)

Episode 14: Miller of Hell. A hideous miller grinds everything grudgingly given, amounting to half the grain of Ireland.

Episode 15: Isle of Weeping. A second foster-brother is here drawn into the charmed circle of weeping human beings, and is lost.

Episode 16: Isle of Four Fences. The four compartments of this isle are occupied by kings, warriors, queens, and maidens. One of the maidens welcomes the voyagers and gives them drink and food having any desired savour. Intoxicated by the drink, the mortals sleep three days. When they awake, in their boat at sea, the isle has disappeared.

Episode 17: The Chaste Maiden. A barrier consisting of a glass bridge which falls backward as visitors try to ascend it protects a fortress. A woman comes from the fortress and fills her pail from a magic fountain at the foot of the bridge. Magic music lulls the mortals to sleep. When the maiden reappears she is asked to become Maelduin's mistress. She replies, "Marvelously valuable do I deem Maelduin." The third day she again refuses the proffer of love, promising a definite answer the next day; but when the morrow dawns the men again find themselves alone at sea.

Episode 18: Chanting Birds. The singing of birds here suggests the chanting of psalms.

Episode 19: Lonely Pilgrim. A lonely shipwrecked Irish pilgrim inhabits a wooded isle which has miraculously grown from a single sod. The birds are the souls of the pilgrim's kindred who are awaiting doomsday. The old man, clad only in his hair, is fed daily, by angels, with half a cake, a slice of fish, and liquor from a magic well. There are three days of guesting, after which the old man prophesies, "Ye shall all reach your country save one man."

Episode 20: Magic Fountain. A white isle with a golden rampart is inhabited by an old cleric clad only in his hair. He is fed from a magic fount which yields whey or water on Fridays and Wednesdays, milk on Sundays and ordinary feast days, and ale on the feast days of the apostles, of Mary, and of John the Baptist. The men eat a half-cake and a piece of fish, drink from the magic fount, and fall into a heavy sleep. There are three days of guesting before the cleric orders the visitors to go.

Episode 21: Savage Smiths. The voyagers hear the sound of anvils and hear smiths on an isle talking of the strangers' approach. Turning the stern of their boat toward sea to conceal retreat, the men flee. The chief smith casts a molten mass at the boat, making the sea boil.

Episode 22: Sea of Glass. Maelduin passes over a beautiful magic sea resembling green glass.

Episode 23: Cloudlike Sea and Buried Country. In this underground realm appears a huge beast in a tree. Other animals are near by. The beast frightens away an armed man and seizes an ox. The frightened Irishmen hurry away.

Episode 24: Cliffs of Water and Terrified Islanders. At the approach of the party the inhabitants exclaim, "It is they." A woman pelts them with large nuts. The screams cease as the voyagers retire.

Episode 25: Water-Arch and Salmon. Salmon fall from an arch of water spanning an isle. Maelduin is thus supplied with food.

Episode 26: Silver Column and Net. Rising from the water is a high silver column. From the summit flies a silver net reaching to the sea. Diuran, one of the crew, cuts a piece of net as a souvenir. A voice from the summit speaks in an unknown tongue.

Episode 27: Island on Pedestal. A subaqueous door supplies the only entrance to this strange isle. A plow is seen on top of the island.

Episode 28: The Amorous Queen. A large island with a fortress and a great plain. Seventeen grown girls are seen preparing a bath. Maelduin and his men sit on a hillock opposite the fortress. A gorgeously attired woman approaches on horseback, dismounts, goes into the fortress, and enters the bath. A girl welcomes Maelduin's party in the name of the queen. The men enter, bathe, and go into the feast hall. After the feast the queen takes Maelduin to her bed, the companions pairing off with the seventeen daughters. Next morning the visitors are invited to remain, the queen promising them immortality and perennial joys. She explains that when her husband, the king, died she assumed the reign, and every day judges the people in the plain. The visitors remain three months, which seem three years. Maelduin reluctantly yields to the request of his men to return to Ireland; but when he attempts to leave, the queen throws after him a magic clew, which adheres to the hero's hand. The queen thus draws the boat back to the shore. After another long stay the incident is repeated. On the next occasion, Maelduin, accused of insincerity by his companions, has another catch the clew, cuts off the engaged hand, and throws it into the sea. The party escapes, and the queen sets up a great cry.

Episode 29: Intoxicating Fruit. Maelduin makes wine from berries growing on the next isle visited. The wine is so strong that it must be diluted with water.

Episode 30: Mystic Lake and Great Bird. A small church, a fortress, a forest, and a lake are features of this island, which is inhabited only by an old cleric, clothed in his hair, who says he is the fifteenth man of the community of Brennan of Birr, who had gone on an ocean pilgrimage and settled here. A great bird bearing a branch with grapelike berries alights on a hill near the lake. At nones two great eagles come and pick lice from the big bird's plumage, crush the berries, and make a red foam in the lake. The huge bird bathes. The next day the attendant birds sleek up the plumage of the great bird and depart. At the end of the third day the great bird flies away with its youth renewed. Diuran the Rhymer boldly plunges into the lake and sips the water. Thereafter his eyes were strong, he lost neither tooth nor hair, and suffered no weakness.

Episode 31: Isle of Laughing. The third foster-brother is lost in a group of laughing folk.

Episode 32: Isle of the Blest. A fiery rampart revolves about an island whereon are beautiful human beings with golden vessels and garments.

Episode 33: The Hermit of Sea Rock. A hermit clothed only in his hair is prostrating himself on a rock in the midst of the sea. He proves to be a dishonest church cook from Torach. He had been led to penitence by the voice of a pious corpse, and had undertaken a penitential sea voyage. After

miraculously escaping demons, he was cast upon this rock, which gradually grew in size. He had been miraculously supplied with food and drink, the latter improving in quality after seven years. He feeds the visitors and prophesies that they will reach home after finding the slayer of Maelduin's father, whom Maelduin is warned to forgive.

Episode 34: Signs of Home. An island with cattle and sheep is visited. An Irish falcon appears and the voyagers follow it.

Episode 35: Isle of the Murderers. Again the adventurers overhear the murderers speaking of Maelduin. They report him dead, but would welcome him should he appear. The hero makes himself known and he and his men receive new garments. They tell of their wanderings and of the marvels God has shown them, "according to the word of the sacred poet, '*haec olim meminisse iuvabit.*'" After the return to Ireland, Diuran places the piece of silver net on the altar at Armagh.

"Now Aed the Fair, chief sage of Ireland, arranged this story as it standeth here, and he did so for delighting the mind and for the folk of Ireland after him."

IMRAM CURAIG HUA CORRA[1]

A prosperous Connaught man, named Conall the Red, and his wife, Caerderg, daughter of a cleric, are childless. They "fast upon" the Devil and devote themselves to him. Three sons are born in one night and are given "heathen baptism." They are carefully nourished and are kept in ignorance of their preordained diabolic connections. One day they overhear older persons speak of the consecration of the boys to the Devil, and decide to be about their master's business. For a year they burn churches and kill clerics, finally visiting their grandfather. In the night one of the three, Lechan, is shown a vision of heaven and hell. The boys repent and are told to rebuild the destroyed churches. They perform this labor, and are seized one day with a longing to explore the wonders of the sea and to seek heaven across the waves.

As the adventurers are about to embark, a company of entertainers arrives, one of whom, the buffoon, wishes to join the Húi Corra. He is refused permission until he pleads "for God's sake," whereupon he is received, naked. The men commit their cause to God and the winds, and drift westward. They reach the Isle of Grieving Men, where one of the crew is lost. By visiting the Isle of Fragrant Apples they are freed from appetite, wound and disease, and pass on to the Isle of Gaiety, where a second companion is lost. They see many wonders: isle of one foot, rainbow river, silver pillar, isle of cleric Dega, isle of living and dead, flagstones of hell, isle of brazen palisade, wonderful birds, sea-rivers, isle of the harper, isle of Sabbath-desecrator, miller of hell, horse of fire, isle of dishonest smiths and

[1] Summarized from Stokes' translation, *R.C.*, XIV (1893), 22–63.

braziers, fiery giant, fiery sea of serpents and men's heads, isle of rest, community of St. Ailbe, psalm singer, solitary elder, and a deserter disciple of Christ. The last-named is an Irish cleric who predicts the future fortunes of the party. In the island of Britain is to be left a gillie from whom the bishop of Rome is to learn the story of the voyage of the boat of the sons of Corra. "And so it happened."

Imram Snedgusa ocus maic Riagla,[1] *Echtra Clerech Choluim Cille*,[2] and *Imram Brendain*[3] do not require summary here. The several *imrama* are similar in general structure, and are interrelated through the inclusion of similar episodic matter and through the common use of many stock motives of Celtic traditional literature. *Maelduin* and *Bran*, for instance, have the isle of laughter and the Otherworld mistress who draws her lover to her isle by a ball of thread. *Maelduin* and *Húi Corra* have the isle of laughter, the isle of weeping, the miller of hell, the woman drawing water at the magic fount, the wonderful apples, the isle of four compartments, the pedestal island, the rainbow river, and the silver pillar. The hero Maelduin is specifically referred to in *Húi Corra*.[4] *Maelduin* and *Brendan* have the isle of singing birds, walled islands, and monsters. *Húi Corra* and *Brendan* have the buffoon who implores "for God's sake." *Bran* and *Brendan* have the four-footed island, the birds that sing the hours, and the mention of "one hundred and fifty" isles.[5]

Zimmer admits that the material in these stories is drawn mainly from Celtic sources.[6] He holds that the *imram* as a narrative type, however, is due to the influence of the *Aeneid*.

The suggestion of the great German scholar receives some support from the fact that the cultural background of the Irish storytellers of the sixth and following centuries was such that a borrowing from the classics was entirely possible. The authors of the time not

[1] The YBL text is printed with a translation and notes by Stokes, *R.C.*, IX (1888), 14–25. A German translation appears in R. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 127–30.

[2] YBL text ed. and trans., Stokes, *R.C.*, XXVI (1905), 130–67.

[3] Text from the Book of Lismore printed and translated by Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), pp. 99–116 (text), and 247–61 (translation).

[4] *R.C.*, XIV (1893), 45.

[5] Similar comparisons have been made by Zimmer, Nutt, Brown, and Westropp, in the works cited; and by Stokes, *R.C.*, XIV, 24.

[6] *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 331. A partial enumeration of parallels between material in the *imrama* and that in other Celtic literature may be found in the discussions of Nutt, Brown, Westropp, and Zimmer.

only inherited a wealth of native narrative material and a well-developed artistic tradition, but had also a background of Christian and classical learning. It seems established that after the flight of scholars from Continental Europe before the barbarian invaders of the fifth century, Ireland became the repository of classical learning for Western Europe and a center for the fostering and dissemination of Christian culture. A little later came a period of great missionary activity, and Ireland seems to have been largely responsible for the re-Christianizing of Europe. For several centuries the fame of Irish culture was great.[1] That the Irish universities in which the Christian writers studied gave considerable training in the classics may be admitted.[2] Professor Meyer has pointed out also that the Irish scholars, having received classical learning at a time when it was the natural study of every educated person, were not troubled as to the fitness of classical pagan literature for Christian scholars by any scruples such as disturbed their Continental brethren.[3] On the popularity of the *Aeneid* in Ireland Zimmer has assembled interesting evidence.[4] *Imram Maelduin* itself actually quotes Vergil;[5] but the passage may of course be an insertion by a transcriber.

The existence of this Christian and classical culture, however, was not inimical to the preservation of the pagan lore of pre-Christian Ireland. The confusion of pagan and Christian conceptions in

[1] On this general subject see Zimmer's illuminating treatise, "Ueber die Bedeutung des irischen Elements für die mittelalterliche Cultur," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, LIX (1887), 27–59. This study has been translated by Jane L. Edmands, *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture*, New York, 1891. See also Professor Kuno Meyer's more recent study, *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and the Transmission of Letters* (Dublin, 1913), and Taylor, *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1901), esp. pp. 44 ff.

[2] Zimmer, *Irish Element*, pp. 19 ff.; Meyer, *Learning in Ireland*, pp. 11, and 26, n. 35. For a negative view of the knowledge of Greek in Ireland, outweighed, however, by the more authoritative utterances of Professor Meyer, see M. Esposito, "The Knowledge of Greek in Ireland during the Middle Ages," *Studies*, I, No. 4, December, 1912.

[3] *Learning in Ireland*, p. 12.

[4] *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 326–27. Zimmer regards the famous St. Gall manuscript containing a fragment of Vergil's work as an Irish document carried to the Continent by Irish scholars; he calls attention to the fame of Ruman mac Colman, "The Irish Vergil"; and he cites the frequency of the appearance of the name *Fe(i)rgil* in the *Annals of the Four Masters* as a testimony of the popularity of the great Roman poet. Zimmer's later attempt to identify the Irish name *Ferchertne* with the name *Vergil* in an effort to show that the fifth-century Gaulish grammarian "Virgilius Maro" had visited Ireland (*Sitzungsber. der kgl. preuss. Akad.*, X [1910], 1056 ff.) has been shown by Professor Meyer (*Learning in Ireland*, p. 24, n. 19) to be based upon a wrong derivation of the Irish name.

[5] *R.C.*, X, 92.

much early Irish literature,[1] and indeed the very survival of the enormous mass of pagan material through the centuries of Christian transcribing testify sufficiently to the kindliness with which the learned Christian writers looked upon their inheritance of pagan Celtic tradition. A resort to native narrative models in a story consisting in the main of native materials would seem, therefore, at least equally as natural on the part of an early *imram* writer as a resort to a foreign model.[2]

The possible presence in the *imrama* of classical reminiscence in the handling of episodic detail demands notice. The significance of such classical material depends largely upon its extent and upon the closeness with which it approaches its supposed classical sources. To be of much use in supporting Zimmer's theory, parallels should be numerous and close. Zimmer's argument assumes that the Vergilian influence had had its full effect on the formation of the type by the time *Maelduin* was completed. Classical reminiscence in the other *imrama*, all of which are later than *Maelduin*, could therefore give little support to Zimmer's contention. A few parallels between *Maelduin* and the classics have been cited, some of which at least are too remote to be significant.

Stokes[3] compares Calypso's words, "I loved and cherished him [Odysseus], and often said that I would make him an immortal, young forever," with the speech of the amorous queen in *Maelduin* (Episode 28), "Stay here, and age will not fall on you, but the age that ye have attained. And lasting life ye shall have always; and what came to you last night shall come to you every night without any labor." The parallel is interesting in connection with speculations concerning possible common origins for conceptions appearing

[1] An example is the use of the term *tír inna m-béo* in both the pagan sense (the land of living ones) and in the Christian sense (*terra repromissionis*): Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 287–88; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), I, clxxxii, n. 11; Nutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 226–27.

[2] A summary of an unpublished paper presented before the Modern Language Association in 1909 on "Classical Tradition in Medieval Irish Literature," by Dr. E. G. Cox, reads thus: "Despite the wide acquaintance possesst by the medieval Irish with classical literature and traditions, their narrative methods, subject-matter, and spirit remained comparatively unaffected. Rather, the balance of influence inclines the other way. The causes lie perhaps in the stability of the Irish style of narrative, in the recognized position of the bardic profession, and in the lenient attitude adopted by the clerics towards the myths and tales of their countrymen." (*Publications*, XVIII [1910], Appendix, xxiii.)

[3] *R.C.*, IX, 449.

in both Greek and Celtic tradition; but since the conferring of immortality upon mortal lovers by their Otherworld mistresses is a stock feature of stories dealing with the Otherworld,[1] the suggestion of direct indebtedness in this case could carry little weight. Stokes' parallel between the incidents of the savage smiths in *Maelduin* (Episode 21), and the Cyclops in the *Odyssey* is somewhat more striking, yet cannot be regarded as proof of direct borrowing.[2] The existence of like situations in classical literature and in Irish stories of a similar class may, on the other hand, suggest a possible primitive store of legend from which both Greeks and Celts drew.

Other comparisons suggested by Stokes, obviously less plausible as indications of borrowing, may be enumerated without comment. Possible parallels in Lucian and Megasthenes are cited for such details as the necessity of tempering the wine of the intoxicating fruit (Episode 29), the enormous nuts (Episode 24), the huge ants (Episode 2), the beasts which shake fruit trees with their tails (Episode 10), and the ox-eating serpent (Episode 23). Zimmer calls attention to the apparent influence of the Phoenix legend on Episode 30. C. S. Boswell in his book on the vision of St. Adamnan[3] suggests *Aeneid* vi. 642–43 as a possible inspiration for the horse-racing incident in Episode 5. Zimmer, however, attributes this detail to Scandinavian influences.[4]

Actual proof of the presence of classical reminiscence of this sort, however, would not be definitive in its bearing upon our problem, because nothing would be more natural than for a learned Irish writer of the period to incorporate, in a story belonging to a type of native origin and growth, certain situations which he had come upon in classical stories, especially if he found them in pieces similar in

[1] Examples in the older stories appear in *Bran* and in *Echtra Condla Chaim*, "The Adventures of Connla." For a translation of *Connla* into German, see Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, pp. 73–80; for one into French, see D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours*, V, 385 ff. The trait in question of course appears in later stories, e.g., *Laoidh Oisín ar Thir na n-Óg*, "The Lay of Oisin on the Land of Youths" (*Transactions Ossianic Society*, IV [1856, printed 1859], 234 ff.).

[2] The account of the Cyclops in *Merugud Uilix maicc Leirtis*, "The Wandering of Ulysses, son of Laertes" (ed. Kuno Meyer [London, 1886], pp. 18–20), is so different in detail from the *Odyssey* account—though like it in general outlines—as to make it certain that the Irish narrator did not work from a copy of the *Odyssey*. The piece occurs in Stowe MS 992, written 1300 A.D.

[3] *An Irish Precursor of Dante* (London, 1908), p. 152.

[4] *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 324.

character to his own composition. That the presence of a non-Celtic trait here and there in a Celtic tale does not affect the essentially Celtic character of the story is a point that has already been made.[1]

Zimmer finds his closest parallels to the *Aeneid* in *Maelduin* and the early section of *Húi Corra*, which, it will be recalled, he regards as the oldest bits of *imram* literature, the early section of *Húi Corra* antedating *Maelduin*. The episodic material, he says, is drawn mainly from Irish sagas of the pagan period, preserved in the recollections of the people through the classical period, partly from classical reminiscence and partly from the accounts of the experiences of Irish fishermen and anchorites. The peculiar structural form of the stories is due to the use of the *Aeneid* as a pattern by some "*irischen Vergile.*"[2] This last contention he supports by drawing the following parallels:

1. Aeneas consults an augury at the beginning of his journey (*Aeneid* iii. 79). So Maelduin, before beginning his voyage, goes to Corcomroe to consult the druid Nuca.

2. The account of the amorous queen (*Maelduin*, Episode 28), though Irish material, shows Vergilian influence in mode of treatment. The "first lady" of the island of women in such stories as *Connla* and *Bran* is transformed into a widowed queen in *Maelduin* in imitation of Dido. The mistresses of Bran and Connla are unmarried, ever young in their loves: "was macht nun der verf. von Imram Maelduin daraus? eine königswittwe—Didos verstorbener gemahl hiess Sychaeus—mit 17 töchtern; sie herscht über ein grosses volk und ist täglich von ihren herscherpflichten in anspruch genommen. dem Maelduin sagt sie: 'bleibt hier, und nicht soll alter über euch kommen als das alter, in dem ihr seid, und ewiges leben immerdar wird euch sein.' dies ist alte anschauung von *tīr namban*. dann erzählt sie, dass ihr mann, dem sie 17 töchter geboren, gestorben sei! natürlich, nur so konnte eine wittwe wie Dido herauskommen; wäre nicht eine nachahmung beabsichtigt, so wäre der krasse widerspruch unerklärlich. nur die nachahmung der mächtigen königin konnte dazu führen, auf *inis namban* ausser den frauen noch ein grosses volk zu denken. ferner: Maelduin hatte ein jahr lang die königin, die mutter von 17 erwachsenen töchtern als bettgenossin, während seine gefährten sich in die jungen mädchen teilten. Bran erhält als führer natürlich auch die erste unter den frauen (*taisech namban*), aber dies war keine mutter von 17 töchtern, sondern ein ewig junges weib wie die anderen. die scenen, wie die königin den Maelduin zurückzuhalten sucht,

[1] T. P. Cross, *R.C.*, XXXI (1910), 429. Cross refers also to Schofield, *PMLA*, XVI, (1901), 424.

[2] Zimmer's phrase, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 328.

sind aus irischem material; es ist die schilderung verwertet, wie Bran landet. gewaltsame versuche, den Bran zurückzuhalten, werden nicht gemacht, offenbar weil der sage nur freiwilliges verweilen im lande der frauen entspricht. auch diese umgestaltung muss einen zweck gehabt haben, welcher wie der aller umgestaltungen der alten sage in der beabsichtigten nachahmung Vergils zu suchen ist."[1]

3. Aeneas, before meeting Dido, meets a countryman, Helenus, who is also a seer and utters a prophecy concerning the outcome of the journey. Likewise Maelduin, before reaching the isle of the widowed queen (Episode 28), meets a countryman who prophesies as to the outcome of the voyage (Episode 19). Similarly, after leaving Dido and before reaching Italy, Aeneas meets a countryman, Acestes. Likewise Maelduin, after leaving the isle of women and before reaching Ireland, meets another countryman (Episode 30).

4. Between the visits to Helenus and Dido, Aeneas has the adventure with Polyphemus and the Cyclops. So Maelduin, between the visit to the first countryman (Episode 19) and to the widowed queen (Episode 28), has the adventure with the smiths (Episode 21). Further, the questioning smith in *Maelduin* is thought of as blind. Traits in Episode 13 (Giant Herdsman) may also be classical reminiscences from the same sources.

5. Between the visit to Acestes and the reaching of the limit of the journey by Aeneas lies the death of Palinurus (*Aeneid* v. 827 ff.). Likewise Maelduin, between the visit to his countryman (Episode 30) and the reaching of his goal (Episode 34), loses his third foster-brother (Episode 31). The peculiar circumstance that in *Maelduin* three men later join the crew and die upon the trip, while in *Húi Corra* one follows and dies, can be understood if both narratives be regarded as written under the influence, or after the pattern, of the *Aeneid*. The naked buffoon who implores the Húi Corra, as they prepare for their trip, to take him along "for God's sake," corresponds to the wretched follower of Ulysses who abjured the departing Aeneas *per sidera* to take him. During the whole seven-year journey of Aeneas only one of the hero's companions meets an unnatural death, namely, Palinurus, who is the sacrifice demanded by Neptune. Now if one grants that an Irish scholar introduced the notion that Palinurus must die to make up for the additional member of the crew taken on [the Odyssean wretch], then the Irish imitations of the journey of Aeneas are clear. The association of the loss of Palinurus with the taking on of the follower of Ulysses serves as the basis for the incident in *Húi Corra*, and makes clear to us how the author of *Maelduin* came to have three additional journeyers figure in the story instead of one. The addition is a variation by the author of *Maelduin* for which he perhaps puzzled out a justification from Vergil: only one man, Palinurus, dies an unnatural death during the journey, and that toward its close; about

[1] *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 328–29.

the middle of the trip Anchises dies, and at the beginning of the trip stands the incident of the unfortunate Polydorus, dying, as it were, a second time; so one may speak of three deaths, during the journey, of persons closely associated with the hero. Corresponding to this, under the hypothesis created by *Húi Corra* as to the cause of the death of one companion, three additional journeyers must be taken aboard in *Maelduin*.

Such is Zimmer's case. The argument for the influence of the *Aeneid* resolves itself into two main contentions: that the incident of the amorous queen in *Maelduin* was molded by the Dido-Aeneas story (point 2); and that *Maelduin* and the old (lost) version of *Húi Corra* derive their structural form from the *Aeneid* (points 1, 3, 4, 5). Neither contention seems convincing.

The suggestion that Maelduin's mistress is a Celtic fairy transformed into a Dido is neither a necessary nor a plausible explanation of her character. Although Zimmer refers to her as a fairy creature, his argument ignores her essentially fairy character. That a Celtic fairy mistress, the mother of seventeen grown daughters, is still desirable is not at all strange, because by her nature she is immortally young. In *Tochmarc Etáine*, "Wooing of Etain," a very old story, Etain must have been more than a thousand years old while being quarreled over by her lovers.[1] In *Acallamh na Senórach*, "Colloquy of Old Men" (11, 3893 ff.), which, though late material, doubtless preserves a mass of early tradition, Caeilte explains to Patrick that their young fairy visitor is "of the *tuatha dé danaan*, who are unfading and whose duration is perennial."[2]

The widowhood and queenship of Maelduin's mistress Zimmer thinks due to the use of Dido as a model. But the first ladies in the Irish Otherworld stories of the *Bran* and *Connla* type are all queens, and Fand in *Serglige Conculaind*,[3] "The Sickbed of Cuchullin," is not only a queen, but a "grass widow": she has been divorced by Manannan before becoming Cuchullin's mistress. Maelduin's companions must have mistresses. These mistresses must be subordinated to Maelduin's mistress. Making them daughters is a

[1] A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, I, 8.

[2] Stokes ed., *Irische Texte*, IV, 1. The quotation is from O'Grady's translation in *Silva Gadelica*, II (1892), 203.

[3] Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, I, 57 ff. This story also furnishes a parallel for the presence of other persons than women in the island elysium, a feature in *Maelduin* which Zimmer attributes to the influence of the *Aeneid*. The shorter *Fled Bricrend* supplies another example.

simple device for the purpose. Since all were fairy women, the conception carried no incongruity. Moreover, it is questionable whether a conscious imitator would change a Celtic mistress into a widow to make her like Dido, and almost in the same breath give her seventeen daughters, a markedly un-Didoesque characteristic.

Although the reluctance of Maelduin's mistress to allow her lover to leave her is somewhat more pronounced than the similar attitudes of the mistresses in other Irish sagas, the difference seems purely one of degree. Instead of contenting herself with a warning to the mortal that he would rue an attempt to return to his former abode, as in *Bran*, the lady takes active steps to prevent the return. For this purpose she uses precisely the device Bran's mistress had used to entice Bran to her isle. The inversion of the function of the clew incident, or rather the change in its position in the story, may be due to a confusion on the part of some writer, or to a desire for variety. It is not impossible that the inversion accounts for the seeming parallel to Dido's behavior—a process the very reverse of that supposed by Zimmer. It is to be remembered, too, that there is no sufficient evidence to show any direct relationship between *Bran* and *Maelduin*.[1] The fairy's effort to retain her lover needs no resort to sophisticated literature for an explanation, inasmuch as the inability of the mortal captured by the fairies to return to his former sphere of existence is a recognized trait in fairy lore.[2] The maleficent powers of fairy creatures were, of course, understood. In *Echtra Condla Chaim* King Conn tries to dispel, by resorting to druids, the invisible fairy lady who is trying to entice away his son Connla.[3]

Zimmer rests his argument for structural imitation upon the citation of supposedly parallel incidents appearing at corresponding stages of the journeys of Aeneas and Maelduin. The author whose organizing hand is responsible for the *Maelduin* narrative in substantially its present form is, therefore, the man who worked under Vergilian influence. This consideration is important, because it forces the rejection, by any advocate of Zimmer's theory, of most forms of the theory of composite origin. The delicate mechanism

[1] Cf. Nutt, *op. cit.*, I, 172.

[2] Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales* (New York, 1891), pp. 43, 47, 196 ff.

[3] Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

devised for the story by the author, who, under stress of Vergilian influence, placed his incidents with such extreme care (note especially points 3, 4, and 5), could scarcely have survived if later narrators or transcribers had done much in the way of addition or alteration. Nor could a holder of Zimmer's view admit the supposition that a single author, working under Vergilian influence, gave final form to a story already existing; for such a hypothesis would assume the practically complete development of the type before the operation of the supposed foreign influence. Features showing the alleged influence of the *Aeneid*, such as the presence of the foster-brothers, intimately connected as they are with the taboo motive, seem too important organically to admit an assumption that they were inserted by a compiler who was trying to inject a Vergilian flavor into an already existing story.

Yet the theory of composite origin must be looked upon with favor. The crude accumulation of wonders and adventures, obvious to any reader, and the striking repetition of situations and motives, surely seem to support it. Nutt[1] and Brown[2] find traces of several damsel-land stories which have been put together by the compiler of *Maelduin*. Some repetitions of detail may be noted: a cleric clothed only in his hair, Episodes 19, 20, 30, and 33; almost the whole of Episode 19 reappears in Episode 20; trees with birds, Episodes 3, 10, 18, and 19; subaqueous entrance, 6 and 27; miraculous supply of salmon, 6 and 25; cheeselike food having any desired savour, 16 and 17; gradual miraculous enlargement of an island, 19 and 33; vanishing of Otherworld as mortals sleep, 16 and 17; beds for "every three," 6 and 17; island inhabitants overheard talking of visitors' approach, 21, 24, and 34; missiles cast at voyagers, 4, 8, and 24. The confusion in the number of the company and the slip in twice recording the loss of a "third" foster-brother (Episodes 11 and 31) also suggest the compilatory character of the account. The druid had suggested sixty (the number found in *Brendan*) as the required number of the crew; but it is evident that the sixty has been changed

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 164 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.*, VIII (1903), 66–69. Brown prints a table dividing the story into five groups, in each of which he finds the repetition of certain stock features of the Celtic Otherworld journey. Group IV (Eps. 18–28) he regards as the original kernel of the whole, or as the most complete of several variants put together to make a whole. Cf. also *Mod. Phil.*, XIV (1916), 388.

to sixteen, for in Episode 28, after the loss of two of the foster-brothers, the hero has seventeen companions.

Although almost any theory of the compilatory nature of *Maelduin* would seem hostile to Zimmer's contentions, it is possible to suggest a process of composite origin that would still admit of a Vergil-inspired author-compiler. We may suppose that the author had before him various stories of Otherworld adventures, perhaps of the type of *Bran* or *Connla* or *Serglige Conculaind*, in none of which was there any pronounced stressing of the distinctive *imram* trait of rowing about almost endlessly from island to island. Each story contained a single Otherworld, the furniture of which, as Brown suggests, the *Maelduin* author distributed among the various islands he included in his descriptions. In the process of assembling these materials he made use of the *Aeneid* pattern. Later transcribers could not be assumed to have made any radical changes.[1]

Perhaps a query concerning the psychological processes involved in Zimmer's theory of the composition of *Maelduin* and the old *Húi Corra* is not out of place before an examination is made of Zimmer's structural argument in detail. Did the Irish Vergil expect his audience to recognize his imitation of the Aeneas story? If not, why the imitation? Could it be that a delicate sense for the niceties of structural art impelled him to satisfy his own artistic conscience by following, however vaguely so far as his reader was concerned, certain structural features of his model? It may be answered that the failure of the alleged borrowings to redeem the story from the blemish of a lack of fine literary form, the presence of tiresome and awkward repetitions, and the failure to take from the supposed model structural points of really significant character, argue against the assumption of such a personality. It is also hard to believe that the author was a superstitious fellow who thought the sly insertion of unrecognizable Vergilian traits would somehow add to the attractiveness of his story.

If Vergil were as popular in Ireland as Zimmer argues,[2] and the author of *Maelduin* consciously imitated Vergil, he most certainly

[1] Yet Nutt thinks additions and interpolations may have been made as late as the tenth century (*op. cit.*, I, 163, n. 1), and Brown accepts this view (*Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 388).

[2] *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 326–27.

would have made such borrowings as he would expect to be recognized. It seems indeed strange, therefore, that the borrowings should have remained unnoticed, so far as is known, for more than a thousand years. Zimmer appears to have been the first to detect them. The succeeding *imram* writers seem not to have preserved the "Vergilian" features. One would at least expect some Vergilian traits to show in *Húi Corra*. Zimmer thinks that the early part of this *imram* was written under Vergilian influence, and that the naked buffoon is a counterpart of Achaemenides. The motive of the resort to a druid, present in *Maelduin* because of Aeneas' consulting of the oracle, does not appear in *Húi Corra*. Since it would necessarily come earlier in the story than the buffoon incident, which the old section of *Húi Corra* extends far enough to include, this trait could not have been in the original version. There are no smiths in *Húi Corra*. There is no single hero. There is no love affair. The single appearance of the land of women (Episode 54) is like Episodes 16 and 17 of *Maelduin* rather than Episode 28. There is no approach to the Aeneas-Dido situation. The deaths on the trip occur in the same part of the story (Episodes 44–48). The *Húi Corra* do meet clerics, perhaps their countrymen, at various stages of their journey, one just before Episode 54, and many in the latter part of the story. They meet two prophets—a woman in Episode 54, and an old cleric in Episode 73. The structure of the other late *imrama* is quite as loose as that of *Húi Corra*, and it is useless to apply the Vergilian tests.[1]

To determine whether or not there is in *Maelduin* the close imitation of structure assumed by Zimmer it is necessary to compare the whole trend of events in the two stories. The unlike parts are

[1] C. Wahlund (*Brendans Meerfahrt* [Upsala, 1900], p. xxvii), apparently adopting Zimmer's view concerning possible Vergilian inspiration for the *imrama*, regards the visit to the priest Ende, the island of smiths, and the death of the third monk in *Navigatio Brendani* as reminiscences of the *Aeneid* (cf. Zimmer's points 1, 4, and 5). They can scarcely be more than reminiscences of *Maelduin*, however, and are so regarded by some scholars (Zimmer, *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 321; Bosér, *Romania*, XXII, 582–83). In any event, these parallels seem inadequate for proving conscious imitation of the *Aeneid* by the author of the *Navigatio*.

When some centuries later the author of the "Irish *Aeneid*" (ed. Calder, *Irish Texts Society*, VI [1903, printed 1907]), wrote the version of Vergil's poem preserved in the Book of Ballymote (*ca.* 1400), his reaction on the *Aeneid* material was totally different from that assumed by Zimmer for the author of *Maelduin*. He took great liberties with the structure of the poem (Book iii is placed before Book i), and actually omitted Dido's account of her previous history, the passage which Zimmer thinks so impressed the author of *Maelduin* that under its influence he made a Dido out of a Celtic fairy mistress. Cf. T. H. Williams, *C.Z.*, II (1888–89), 419–72.

scarcely less eloquent than the alleged like parts in the consideration of structural similarities. The following summary of Vergil's account of Aeneas, with Zimmer's "parallels" indicated, will perhaps aid in estimating the significance of Zimmer's argument.

AENEID

BOOK III

After the destruction of Troy Aeneas and his companions, under the guidance of the gods, determine to seek distant retreats, and hoist sails at the command of Anchises. They are uncertain whither the Fates will them to go. They are carried to Thrace.

Maeld. Ep. 11.—When Aeneas would build his city, blood flows from a tree and the voice of Polydorus speaks, reciting his murder at the hands of the Thracians and warning Aeneas to flee.

Maeld. Introd.—The hero next reaches Delos, governed by King Anius, a priest of Apollo. In answer to prayer, Apollo bids Aeneas search out his ancient mother-soil, where his descendants shall enjoy a universal kingdom. Anchises thinks Crete is meant by the oracle.

Thither Aeneas sails, and builds a city. But a plague wastes his people. In a vision Aeneas hears from his household gods that Italy, not Crete, was meant by Apollo. Cassandra's prophecy is recalled. After enduring a three-day storm, Aeneas is driven to the Strophades, where his men offer violence to the attacking Harpies, and Celaeno predicts that the Trojans in famine shall eat their own tables. Actium is visited, where Trojan games are celebrated by the voyagers.

Maeld. Ep. 19.—At Buthrotum Aeneas meets Andromache and Helenus. The latter, a prophet of Apollo, tells the hero he must seek the farther shore of Italy, avoid Scylla and Charybdis, appease Juno, and visit the Cumaean sibyl.

Maeld. Ep. 21.—The next morning the Trojans salute Italy, cruise past Italian towns and Mt. Etna, and after a stormy night reach the coasts of the Cyclops, where Achaemenides, the comrade of Ulyssses, in piteous plight tells the tale of Ulysses and Polyphemus, and begs mercy of the Trojans. Polyphemus is seen. In terror Aeneas rescues Achaemenides and sails southward, escaping the throng of giants who gather on the shore.

Maeld. Ep. 15.—Skirting the Sicilian coast, Aeneas comes to Drepanum, where Anchises dies. Aeneas ceases his narration.

BOOK IV

Maeld. Ep. 28 (compare Book iv entire).—Queen Dido conceives a deep passion for Aeneas and, encouraged by her sister Anna, strives to get the gods to approve the breaking of her vow. Juno, active in Dido's behalf, with Venus' aid brings Aeneas and Dido together in a cave during a storm.

Dido proclaims her marriage. Fame spreads abroad the disgrace of the queen. The jealous King Iarbas prays to Jove for revenge. Mercury delivers to Aeneas Jove's command that the Trojans leave Carthage. Aeneas secretly prepares to go, but Dido divines his purpose and, inflamed to madness, reproaches the hero and begs him to remain. Aeneas pleads the command of Jove. Dido in scorn vows vengeance. Aeneas continues preparations for departure. Dido's mood changes, and she sends Anna to Aeneas to beg him to remain, at least for a time. Dido longs for death, and, under pretence of resorting to magic, prepares a funeral pile on the shore. Warned by Mercury, Aeneas suddenly sets sail. Dido descries the retreating fleet and wildly orders her people to prepare to pursue the Trojans. Realizing the madness of the project, she falls into a rage, regretting that she had not taken the life of Aeneas while he was in her power. She prays that Carthage may be the scourge and foe of Italy, and seeks her bed to fall upon her sword. Juno sends Iris to cut the thread that holds soul and body together.

BOOK V

Maeld. Ep. 30.—The Trojans see from their ships the flames of Dido's funeral pyre. A storm compels Aeneas to turn aside to Sicily. Here he is hospitably entertained by his countryman Acestes. Aeneas celebrates funeral games on the anniversary of the death of Anchises. As they worship, a beautiful snake glides harmlessly over the altar. It is perhaps the familiar spirit of Anchises. The games are then celebrated: boat race, foot race, boxing match, archery, and the game of Troy. The Trojan women, inspired by Juno with dissatisfaction, set fire to the ships. Jove sends rain to save the fleet.

By the advice of Nautes the disheartened Aeneas resolves to leave the old and faint-hearted in Sicily. The spirit of Anchises in a vision gives similar advice and tells the hero to visit him in Elysium. Segesta is founded and a temple to Venus erected. The women, penitent, sorrow on being left behind. In response to Venus' prayer, Neptune promises safety to all but one.

Maeld. Ep. 31.—On the voyage the god of sleep brings drowsiness upon the pilot Palinurus, who falls into the sea. In the morning Aeneas himself turns pilot.

Obviously the structural similarity of the two accounts as wholes is not striking. A closer resemblance, involving a larger number of parallels, would seem necessary to give color to Zimmer's hypothesis.

Moreover, the closeness of the parallels themselves (points 1, 3, 4, and 5) must be questioned.

1. Aeneas' consultation of the oracle and Maelduin's resort to the druid present situations which are entirely dissimilar. Aeneas

does not consult the oracle before his trip; he has been on his journey for some months, has attempted to establish his seat in Thrace, and has taken the second lap of his sea journey before he reaches the island where he consults the oracle. Moreover, Aeneas makes no voluntary trip to get into touch with a supernatural agency. He is driven by the winds upon an island, and finds there a shrine of Apollo. Quite naturally he seeks light. Maelduin's visit to Nuca, on the contrary, is voluntary and is made before the beginning of the sea journey. The requests of the two heroes are totally different. Aeneas prays for help in establishing a lasting home, and asks for guidance in achieving his destiny. Maelduin, who plans a voyage of vengeance and desires to know where to find his father's murderer, fails to make any inquiry concerning the large issues of his enterprise; he merely secures from the druid a charm and information concerning the building of a boat, the date for starting, and the number of companions to take.

Furthermore, a more likely source of the incident is suggested by the fact that resort to druids for aid and for prophetic information is not infrequent in Irish traditional literature. In *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,[1] "The Cattle Raid of Cooley," the druid Cathbad is consulted as to the omens of the day. In the same story the "poets and druids" cause the troop of Medb to wait a fortnight for a good omen before starting out on their expedition.[2] In *Forbais Droma Damhghaire*,[3] "The Siege of Drom Damhghaire," Cormac consults druids on the probable success of an expedition into Munster. The druids tell him the best methods of defeating the enemy. Druidic aid is also sought in *Tochmarc Etáine*,[4] in *Tairired na nDéssi*,[5] "Expulsion of the Dessi," in *Cath Maighe Mucraimhe*,[6] "The Battle of Magh Mucrime," and in other old stories. There is also an example in *Cóir Anmann*,[7] "The Fitness of Names." In the shorter *Fled Bricrend*[8] (*Fled Bricrend ocus Loinges mac n-Duil Dermait*, "The

[1] Trans. L. W. Faraday (London, 1904), p. 26.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[3] O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials* (Dublin, 1878), pp. 271–72.
[4] Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, I, 7 ff.
[5] Kuno Meyer, *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV (1901), 101 ff.
[6] *R.C.*, XIII (1893), 426 ff.
[7] *Irische Texte*, III, 303.
[8] Trans. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, II, 1, 196.

Feast of Bricriu and the Exile of the Sons of Doel Dermait"), Cuchullin is offered a sea charm such as Maelduin seems to have sought from the druid Nuca. Moreover, he is about to take and does take a successful voyage to a land of wonders. Clearly there is no necessity for supposing a foreign source for the notion of Maelduin's resort to the druid.

3. That Aeneas and Maelduin meet countrymen at corresponding stages of their journeys may be entirely accidental. No very peculiar or similar situations are involved. In a story of wanderings at sea, the meeting of someone from home is a simple, natural device which any story-teller might use, its narrative function being to remind the reader or hearer of the hero's connection with a real, non-romantic world. The device is particularly fitting in *Maelduin*, as the hero is finally to be brought back to Ireland. All the countrymen are clerics who have undergone some outstanding religious experience. That they enact the rôle of prophets needs no recourse to classical paganism for an explanation. In the eighth century, the probable period of *Maelduin*, stories of the experiences of sea anchorites, based probably upon fact,[1] had long been current.

If the encountering of countrymen, moreover, is included in *Maelduin* in imitation of the *Aeneid*, and the instances carefully placed at corresponding stages of the hero's progress, how are we to explain Maelduin's meeting with the countryman in Episode 33, for which Zimmer could find no suggestion of a parallel in the journey of Aeneas? According to Zimmer's hypothesis, we are compelled to regard two of the three meetings with countrymen as significant, and one as not significant. It is difficult to look with favor on such an arbitrary argumentative procedure as this.

4. As Zimmer recognizes, his argument on this point involves the assumption that the author of *Maelduin*, though influenced directly by the *Aeneid* in including the episode of the giant smiths and in determining its place in the story, drew upon his knowledge of Homer for the details of the incident. Two essential points in the

[1] Schirmer (*op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 4) and Zimmer touch on this matter and quote Dicuil, *De Mensura Terrarum* (825 A.D.), "Sunt aliae insulae multae in septentrionali Britanniae oceano; duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione, plenis velis, assiduo feliciter vento, adiri queunt . . . . in quibus, in centum ferme annis, eremitae ex nostra Scotia navigantes habitaverunt." See also Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, cxxii.

parallel, the throwing of rocks and the conception of the Cyclops as blind, must have come, not from Vergil, but from the *Odyssey* ix. 107 ff. and 539 ff.

Zimmer says that a careful reading of the Irish account reveals the fact that the chief smith is conceived of as blind, a circumstance which makes the parallel seem much closer. An analysis of the incident makes this inference seem groundless:

> The voyagers hear a smiting of anvils. They hear Smith Number 1 ask Smith Number 2, "Are they close at hand?" Number 2 answers, "Yea." Smith Number 3 says, "Who are these ye say are coming here?" Number 2 describes the strangers. Then the smith at the forge, who is apparently the leader (probably Number 1, possibly Number 3), asks, "Are they now near the harbour?" Number 2, this time referred to as the "watchman," replies that they do not seem to be drawing nearer. Again the questioner at the forge inquires, "What are they doing now?" "I think," says the "lookout man," "that they are running away." The smith at the forge now steps forth and casts a mass of molten metal after the boat. The cast falls short, and the strangers continue successfully their retreat, with the stern of their boat turned out to sea.

There is no necessity for supposing this chief smith to be blind. Number 2 is quite plainly a regular sentinel, and the other smiths, including the chief smith, are evidently so placed that they cannot see the boat. The chief smith is at work at his forge, perhaps hidden behind a rock or in a cave (he is said to "come forth" from the forge before making the cast), and having been made aware of the approach of the strangers he interrogates his lookout man, from time to time, as to their movements. If the Irish author thought of this smith as blind, it is strange that he did not so describe him and that he made no use of the motive. Also it seems hardly likely—though it is possible, as the giant is an Otherworld giant—that the author would conceive of the smith as compelled by blindness to make inquiries concerning the strangers' position, and yet be able to hurl his missile with almost deadly aim. Fairy giants, of course, appear elsewhere in Celtic literature.[1]

[1] In the older stories examples are: *Fled Bricrend* (*ITS*, II, 47 ff.); *Tochmarc Emire*, "The Wooing of Emere" (Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, 81 [Fomori]); and the shorter *Fled Bricrend* (island-inhabiting giants). In Fenian literature giants are quite numerous: in the *Gilla Decair* (trans. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 292 ff.) there is an oversea giant; in *Find and the Phantoms* (*R.C.*, VII [1886], 297) there is a hostile Otherworld giant. See also *Agallamh na Senórach*, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 103 ff.

5. Zimmer's effort to force a parallel between the deaths of Palinurus and Maelduin's third foster-brother leads him into what is perhaps the most fantastic of all his arguments. In order to appreciate fully the gratuitous ingenuity of Zimmer's hypothesis, one must remember that Zimmer regards the lost original version of *Húi Corra* as older than *Maelduin* and composed, like *Maelduin*, under the influence of the *Aeneid*. He does not regard the two stories as written by the same author. The creator of *Maelduin* then is not the pioneer in devising an Irish imitation of the *Aeneid;* he is merely attempting to out-Vergil the earlier Irish Vergil. His predecessor had interpreted the death of Palinurus as due to the addition of Achaemenides to the crew. The author of *Maelduin*, accepting this stupid interpretation of Vergil,[1] resolves to improve on the idea by introducing three additional men, and finds justification in the commonly admired *Aeneid* by resorting to the incidents of the death of Anchises and the Polydorus-bleeding-tree affair! All this in spite of the fact that Anchises was a member of the original crew, and that Polydorus never belonged to the crew at all, but was in fact dead before Aeneas began his journey. But the author of *Maelduin* is not to be daunted by these incongruities. He puzzles out a justification by thinking of Polydorus as dying, so to speak, a second time. Surely it is unnecessary to resort to such a theory of composition to explain so simple an amplification of the story as the addition of three members of the crew, destined as they are to be lost because of the violation of the taboo, instead of the addition of a single member.[2]

The testimony of the poem itself on the point of authorship would seem to be of little value at present in determining the origin

[1] I find nothing in Vergil to warrant the supposition that the death of Palinurus was a necessary consequence of the taking on of Achaemenides. Neptune takes the life as an atonement, in order to preserve the lives of the rest:

"Unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
Unum pro multis dabitur caput." [*Aeneid* v. 814–15.]

Even admitting this forced interpretation, however, there is no true parallel to *Húi Corra*, because in the latter, as in the corresponding incidents in *Maelduin*, the additional voyager is himself the one to die.

[2] The especial fondness of the Celts for triads is in itself a sufficient explanation, if coupled with a desire to expand a good story. See the collection of Irish triads, ed. and trans. Kuno Meyer, *Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series*, XIII (Dublin, 1906). See also the collection of Welsh triads in J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II (Paris, 1913), 223 ff. and *ibid.*, I, Intr., 76–77. In *Maelduin* itself the visits to successive islands are nearly all separated by "three days and nights." There are beds for "every three" in Eps. 6 and 17. In *Bran* the crew is divided into three companies to each of which Bran assigns a leader. One of these leaders is a foster-brother of the hero.

of *Maelduin*. The closing sentence of the story, "Now Aed the Fair, chief sage of Ireland, arranged this story as it standeth here, etc.," occurs only in the youngest of the four manuscript sources, Egerton 1782, which, according to Stokes, is not earlier than the fifteenth century.[1] Stokes[2] and Zimmer[3] find trace of but one *Aed Finn* in the annals. This man was chief of the Dal Riata, died in 771, and was "more probably given," says Stokes, "to making raids and beheading his foes than to composing imaginative literature."

It appears natural to regard the *imram* as an outgrowth of native narrative materials and forms, wrought into its typical structural form through natural processes by native story-tellers who embellished their tales from time to time, drawing new material from any sources that presented themselves. In a later paper I hope to present evidence of a direct nature in support of this hypothesis.

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[1] *R.C.*, IX, 448. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 447. [3] *ZFDA*, XXXIII, 290–92.

UNE PRÉDICTION INÉDITE SUR L'AVENIR DE LA LANGUE DES ETATS-UNIS (ROLAND DE LA PLATIÈRE, 1789)

Dans une étude sur l'universalité de la langue française au XVIII[e] siècle[1] j'ai indiqué en passant un mémoire manuscrit, intéressant par sa date et par quelques-unes de ses prévisions.[2] Le futur ministre Roland—le mari de Mme Roland—alors avocat à Lyon[3] et membre de l'Académie de cette ville, aura sans doute été tenté de répondre à la question mise au concours, en 1781, par l'Académie de Berlin, sur l'universalité de la langue française. Mais, amené à des conclusions particulières par son enthousiasme politique pour les Américains affranchis, il se sera contenté de faire servir son mémoire, en 1789, à une "communication" académique.

Après avoir posé en principe que "les causes qui semblent devoir le plus concourir à rendre une langue universelle résident, sans doute, dans l'état de cette langue, et dans celui de la nation qui la parle," Roland examine dans quelle mesure les langues et les peuples de l'antiquité et des temps modernes répondent à cette double condition. Car "la perfection d'une langue et la prépondérance du peuple qui l'emploie, renferment les données nécessaires à son universalité, ou résolvent le problème de son extension. Ces deux causes sont indispensables: l'une sans l'autre est insuffisante."

Aucune des langues et des nations modernes, ni l'Italie, ni l'Espagne et le Portugal, ni l'Allemagne, ni même la France, ne semble à Roland réunir les doubles qualités dont dépendra l'universalité dans l'avenir. L'anglais lui paraît avoir les mérites intrinsèques du grec ancien, mais les défauts du peuple anglais, à son gré, sont tels que l'extension de la langue sera empêchée par les insuffisances de la nation. C'est alors qu'il arrive aux Etats-Unis, qui parlent la même langue—avec des qualités sociales et morales autrement aimables et riches d'avenir:

Les habitants des Etats-Unis, aussi fiers et non moins braves que les Anglais, aussi actifs et non moins industrieux, plus exercés par les malheurs,

[1] *Etudes d'histoire littéraire*, 1[e] série, Paris, 1907.

[2] Bibliothèque du Palais Saint-Pierre à Lyon, Ms. de l'Académie de Lyon; n[o] 151 du catal. Molinier, fol. 175.

[3] En réalité les Roland passaient la plus grande partie de l'année au Clos de la Platière. Cf. les *Mémoires* de Mme Roland (éd. Perroud; Paris, 1905), t. II, p. 256.

plus travaillés par les besoins, sont plus humains, plus généreux, plus tolérants; toutes choses propres à faire goûter les opinions, adopter les usages et parler la langue d'un tel peuple. Le sensible auteur des Lettres d'un cultivateur américain[1] nous le fait déjà bien juger, lorsqu'il nous développe les sages principes de la politique dans cette heureuse contrée, lorsqu'il nous dépeint la paix des familles, l'union des citoyens indépendants de toute opinion, et l'affluence des étrangers de tous les pays, venant chercher, sur cette terre nouvelle, la liberté, la protection, les secours fraternels et l'active bienveillance qu'on est toujours certain d'y trouver. Placés pour étendre leur commerce avec autant d'avantages que de facilité dans toutes les parties de l'ancien monde, les Américains des Etats-Unis ne seront étrangers pour aucun peuple, ils fraternisent avec l'univers. Les lumières et les connaissances de tous les siècles ne les portent point à condamner avec orgueil quiconque ne partage pas leur savoir; ils envisagent tous les hommes sous le rapport commun qui les lie: le nègre grossier, l'indien superstitieux, trouvent en eux la même indulgence qu'ils ont pour les sauvages ignorants, leurs voisins; pour les jaloux européens, leurs alliés.

La douceur de leur gouvernement en fait des patriotes aussi zélés que le furent jamais les plus célèbres républicains; celle de leur principes les rend, dans leur bienveillance universelle, semblables aux plus parfaits cosmopolites, et leur situation doit en faire les commerçants les plus puissants. Que de moyens de s'élever, de s'étendre, de multiplier ses relations et de propager l'usage de sa langue! Le seul charme de leur philosophie, si propre à gagner les cœurs, semble préparer le triomphe de leurs opinions et devoir ranger un jour bien des peuples sous leur religion consolante.

. . . . Il me semble que la langue d'une telle nation sera un jour la langue universelle.

Roland annonce d'ailleurs que "ce rapide aperçu n'est que l'esquisse d'un ouvrage susceptible de beaucoup de recherches et d'un grand développement." Sans doute les évènements auxquels il n'allait point tarder à être mêlé l'ont-ils empêché de donner suite à ce projet. Telles qu'elles étaient exprimées dans le mémoire de Lyon, sous leur forme emphatique et avec leur optimisme facile, les idées de Roland ont leur intérêt: elles permettent en tout cas de mesurer quelle était, au lendemain de l'affranchissement américain et à la veille de notre Révolution, la confiance placée dans la jeune démocratie d'outre-mer par un des hommes qui devait jouer un rôle dans notre lutte pour la liberté politique.

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[1] Il s'agit du livre de J. Crèvecœur, *A Farmer's Letters in Pennsylvania*, London, 1782, qui avait été traduit en 1784. Cf. Julia P. Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèvecœur*, New York, 1916.

A CLASSIFICATION FOR FABLES, BASED ON THE COLLECTION OF MARIE DE FRANCE

Schemes of classification for the fable are less numerous than definitions of the fable, but they are certainly not few. A review of several of the more important will reveal a general failure to base classification on any essential characteristic—division is made with respect to something superficial or remote. The main function of classification in the present case would seem to be the assistance it would offer in conceiving clearly the essential nature of the type and in testing and elaborating principles laid down in the definition. I venture to repeat a definition arrived at in an earlier article:[1] a fable is a short tale, obviously false, devised to impress, by the symbolic representation of human types, lessons of expediency and morality.

Division between *genre* and *genre* is usually represented by a strip of debatable land, and varieties within any particular type must, to any but the most superficial classification, be even more blurred at the boundaries. The different varieties are often to be considered as stations on a line of variation between two extremes rather than as isolated categories. It is solely with the intention of marking out for the fable more clearly than I have marked out in my definition the "curve" of this line, by indicating certain determining dots, that I offer one more scheme for classification. I am very certain that with respect to assignment among the subdivisions of the main classes, two people, in the case of some fables, would hardly agree. On the other hand, that these substations do exist between the main stations on the line is apparent, and some fables are nearer one and some nearer another.

The more important existing classifications can be quickly set forth. Aphthonius (300 A.D.) made a division on the basis of the kind of actors appearing in the fable, distinguishing fables employing men, those in which unintelligent creatures appeared, and those in which both were to be found. This scheme formed the basis for

[1] "The Fable and Kindred Forms," *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XIV, 519–29.

Wolff and eventually Lessing.[1] Herder divided into *theoretische oder Verstand bildende*, i.e., those designed to exercise the reason; *sittliche*, those designed to impress rules for the will; and *Schicksalsfabeln*, those designed to show the force of a chain of circumstances, fate, or chance, a classification based exclusively on purpose, irrespective of method.[2] Beyer offers "serious" and "humorous," and Gotschall *epigrammatische* and *humoristische*, a mere general distinction between the fables of Aesop and those of La Fontaine.[3] Lessing first offers *einfache* and *zuzammengesetzte*, the latter consisting of fables followed by a second narrative applying the law of the fable by means of human actors.[4] Later he presents as his proper classification that of Aphthonius, modified by Wolff, and used with new meanings attached to the terms employed.

According to this classification, fables are to be divided into the *vernünftige*, the *sittliche*, and the *vermischte*. These terms Lessing defines respectively as indicating (1) those fables which are possible and unconditioned by any necessary assumption; (2) those to which possibility can be accredited only after some preliminary assumption has been made; and (3) those mingling elements of both the preceding classes. Under the second heading he has two subdivisions: the *mythische*, which introduce unreal personages, and the *hyperphysische*, in which the characters are real, but have heightened properties. Finally, under the *vermischte*, he has the *vernünftig mythische*, or part unconditioned, part mythical; the *vernünftig hyperphysische*, or part unconditioned, part heightened in characters; and the *hyperphysische mythische*, or those mingling characters heightened and mythical.

The first category, the unconditioned, presents the same difficulty as Lessing's definition of the fable: it admits into the type illustrative tales which are not fables. In general, however, this is the most philosophical classification: it attempts to distinguish on the basis of what Lessing considers the essential for effectiveness, the fable's real

[1] Lessing, *Fabeln, drei Bücher, nebst Abhandlungen mit dieser Dichtungsart verwandten Inhalts*, 1759, in *Sämmt. Schrift.*, V, 438.

[2] L. Hirsch, *Die Fabel* (Cöthen, 1894), p. 12.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Lessing, *loc. cit.*

or apparent possibility. With this in view, Lessing classifies according to the assumptions necessary, a process which comes in the end to a division by kinds of actors, after all. The nature of the actor or symbol used, is, however, a matter of the least significance in the fable, provided that it be suitable to the object in view. What Lessing attempted and, as it seems to me, failed to accomplish, owing to a faulty definition and a misconception of allegory, must be done, however, if we are to arrive at a satisfactory scheme. It is necessary to classify according to the essential nature of the fable.[1]

The core of the fable, as I have previously attempted to show, is that it aims to fix certain truths in the minds of its readers by allegorical representation. However much the different varieties of the fable blend, one thing is clear—three large groups can be discerned: (1) fables in which the actors, some or all (with the setting), and the action are both symbolic; (2) those in which only the actors (with the setting) are symbolic, while the action is that of typical human beings; and (3) those in which only the action is symbolic, while the actors consist of typical human beings.

Before refining on this scheme let me put it concretely. I shall choose my illustrations as far as possible from the fables of Marie de France,[2] and later make application of the proposed scheme of classification to her collection. It is broad enough in its range, with one exception to be noticed later, to serve this purpose very well.

Take, for example, the fifth fable, "De cane et umbra." This tale, by reason of its closeness to nature, may be considered a mere illustrative tale from nature, or it may be considered a fable, according as the reader fails to identify the actor in it with a human type and takes it literally, or as he actually interprets it in human terms. In tales of this sort the fable makes its closest approach to literature of non-allegorical nature analogy.[3] When, however, it is considered a fable, it is not merely the actor that must be interpreted. A dog crosses a bridge with a cheese in his mouth. He sees the shadow of the cheese reflected in the stream below. Plunge! Snap! and he is

[1] It will not be necessary to pause on other equally unsatisfactory classifications, like those of Addison (*Spectator*, 183) or Hawkesworth (*Adventurer*, 18).

[2] *Die Fabeln der Marie de France* (ed. E. Mall and K. Warnke [=*Bib. norm.*, VI], Halle, 1898).

[3] *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XIV, 524.

struggling empty-mouthed to shore, substance and shadow vanished in the stream. Say that the dog is the greedy man, the cheese a symbol of that which he already has, the shadow an unattainable but coveted object, and so on; this still leaves the story incoherent. We must also translate the acts of plunging, snapping, and dropping into terms of human action. It is therefore apparent that in fables of this sort *both actors* (with setting) *and action are symbolic*, and only by a translation of both (subconscious, of course, and not mechanical, as in the present analysis) do we arrive at the typical human story underneath, which in reality presents the lesson.

In fables of the first main group the action is that natural to the symbols and totally different in detail from that which it symbolizes. In the second large division, however, the action is not to be derived from any scene in natural life. While the actors preserve their distinctly symbolic form, *the action is that of the typical human beings they represent, more or less adapted, it is true, to the requirements of these symbols,* but still in motive and accomplishment clearly human.

Take, for example, to illustrate this group in the large, the sixty-seventh fable of Marie, "De corvo pennas pavonis inveniente." A crow, finding some peacock feathers and despising herself because less beautiful than the other birds, pulls out her own plumage and decks herself in that which she has found. Fine feathers do not make fine birds, however, and her manners betray her. The real peacocks beat her with their wings. Then she would like to be a simple crow again, but now they all shun her, or chase and beat her. This action finds no counterpart in nature, but is fashioned to represent, with more or less exactitude, the typical conduct of many a vain, dishonest person, ranging all the way from the wearing of apparel belonging to another, or not paid for, to the more metaphorically suggested stealing of another's honors. In any case, it is human action, to a large extent, which is set forth—adapted, however, to the nature of the symbols. The crow must pull out her own feathers (an act at least possible to the crow) before she puts on the peacock's glory (an act impossible to the crow, but, translated, the proper thing for the human actor to do). This main division is the largest.

To illustrate the third main division, it is necessary to go outside the collection of Marie, which has not replaced the twenty-nine fables

of Phaedrus introducing men (cast out by the *Primitive Romulus*, to which she ultimately goes back) by any sufficiently clear fables of this sort. Here *the actors are typical human figures, but the action is symbolic.* There are certain tales of men whose conduct is too preposterous to be accepted literally, which readily suggest a very different type of action and give the lesson for it. Take for example this fable of Aesop:

A Man and his Son were once going with their Donkey to market. As they were walking along by its side a countryman passed them and said: "You fools, what is a Donkey for but to ride upon?"

So the Man put the Boy on the Donkey and they went on their way. But soon they passed a group of men, one of whom said: "See that lazy youngster, he lets his father walk while he rides."

So the Man ordered his Boy to get off, and got on himself. But they hadn't gone far when they passed two women, one of whom said to the other: "Shame on that lazy lout to let his poor little son trudge along."

Well, the Man didn't know what to do, but at last he took his Boy up before him on the Donkey. By this time they had come to the town, and the passers-by began to jeer and point at them. The Man stopped and asked what they were scoffing at. The men said: "Aren't you ashamed of yourself for over-loading that poor Donkey of yours—you and your hulking son?"

The Man and Boy got off and tried to think what to do. They thought and they thought, till at last they cut down a pole, tied the Donkey's feet to it, and raised the pole and the Donkey to their shoulders. They went along amid the laughter of all who met them till they came to Market Bridge, when the Donkey, getting one of his feet loose, kicked out and caused the Boy to drop his end of the pole. In the struggle the Donkey fell over the bridge, and his fore-feet being tied together, he was drowned.

"That will teach you," said an old man who had followed them: "Please all, and you will please none."[1]

Here is a "noodle" story[2] moralized. As the first group brought the fable nearest to a mere analogy in nature, so this group brings it nearest to the simple, illustrative human tale. This last group of fables can be considered such only when the reader actually substitutes for the preposterous or incredible action of the tale the plausible and typical action it suggests, which may be represented in the

[1] J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop, Selected* (London, 1894), p. 149.

[2] W. A. Clouston, *The Book of Noodles* (London, 1903).

present case by supposing this same "noodle" of a farmer to be a political candidate publishing promises equally favorable to two opposing factions.

There are two ways of looking at such a tale, just as there were for those of the first group. It may be considered as merely the narrative of a typical act exaggerated until it becomes a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle involved, in which case the action is still typical and the tale no fable; or it may be treated as not being intended literally, in which case it becomes in a way allegorical and consequently a fable. In different settings and with different people it would be treated variously. As has been said, this class represents the shading off of the fable into the non-fable on the one extreme, as the first did on the other.

It will now be necessary to see how these three main divisions subdivide and shade off into each other.

I

a) Among all the fables of Marie there are only two tales which, *because they tell a credible nature story*, could be taken literally as illustrative examples. Such tales in fable collections are far outnumbered by clear-cut fables. The two fables in question are the fifth, already cited, and the sixty-third, "De equo et agro," that very short narrative of the horse which, seeing the grass in the field, but not the hedge inclosing it, leaped, and was staked.

It seems fitting to include in this main division two more subgroups which show the form represented above shading off into the second main group. These still have at bottom an incident in nature which might be taken literally; but they already begin to attribute human characteristics to irrational creatures, characteristics tending to that identification necessary for allegory.

b) *Incidents which could have their germ in true observation of nature, but which are supplemented by the imputation to irrational creatures of the power to say what a rational creature so placed might be expected to think or say.* This closely relates the speaker with a definite human type. There are sixteen fables in this class, for which brief illustrations will serve. First, the well-known fable "De gallo et gemma" (Marie, I): here the dunghill cock, looking for

food, finds a pearl and scorns it in round words. Another is "De vipera et campo" (LXXXII): a serpent passes through the midst of a field, and the field cries out: "Look you! Don't take any of me away." Another is "De femina et gallina" (CII): a woman watches her hen scratching for food. For love, she offers it a full measure every day, that it may cease from toil The hen responds that if she gave it a half-bushel, it would not leave off seeking more according to its nature and custom. "The Belly and the Members" (XXVII) is another well-known example.[1]

c) The last subdivision of this group goes beyond the preceding in its divergence from the simple nature story. Here are narratives which have as their germ the *observation of actual facts in nature*, as the peculiarity of some animal (some of the *pourquoi* stories belong here, some have developed further) or the power of some natural object, but which are *elaborated and amplified by the imagination and carried farther from nature, nearer to the type.*

Such a fable is "De simia et vulpe" (XXVIII): an ape asks a fox whom he meets to give him a bit of his tail. He has more than he needs and the young apes have none. "Surely," said the fox, "I shall not, by my tail, great as it is, exalt your children into another kingdom or race, even if it were so great that I could not drag it." Another fable of the same class is "De sole nubente" (VI): the sun wishing to wed, all creatures appeal to Destiny, who, after hearing one of them argue that if the sun be reinforced everything will be scorched, forbids the bans. Still another is the pathetic tale of the poor little dunghill beetle ("De scarabaeo," LXXIV), who saw with envious eyes how the eagle flew. In his pride, he says to the other beetles that the "sepande" has done them an injustice. The eagle's voice is no higher than his, and the beetle's body is as shiny, though the eagle is so large. He begins to wish never to enter his dunghill again. He wants to live with "the other birds." He begins to sing very badly. He takes a leap after the eagle. Before he has gone very far he is dazed with fright. He can mount no higher, nor get back to his dunghill. He is hungry. He complains. Little cares he if the birds hear him, or if any of them mock him, any more than

[1] Also Nos. XX, XXIV, XXVII, XXXVIII, XL, XLIX, LIX, LXXIX, LXXXIV, XC, XCI, XCVII.

did the fox, when the beasts held him base; little he cares if one hold him worm or bird, but only that he may enter once more the dung of the horse, for he is hungry.[1]

II

These last two subdivisions have brought us a long way toward Group II, that in which *the action is that of typical human beings, more or less adapted to the symbols employed.* Here identification with the type becomes more and more complete, until the figures are little more than men in masquerade, as in the last subdivision of the group.

a) Here the action is not to be traced to any scene in nature, but is clearly *typical human action translated or adapted into terms of the symbols.* A good illustration of this division is the fable "De corvo et vulpe" (XIII): a crow steals a cheese from an open window. A fox, loving this delicacy, observes the bird and sighs to himself: "What a lovely bird! Can she sing?" The bird attempts the proof, whereupon the fox's interest in music and crow vanishes, together with the cheese. Here is a young Lothario indeed, flattering and ogling, but after all angling for a cheese and adapting his flattery to the particular failing of the symbol. The mere fact that a veritable Lothario might flatter with the same query makes the identification fortuitously the closer. Here, too, belongs the tale "De simia et prole eius" (LI): a mother ape fondly shows her infant to various animals, who make fun of its ugliness. The bear, however, admires it, asks to hold it, to kiss it, and—quickly devours it. Another familiar illustration is that of the ass who would play the lap dog (XV).[2]

b) The next subdivision differs only in the degree in which the adaptation to the symbols is carried out. Here we have clearly *typical action, partly adapted* to the requirements of the symbols, but *mingled with details appropriate only to human beings.* Here, for

[1] Other clear cases: XVI, XXXI, LXXXV, XCVI, XCVIII. No. XXIII comes in here, although the detail of the assembling of the beasts tends to take it into one of the subdivisions of Group II.

[2] Also Nos. VIII, XVII, XVIII, XXII, XXVI, XXX, XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVII, LXVI, LXXIII, LXXV, LXXX, XCII, XCVIII. "De vulpe et gallo" (LX), familiar through "The Nonnes Preestes Tale," is peculiar in that it comprises a combination of two actions and two morals. "De vulpe et umbra lunae" (LVIII) is a very good animal "noodle" story on the "cheese-raking" motive, but made into a passable fable.

instance, we find an established court, and court dignities, the animals assembled in parliaments, and the use of details appropriate only to the life of man—doors, bread, letters, etc.

Take, for example, the fable of the "Fox and the Dove" ("De vulpe et columba," LXI): a fox sees a dove sitting aloft and invites it to come down into a more sheltered place—by him. The dove need not fear, for the *king* has sent a *letter* to the *assembled* beasts commanding universal peace. The dove agrees to descend, but mentions casually that it sees two knights with dogs approaching. The fox thinks it best to take to the woods: "The dogs may not have heard the command."[1] Or the "Wolf and the Crane" ("De lupo et grue," VII) may be taken. A wolf gets a bone in his throat. Of all the birds called together, only the crane can help. She performs the operation, but receives instead of the promised recompense only the injunction to be thankful she escaped with her life. Another is "De formica et cicada" (XXXIX): the cricket, who sang in the summer, seeks food in vain, when the winter comes, at the door of the ant. Other familiar illustrations are the "City Mouse and the Country Mouse" (IX) and the "Crow in Borrowed Plummage" (LXVII), already cited.[2]

c) The last subdivision is the result of an extension of the humanizing process to an extreme where almost no adaptation to the symbolic form is attempted in the action. Here the figures are men slightly veiled. The masks are on. Here is *typical action with little more translation than the bare use of symbolic forms for actors.*

A lying dog ("De cane et ove," IV) falsely *accuses* a sheep of having *stolen* some *bread.* He *produces before the judge, for witnesses,* the hawk and the wolf. The sheep is compelled to *sell his wool* in the winter, dies, and is devoured by the three. A grim and unflinching picture of justice in the Middle Ages. In "De milvo" (LXXXVI) a kite, very sick, repents him of his past conduct toward the family of a neighboring jay. He asks his mother to beg the jay to

[1] Dr. H. S. Canby, *The Novella and Related Varieties of the Short Narrative* (Yale Dissertation), p. 243, calls this a beast *novella*, and indeed the story side is developed; a wise action, however, is held up to admiration in true fable manner.

[2] Others are Nos. II, III, X, XI, XII, XIV, XIX, XXIX, XXXVI, XLVI, LXII, LXVI, LXX, LXXI, LXXXI, LXXXIII, LXXXIX, XCIII, CI. In No. LXXXIII the lesson is less obvious, and it is called a *novella* by Dr. Canby. It gives an instructive view of life, however, in fable manner.

pray for him. She responds that his past actions render this request impossible. Perhaps "De agno et capra" (XXXII) is less clear. A sheep had a lamb which shepherds took from it. A goat nourished it until it grew large, then said, "Go to the sheep, thy mother, or the wether, thy father; I have nourished thee long enough." He answered wisely and said that he considered her his mother who had fed him, rather than her who bore and left him—a fable which emphasizes the truth that blood is thinner than milk. This "translation" of the Ruth and Naomi story would seem to belong in this group.[1]

III

We finish the survey of the real fables in Marie by returning once more to the third main division, Group III, that in which the *actors are typical and the action symbolic.* We have gone the full swing from fables that approximate the simple nature analogy, through the fables of clear allegorical import, to those approaching the illustrative human narrative. This class needs no subdivision, and has already been illustrated.

In every large collection of fables there are included many tales which cannot be brought under any real definition of the fable, and which have led some, Diestel for instance,[2] to define not the fable, but the pointed anecdote. These other stories, whether they be Milesian tales of salty flavor, churchmen's *exempla*, sometimes even more briny, or bits of popular superstition, have been intermingled with the fables because they have happened to be of a similar length and have a common origin in reflection upon human life. Dr. Canby points out some twenty-five tales among the fables of Marie which he classes generally as *novelle*, and more exactly as *novelle*, beast *novelle*, and anecdotes, the last being an unexpanded form of the preceding and exhibiting less generalization.[3] These are characterized by a lighter emphasis on the moral than the fable requires. To me the final distinction between the fable and the illustrative tale is to be found in the allegorical nature of the former, a distinction

[1] Others are Nos. XXXIV, L, LXV, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII.

[2] G. Diestel, *Bausteine zur Geschichte der deutschen Fabel* (Dresden, 1871).

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

which goes beyond the mere emphasis on the moral in the one and on the story in the other, though no doubt resulting from the existence of that emphasis, while the type was still in the short-story ferment out of which all the various forms emerged. My list of tales in Marie that are not fables differs, however, from Dr. Canby's in only one or two particulars. As to classification, we can call them all *novelle*, if we like, as in these the moral force they have is not assisted by allegory. Five different kinds of stories, however, may be distinguished:

1. *Animistic beast-tales, which, by the absence of a clearly perceptible human purpose, fall short of clear allegory and of the fable type.* In this group various subgroups might be indicated, like that which displays the *shrewd beast* who amuses by outwitting. Here the actor comes close to a human type, but is not interpreted, as no apparent moral lesson or human purpose establishes the identification. After all, it is the beast's shrewdness that counts. Of this sort is "De leone infirmo" (LXVIII), in which the fox plays physician and outwits the malicious wolf.[1] Not all of these animistic tales, however, are to be included in clearly marked subcategories. "De lupo et scarabaeo" (LXV) is of a *fabliau* sort—comparable in part to No. XLIII, classed in the next division—and so slight, so cluttered, and so smirched as to be of practically no moral or allegorical significance.

2. There are also many perfectly clear little *fabliaux*, short realistic tales of human life with a tang to them. "De uxore mala et marito eius" (XCV) is an example. A farmer's wife opposes her husband in everything. His laborers want beer and bread. He thinks to avoid granting the request by sending them to her. When she learns that he is against the proposal, she says they shall have what they ask, but she will bring the refreshment herself and the farmer shall have none. After she has brought the food and drink, the farmer approaches her, and she, retreating, falls into the river. The laborers begin to look for her down the stream, but the farmer tells them to look above the place of the catastrophe, saying that she was so much against everything, that she would not have gone down stream with the current.

[1] Others are Nos. XXI and LXIX.

In this group are tales of the *troublesome* or *disputatious wife* (XCIV), the *deceived husband* (XLIV, XLV), the *inconstant widow* ("Widow of Ephesus" story, XXV), the *man got with child* (XLII, XLIII), and of *justice won by a quip* (XLVII) or *injustice through a bribe* (LVI). Under the same head might be grouped such mere anecdotes as "De homine et hirco" (LXIV), and "De homine et servis" (XLI): a powerful man, coming upon two serfs, noticed that they talked very secretly together, although no one was near. When asked, they said that it was not from fear of being overheard, but because they thought it looked wise to talk in that manner.

The three groups that remain to be noticed consist of tales especially adapted for use as *exempla*, being more moral in tendency, though the mediaeval preacher, of course, was not squeamish.

3. First, there are the moral, illustrative tales involving *popular superstition*, like "De fure et sortilega" (LXVIII): a witch proposes a partnership with a thief, promising her protection. When he is caught and supplicates her assistance, she "bears him in hand" until the rope is about his neck, and then tells him to shift for himself, as she can do no more. More markedly superstitious and more popular is "De dracone et homine" (LII): a dragon has a peasant for companion. He tells the peasant that all his power resides in an egg, which he puts into the peasant's keeping. He then goes away. The man, thinking to kill the dragon and have his treasure, breaks the egg, only to have his treachery revealed to the returning dragon. Such tales might be placed in the third main group of fables. Another tale on the "Greedy Ingrate" theme is "The Man and the Serpent" (LXXII). The motive of the "Three Wishes" appears in "De rustico et nano" (LVII).

4. Again, there are simple, illustrative moral tales of a sort *too moral and too dignified* to be grouped with the *fabliaux*, such as "De sene et equite" (C): a knight meets an old man who seems wise and far-traveled, so he asks him in what land he may best dwell. The old man instructs him to go (1) where the people shall all love him; failing that, (2) where the people shall all fear him; if that prove impossible, (3) where nobody shall fear him; or, as a last resort, (4) where he shall see no one and no one shall know where he is.

5. Finally, there are tales which have specific *relation to ecclesiastical or religious matters,* like "De rustico orante et equum petente" (LIV): a peasant, tying his only horse outside the minster, goes within and prays for another horse. Meanwhile a thief absconds with the one which he had. When the peasant sees the misfortune which has come upon him through his greed, as it is made to appear, he returns and prays, not for a second horse, but to have his own returned. (Similarly LIII, LV.) In this group is one little "miracle," "De homine in nave" (XCIX): a rich man wishes to cross a sea to transact business. He prays God to lead him there in safety. He wishes to return, and prays God not to let him perish. Before he is aware of danger, he is cast into the sea. Then he prays God to bring him to land, this only and nothing more. When he sees God regards not this prayer, he cries, "Let Him do His will," and immediately after this, he arrives at his desired port.

This survey does not pretend to embrace all the varieties of tales that have been included in fable collections. It intends merely to show, in a general way, their nature and how they differ from the fable.

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TRANSLATIONS OF THE *VIE DE MARIANNE* AND THEIR RELATION TO CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH FICTION

The eighteenth-century vogue of Marivaux in England has been discussed by both French and English critics chiefly from the viewpoint of his possible influence upon Richardson. That this problem is one of continued vitality recent studies have made evident.[1] As a contribution to this question as well as to the wider problem of the relation of contemporary translations of *Marianne* to English fiction in general, I wish to make clear the following points:

1. Statements about the translations of *Marianne* have frequently been inaccurate and incomplete.

2. Instead of the one translation usually assumed to be the source of the vogue of Marivaux in English, there is evidence that by 1746 three translations were in circulation.

3. Circumstances connected with the publication of the two additional versions throw light upon the popularity of Marivaux; the nature of the translations makes clear the ground of their appeal, and the relation of Marivaux and Richardson to fictional development before and during the period in which *Pamela* appeared.

I

The *Vie de Marianne* was first published in parts, as follows: 1731, Part 1; 1734, Part 2; 1735, Part 3; 1736, Parts 4, 5, 6; 1737, Parts 7, 8; 1741, Parts 9, 10, 11. In 1742 the eleven parts were published together in Paris. In 1745 an edition was published in Amsterdam containing the original eleven parts and a spurious

[1] Though Mr. Cazamian in 1913 in his chapter on Richardson in the *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* assumed that Austin Dobson in 1902 had definitely settled the question in the negative (*Samuel Richardson*, "English Men of Letters" [London, 1902], pp. 48–50), yet in the year before Mr. Cazamian's chapter was published the controversy was reviewed by Mr. E. C. Baldwin in a study of "Marivaux's Place in Character Portrayal," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVII (1912), 184–85; in 1913 it was again discussed by Mr. G. C. Macaulay in an article on "Richardson and His Predecessors," in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VIII (1913), 463 ff.; and within the last year the question has been reopened by Miss Carola Schröers in her article, "Ist Richardsons *Pamela* von Marivauxs *Vie de Marianne* beeinflusst?" in *Englische Studien*, XLIX (1916), 220–54.

conclusion in the form of a twelfth part. These twelve parts were published together in Paris in 1755.[1]

An English translation came out under a title literally derived from the French:

> The Life of Marianne, or the Adventures of the Countess of . . . . By M. de Marivaux. Translated from the French Original.

According to contemporary notices in periodicals, quoted by Mr. Esdaile, this translation appeared in parts in June, 1736, January, 1737, April, 1742.[2] The *London Magazine* for April, 1742, in announcing Vol. II refers to it as "Printed for C. Davis."[3] I have been unable to find a copy of this work, which Clara Reeve seems to have described in 1785 as a "poor literal translation."[4]

To clear up the confusion that has existed, I wish to call attention at this point to the inaccuracy with which this and other translations have been cited, in discussions of Marivaux and of his relation to Richardson. The appearance of the story in parts has at times been ignored. Thus Miss Thomson in her usually accurate study says, "An English translation of Marianne appeared in 1736."[5] Mr. Macaulay fails to indicate that a second volume of this translation appearing in 1737 was also available to Richardson. He says:

> It is clear that for his acquaintance with French romance he [Richardson] must have depended on translations. This, however, does not cause any real difficulty. An English translation of *La Vie de Marianne*, so far as it had then proceeded, was published in 1736, four years before the publication of Pamela.[6]

Professor Raleigh writes, with inaccuracy at more than one point:

> It was not until . . . . years after Marivaux by his *Vie de Marianne* (1731) had singularly anticipated Richardson in subject and treatment, although, so far as can be ascertained, without influencing him, that the English *Pamela* was born in 1740. . . . . It seems likely that Richardson

[1] Larroumet, *Marivaux, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1882), pp. 607–8. There is some disagreement as to the date of the appearance of the eleventh part. Lanson, *Man. Bibl de la litt. fran. mod.* (Paris, 1911), III, 696, and Petit de Julleville, *Hist. de la litt. et d la lang. fran.* (Paris), VI, 465, give 1742 as the date.

[2] *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740* (London, 1912), p. 369. The same data are given by A. Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[3] *Lond. Mag.*, XX (1742), 208.

[4] *Progress of Romance* (London, 1785), p. 129.

[5] *Samuel Richardson, A Biographical and Critical Study* (London, 1900), p. 148.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 467.

had read The Life of Marianne with the continuation of Mme Riccoboni, which appeared in three volumes, 12mo, in 1736.[1]

Dunlop[2] and Max Gassmeyer[3] refer only to a translation of 1784, which I shall consider later. Mr. Boas refers only to a translation of 1743.[4] Whether this is an inaccurate citation of the 1736-42 translation or a reference to another is a question; I suspect the former is the case.

We may note here that of this literal translation Richardson, before writing *Pamela*, probably could have read only the first six parts, which appeared by January, 1737. This carried the story to the scene at the minister's house, where Marianne is rescued from a marriage, plotted by Valville's relatives, by the sudden appearance of Valville and Mme Miran. This fact is not sufficiently recognized in Miss Schröers' study. In her interesting array of parallel passages in *Pamela* and *Marianne*, she finds most of her material in Parts I–III of *Marianne*, the attempted seduction of Marianne by M. Climal being comparable to the persecution of Pamela by Mr. B. Admitting the similarities in these passages, and their possible significance, one recognizes at the same time that many of the details are implicit in the situation. It should be noted also that two of Miss Schröers' parallels[5] are drawn from the seventh part of *Marianne*, which Richardson probably could not have read in translation before 1740.

II

The popularity of *Marianne* in the early years of Richardson's literary activity is attested not by one but by three translated versions: one of them the literal translation already discussed; the

[1] *English Novel* (New York, 1911), p. 140. In regard to the date of Mme Riccoboni's translation see *infra*, p. 114.

[2] *Hist. of Fiction* (London, 1911), II, 462.

[3] *Richardsons "Pamela" und seine Quellen* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 19 ff.; quoted by Miss Schröers.

[4] "Richardson's Novels and Their Influence," in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* (Oxford, 1911), II; quoted by Miss Schröers.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 251. M. Larroumet describes the first edition (1737) of the seventh part as follows: "144 p., y compris le titre et l'approbation de Saurin, du 27 janvier 1737, au bas de la page 144" (*op. cit.*, p. 608). This probably, though not surely, did not appear in the second volume of the translation advertised in the periodicals of January, 1737, but did appear in the third volume in 1742. Note, too, that Miss Schröers seems to have confused with Richardson's own continuation of *Pamela* the spurious continuation brought out by Ward and Chandler, likewise in 1741, under the title *Pamela in High Life*, probably written by John Kelly. See Dobson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

others, two versions, slightly varied, of a translation furnished with moralistic interpolations of a Richardsonian sort, and a moralistic conclusion unnoticed, so far as I know, in discussions dealing with the two well-known attempts to continue Marivaux's story in French.

The first reference I find to this second translation is on the title-page of another novel translated from the French:

> Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol . . . . Done from the French by the Translator of the Virtuous Orphan: Or, the Life of Marianne. London, Jacob Robinson, 1743. 2 vols. 12mo.

This translation of *Marianne* I have found in the 1784 edition (which Dunlop probably had in mind) in Harrison's "Novelists' Magazine," with the following title-page:

> The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne, Countess of * * * . Translated from the French of Marivaux. In four volumes [in one]. London: Printed for Harrison and Co. No. 18, Paternoster Row. MDCCLXXXIV.

The volume is octavo, with 313 pages, double column. This work, which contains a long Translator's Preface, is not merely a translation with such liberties as eighteenth-century translators allowed themselves frequently; it is a translation, literal in the main, but modified to moralistic ends by means of omissions, interpolations, and a conclusion.

In 1746 appeared an altered version of this translation, possibly pirated, in one volume, small octavo, pages viii+453:

> The Life and Adventures of Indiana, the Virtuous Orphan. Illustrated with Copper-Plates. London: Printed for C. Whitefield, in White-Fryers, Fleet-Street. MDCCXLVI.

For the most part, this work is identical with that reprinted by Harrison in 1784. There is, however, no translator's preface, and the title-page gives no indication that the work is a translation. Other differences are in the names of the characters: Marianne becomes Indiana, Valville becomes Valentine, M. Climal becomes Mr. Chambers, and other characters, similarly, are given English names beginning usually with the same initial letter as the French ones. More significant is the fact that this version is considerably shorter than the 1784 version; the nature of the differences will be discussed later. It is possible that at its first appearance the version

of *The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne* was comparable in length to *Indiana;* while the 1784 octavo edition of four volumes in one may represent later revision and elaboration of an original version common to both. On the other hand, *Indiana* may represent a piratical abridgment of an original identical with the 1784 edition.

In 1747 appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* the notice of a second edition of *The Virtuous Orphan.* The title and the format of this edition are complicating factors. The publisher is the same as for the *Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol,* in which appeared in 1743 the reference already quoted to the *Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne;* the format is also the same as that of the *Memoirs.* The notice reads:

> The Virtuous Orphan. Edit. 2. Robinson, in two volumes, 12mo. 6s.[1]

This may well be a second edition of the translation referred to in 1743, and both may have been published by Robinson, who may have brought out his second edition in 1747 to offset Whitefield's altered version of 1746, published piratically or otherwise. Whether the first edition appeared in 1743 or earlier, whether it could in any way, in print or manuscript, have influenced the author of *Pamela,* I have no way of knowing. It is conceivable, but less probable, I think, that this is a second edition of *Indiana.*

To *Indiana* I find two other references. Mr. J. M. Clapp quotes for me the following entry in Dobell's Catalogue 199 to an edition of 1755:

> The Life and Misfortunes and Adventures of Indiana, the Virtuous Orphan; written by herself. 12mo.

Clara Reeve, after referring to the "poor literal translation," writes:

> Soon after another attempt was made by a still worse hand, this is called *Indiana or the Virtuous Orphan,* in this piece of patch work, many of the fine reflexions, the most valuable part of the work, are omitted, the story left unfinished by the death of M. Marivaux, is finished by the same bungler, and in the most absurd manner. It puts me in mind of what was said of a certain translator of Virgil:
>
> Read the commandments, friend,—translate no further,
> For it is written, thou shalt do no murther.[2]

[1] *Gent. Mag.,* XVII (1747), 156; see also *Scots Mag.,* IX (1747), 147.

[2] *Progress of Romance,* pp. 129–30.

The Virtuous Orphan is referred to, also, in two reviews of a later work, soon to be quoted. Both *The Virtuous Orphan* and *Indiana* are listed in Bent's General Catalogues. In the edition of 1779 appear the following entries:

Marianne, or Virtuous Orphan, 2 Vols. 12mo.....0 6 0.[1]
Virtuous Orphan, or Life of Indiana, 2 Vols. 12mo.....0 6 0.[2]

This refers, of course, to an edition before that of 1784 in the "Novelists' Magazine." In the edition of 1786 the following entries appear:

Marianne, or Virtuous Orphan, 3 Vols. 12mo.....0 9 0.[3]
Virtuous Orphan, or Life of Indiana, 2 Vols. 12mo.....0 6 0.[4]

The change here indicated in *Marianne; Or, the Virtuous Orphan* between 1779 and 1786 from two duodecimo volumes at six shillings to three duodecimo volumes at nine shillings may possibly result from typographical errors, or may result from additions to the work within those years; possibly these additions may appear in the 1784 edition before me (in 313 double-column pages octavo, four volumes bound in one). This is of a length which it would seem difficult to have compressed into either two or three duodecimo volumes, though it might possibly have been included in three.[5]

Another interesting difference between the two translated versions is in the matter of Marivaux's intercalated story *l'Histoire de la religieuse.* This story does not appear at all in *Indiana;* instead, the translator's conclusion follows immediately after the translation of the eighth part of Marivaux's story, the point at which the French author drops the story of Marianne. In the *Virtuous Orphan;*

[1] *A General Catalogue of Books in All Languages, Arts, and Sciences, Printed in Great Britain, and Published in London, from the Year MDCC to the Present Time. Classed under Several Heads of Literature, and Alphabetically Disposed under Each Head, with Their Sizes and Prices* (London, 1779), p. 69.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[3] *A General Catalogue of Books . . . . from the Year MDCC to MDCCLXXXVI . . .* (London, 1786), p. 74.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[5] A rough estimate shows that the *Vie de Marianne,* in twelve parts in French, contains about 220,000 words; *Indiana* about 150,000 words; *Marianne* (in English) about 263,000 words; the *Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol,* in two volumes duodecimo, about 154,000 words. The difference in length between *Indiana* and *Marianne* appears less in the conclusion than in the translated portions; the conclusion contains about 48,000 words in the former, and about 57,000 words in the latter. The inequality may be partly explained by the fact that in *Marianne* the division into twelve books as in the French original is retained, and by the practice of beginning and concluding each book with a paragraph or more of informal comment addressed by the narrator to her friend. These divisions and comments are omitted in *Indiana.*

Or, the Life of Marianne, on the other hand, the nun's story is introduced, but not in its proper place at the end of the eighth book. In this version the conclusion begins at the same point as in *Indiana*, and runs through the ninth book and most of the tenth; then, toward the end of the tenth book (p. 226), "The Life of Miss de Terviere" (*de Tervire*, Marivaux spells it) is introduced, and continues through the eleventh book; at the beginning of the twelfth book (p. 275) the conclusion is resumed where it was dropped (on p. 226).

A hypothesis as to the date of the translation may be hazarded from the misplacement of this story. Possibly the first eight parts were translated, and the conclusion appended, before the last three instalments of Marivaux's work (Parts 9, 10, 11, Paris, 1741) appeared; then at some later date, when the whole work was well known and in its final state, the intercalated story was translated and introduced into the earlier translated version, at a point in the conclusion where it could be made to fit. The nun and her story are again referred to in this version at the very end. Should this hypothesis be the true explanation, the original version of the translation may well have appeared before *Pamela*, since the first eight parts were accessible to the translator by the end of the year 1737, and since nothing more appeared until 1741, when *l'Histoire de la religieuse* began in the ninth part. This explanation is by no means the only one possible, however; the nun's story may have been inserted as late as 1784, or, again, it may have been introduced in the original version, which needs only to have appeared by 1743.

Other differences between *Indiana* and *Marianne* appear in slight variations in phrasing, the changes in the latter suggesting a later attempt to revise and polish an earlier draught. How late these changes were made I have no way of determining.

The authorship of these translations I identify by means of the two book notices already referred to. In 1767 there was translated into English a continuation of the *Vie de Marianne* by Mme Riccoboni—*la suite* to which Fleury refers.[1] The legend is that in response to a challenge from Saint-Foix, author of *Essais sur Paris*, Mme Riccoboni undertook to prove that Marivaux's style in *Marianne* was susceptible of imitation. She made what was called at the time

[1] *Marivaux et le marivaudage* (Paris, 1881), pp. 192 ff.

une suite à ce roman. This appeared in part in a collection entitled *le Monde comme il est,* by the author of the *Nouveau Spectateur,* 4 vols., 1760–61, edited by Bastid; the second part appeared in Mme Riccoboni's works. The whole was composed ten years before its first publication, or about 1751, according to Mme Riccoboni's own statement.[1]

M. Fleury pointed out in 1881 that critics down to Edouard Fournier in his 1877 edition of *Marianne* have confused the anonymous twelfth part (*le fin*) of the 1745 edition with this *suite* by Mme Riccoboni. M. Fleury published them both in the appendix to his volume and pointed out the radical difference in content and style between the two. He attributed the *fin* of the twelfth part to some writer of the sixth order who had been hired by a Dutch bookseller to increase the price of the edition by giving an end to the story. "Ces supercheries étaient fréquentes au dix-huitième siècle," he says. Such a *supercherie* the English conclusion also appears to be, and the motive that inspired it may have been similarly commercial.

Announcing the translation of Mme Riccoboni's work, there appeared in 1768 in the *Monthly Review* the following notice:

> The continuation of the Life of Marianne. To which is added the History of Ernestina; with letters and other Miscellaneous Pieces. Translated from the French of Mme Riccoboni, 12mo., 3*s*. Becket and de Hondt.
>
> This is not the first attempt that has been made to carry on the unfinished *Life of Marianne,* written by the celebrated Marivaux; but it is a less successful one than that of an English writer; [Note: "Mr. Joseph Collyer, author of *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte;* and translator of the *Death of Abel.*"] who, about twenty years ago, translated Marivaux's work, and also brought the story to a conclusion; under the title of *The Virtuous Orphan.* There was likewise another translation made about the same time; entitled *The Life of Marianne; or the Adventures of the Countess of . . . .* ; but in this version the story remains in the same unfinished state in which the French Author left the original.—As to Mme Riccoboni's continuation, it still leaves the tale incompleat, and is not the best of her performances.[2]

In 1767 in the *Gentleman's Magazine* had appeared the following confused notice:

[1] *Marivaux et le marivaudage* (Paris, 1881), p. 195; see also Dunlop, *op. cit.,* pp. 465–66.

[2] *Monthly Rev.,* XXXVIII (1768), 72.

The first part of the life of *Marianne* was published some years ago, under the title of *La Paissanne Parvenu*[1] and was translated into *English* under the title of *The Virtuous Orphan*, by the author of *Some Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*, who also concluded the story. The events related by the English translator are very different from those in this continuation, in which the story is not concluded.[2]

The author of *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* and the translator of the *Death of Abel* was probably not Mr. Joseph Collyer, but his wife Mary Collyer, who was also, I think, the translator of the *Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol*,[3] a translation which I suspect of having likewise been fitted with a conclusion foreign to the French original.

Mrs. Collyer's variations upon Marivaux's theme are worthy of note primarily for the light they throw upon the highly romantic taste of her day and upon its readiness to make use of the novel as a vehicle of didactic purpose. Her work here and elsewhere makes Richardson seem less extraordinary than does the frequent juxtaposition of his work with that of his great rival, Fielding. Mrs. Collyer's moralizing of the theme shows, too, how easily the heavy didacticism of a Richardsonian type could be engrafted upon the Gallic psychology of Marivaux.[4]

Perhaps the most interesting interpolation in the translated part of the story occurs in the description of the person and home of the good clergyman and his sister who adopt Marianne. I will quote the accounts as given in the French original, in the English *Indiana*, and in the English *Marianne*, to illustrate *in an extreme case* the method of the translator. Marivaux had written of his two minor characters:

[1] This title marks a confusion not uncommon, according to Clara Reeve (*op. cit.*, 130), between Marivaux's other novel, *le Paysan Parvenu*, and a novel by the Chevalier de Mouhy entitled *la Paysanne Parvenue*, translated by Mrs. Haywood under the title of the *Virtuous Villager* (see Whicher, *The Life and Works of Eliza Haywood* [New York, 1915], p. 152).

[2] *Gent. Mag.* (1767), p. 80.

[3] *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* and its author I have discussed in "An Early Romantic Novel," in *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XV (1916), 564–98. Further facts about Mrs. Collyer and her work I hope to present soon in my forthcoming dissertation.

[4] Mr. Macaulay, though somewhat committed to the theory of Richardson's indebtedness to Marivaux, remarks, "It is needless to say, moreover, that the rather heavy morality of Richardson has no counterpart in Marivaux's work," *op. cit.*, p. 464.

Le Curé, qui quoique Curé de Village, avoit beaucoup d'esprit, et qui étoit un homme de très-bonne famille . . . ; j'aurois été fort à plaindre, sans la tendresse que le Curé et sa sœur prirent pour moi.

Cette sœur m'éleva comme si j'avois été son enfant. Je vous ai déjà dit que son frère et elle étoient de très-bonne famille; on disoit qu'ils avoient perdu leur bien par un procès, et que lui il étoit venu se réfugier dans cette Cure où elle l'avoit suivi, car ils s'aimoient beaucoup.

Ordinairement, qui dit nièce ou sœur de Curé de Village, dit quelque chose de bien grossier, et d'approchant d'une paysanne. Mais cette fille-ci n'étoit pas de même, c'étoit une personne pleine de raison et de politesse, qui joignoit à cela beaucoup de vertu. . . .

. . . Je passai tout le temps de mon éducation dans mon bas âge, pendant lequel j'appris à faire je ne sais combien de petites nippes de femme; industrie qui m'a bien servie dans la suite.[1]

In *Indiana* appears the following passage amplifying this:

Mr. Robinson, for that was the name of my benefactor, was a gentleman of a good family, and formerly enjoyed an estate which was exhausted by a tedious law-suit: However his living brought him in a handsome subsistance, and he knew how to be contented without enjoying many of the superfluities of life. (*a*) His generosity and the agreeable gaiety of his temper, in spite of his age, in which he was pretty far advanced, made him beloved by all who knew him; and he knew how to keep up the two characters of the accomplished gentleman and the judicious divine. Mrs. Robinson, his sister, (*b*) was a lady of good sense, free from affectation, and though an old maid, had such a sweet disposition, such true politeness, and undissembled goodness, as abundantly recompensed the loss of those charms, which had been destroyed by the smallpox, she being extremely scared (*c*) by it.

There are the persons to whom I owe my education, and that virtue which has supported me under all my afflictions, and has raised me from the lowest and most miserable condition to my present station. We lived in the greatest harmony. Their affection for me knew no bounds, and I in turn, honoured and loved them as my parents. The house that we lived in was an ancient building, (*d*) and had for some ages past belonged to the vicars of the place; the rooms were large, (*e*) but the ceilings low. We had behind the house a pretty commodious garden (*f*) which seemed rather the product of nature than of art; there was fruit in abundance of almost (*g*) every kind, which grew promiscuously among the other trees that never bore any, so that they altogether formed a thick and shady grove, (*h*) for it was a maxim with Mr. Robinson, that nothing but what is natural can be pleasing to the subjects of nature, nor can art any further delight than as it resembles it. (*i*)

[1] *La Vie de Marianne, ou les Aventures de Madame la Comtesse de . . .* , par Monsieur de Marivaux (London, 1778), I, 10–12.

Opposite the middle door of the house was a long shady walk which extended itself to the bottom of a piece of pasture ground behind the garden, and at the foot of several of the trees were raised seats of earth covered with camomile. When fatigued with severe study, Mr. Robinson took delight with working here, and acting the part of a laborious gardner; an employment he chose to preserve his health and recreate his mind. He committed the management of his kitchen garden and vineyard to a poor laborer in the neighborhood, whom he had released from prison, by paying a debt for him, and who besides he rewarded for his labour.

This good man began every day with paying (*j*) his duty to God in prayer; after breakfast the sister and I worked with our needles, played upon a harpsicord, (*k*) or amused ourselves with reading; and in the afternoon we walked in the garden to see Mr. Robinson work, and be entertained with his conversation, and in the evening he (*l*) acted the part of an arbitrator of the differences of his quarrelsome neighbors, which he was frequently so happy as to adjust to the satisfaction of all parties concerned; and after supper concluded the day with prayer as he began it.

This worthy gentleman began early to show his zeal for my happiness, by establishing in my mind the nicest sentiments of virtue and honour. He represented religion in a light that made it appear all amiable and lovely, and as the highest happiness of a rational being: He painted the substantial pleasures of conscious innocence, the exquisit happiness of the mind that can survey itself with tranquillity and self-approbation, in such pleasing colours, as perfectly charmed me. (*m*)

Mrs. Robinson was not behind hand with her brother in her care of my education. She taught me everything necessary for a young woman to learn. . . . . A country vicar's niece or sister is commonly an awkward, untoward, unbred, country-like woman; but Mrs. Robinson was perfectly the reverse; she was polite and virtuous; her behaviour was free and easy; in short, she had good sense, good breeding, and abundance of virtue.[1]

The thread of the narrative is then resumed in a literal translation.

The *Virtuous Orphan* differs from *Indiana*, at the points marked in the foregoing quotations, as follows:

(*a*) Inserted: "Pride and ostentation he was utter stranger to."
(*b*) Omitted: "his sister."
(*c*) "Seamed" for "scared" (i.e., scarred).
(*d*) Altered: "one of the most antique buildings I ever saw."
(*e*) Altered: "the rooms were spacious and numerous."
(*f*) Inserted: "a beautiful sylvan scene."
(*g*) Inserted: "almost."
(*h*) A long insertion appears here: "The vine supported his feeble branches by encircling the oak, and the flowers seemed scattered with a

[1] *Indiana*, pp. 7–9.

careless hand over the verdant turf; those whose tender stalks were liable to be broke down by unfriendly feet, creeped in clusters round the trunks of the trees; while the woodbine and jessamine were made to rise above, and twine amongst the branches; there the trees were never pruned but in order to make them fruitful, or to let in the prospect of the fine meadows, or the far distant hills; which, seeming to mingle with the clouds, formed a delightful horizon. We had no answering platforms, no cut-walks, nor anything like that studied affectation of regularity which disgusts the eye by a repetition of uniformity, and a constant sameness of design."[1]

(*i*) Another insertion of similar import: "The agreeable intermixture of opening and shade was contrived with such exquisit art, as not only to appear natural, but to let in or exclude the prospect of the adjacent country to the advantage of the whole scene."[2]

(*j*) Altered: "paying a grateful homage to the supreme being."

(*k*) Altered: "spinet" for "harpsicord."

(*l*) Inserted: "this pattern of benevolence" for "he."

(*m*) Here is a continuation, over a column in length, of the clergyman's religious exhortations, in the same vein as what precedes.

In this version the clergyman and his sister, unnamed by Marivaux, named Mr. and Mrs. Robinson in *Indiana*, are called Mr. and Mrs. De Rosard.

This passage illustrates, as I have said, in an extreme way, the alteration of Marivaux's original in the Collyer translation, and the variations resulting either from elaboration or abridgment between the two English versions. The details belonging to an essentially English vicarage inserted into the French context are as amusingly incongruous as much of the solid Anglo-Saxon moralizing and the artless conclusion. The discussion of gardening, and the preference for nature over art, are quite in keeping with other utterances of Mrs. Collyer in *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* (1744–49). Aside from the interpolations, the translation follows with fair accuracy the original, many more omissions occurring, of course, in *Indiana* than in the longer version.

In speaking of the two French attempts to carry on Marivaux's story, M. Fleury praises Mme Riccoboni's continuation because she appears "fidèle au procédé constant de Marivaux de placer le drame dans le cœur humain et de ne faire intervenir les causes extérieures que pour créer les situations et jamais pour les dénouer."[3]

[1] *The Virtuous Orphan* (London, 1784), p. 10. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

On the other hand, he condemns the French conclusion, which was published in 1745 as the *douzième partie*, because the anonymous author "a recouru pour ramener Valville à Marianne à des causes extrinsèques que non seulement Marivaux n'aurait pas avouées, mais qui l'auraient profondément choqué."[1]

Mrs. Collyer's conclusion is subject to much the same criticism as is the *douzième partie* of the French edition. External events, for the most part, are responsible for the reconciliation and happy dénouement.

> Through an accident the mother of the hero [Mme Miran in Marivaux's original, Mrs. de Valville in the English *Marianne*, Mrs. Valentine in *Indiana*] gets possession of a letter to her son explaining that the commission he was seeking was lost through deliberate negligence on his part, negligence due to his affair with Miss Varthon [Miss Wharton in *Indiana*]. The mother's affection for the heroine is increased by this evidence of her son's unworthiness. Her anxiety, however, seriously affects her health. The heroine tells of the Officer's proposal, and together they decide that she cannot accept it. The mother becomes dangerously ill, and the heroine goes with her to her country place. Valville [Valentine] hearing of his mother's illness, arrives unexpectedly. Marianne [Indiana] faints, and the prodigal hero's love returns to her on the instant, just as it had left her previously on the occasion of Miss Varthon's [Miss Wharton's] fainting. The heroine's recovery from the resulting illness is hastened by a complete reconciliation. The mother dies, and the heroine returns to a convent for a proper period of mourning. Knowing that the girl has inherited a fortune from her friend, a mercenary abbess plots to separate her from those interested in her and to persuade her to take the veil. This plot frustrated, the heroine goes to stay with Mrs. Dorsin [Mrs. Dawson] until her marriage to the hero. While she is there the discovery of her parentage is made; the devoted officer proves to be her uncle, and she the heiress to a title and a fortune. Behaving with marked generosity to her new-found family, she accepts only a portion of her estate, is presented at court, is married, and when last heard of is devoting herself to the education of a growing family in the love of virtue and noble sentiments.

Obviously the intercepted letter, the fatal illness of the mother, the heroine's fainting, the final identification of her parentage, all these items fall under condemnation as *causes extérieures*. The material is of distinct interest to students of English literature,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 200. M. Fleury summarizes the conclusion in the *douzième partie*, and Mme Riccoboni's continuation, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–98; the latter he also reprints in full in an appendix, pp. 372–408.

however, for the romantic quality of the feeling, philosophy, and incident introduced.

III

As illustrative of a typically British attitude toward Marivaux's novel, and of the sort of interpretation it received in translated form, I wish to quote a few passages from the Translator's Preface to the 1784 edition of *The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne,* an interesting critical document to be compared, as evidence of general tendencies of the period, with the prefaces to Richardson's works. I cannot tell whether this preface appeared in earlier editions of the translation or whether it is a late addition. In it the translator of Marivaux appears to utter sentiments obviously similar to those of "the author of Clarissa." It begins:

> The reading of that part of history that relates to human life and manners has always been considered by allowed judges as one of the best means of instructing and improving the mind. When we see the heart laid open, and the secret springs and movements that actuate it exposed, and set in one impartial light, with their different good and evil tendencies, we are enabled to form a true estimate of human nature, and are taught what ought or ought not to be our conduct in every similar instance.

Compare with this Richardson's statement in the preface of *Clarissa* that it is a "History of life and manners . . . . proposed to carry the force of an example," and his description of the novel on the title-page as a history "comprehending the most important concerns of private life; and particularly showing the distresses that may attend the misconduct both of parents and children in relation to marriage." Likewise compare with what follows in the quotation from the Translator's Preface Richardson's statement in the Postscript to *Clarissa* to the effect that if in a depraved age, devoid of both private and public virtues, "if in an age given up to diversion and entertainment, he could *steal in,* as may be said, and investigate the great doctrines of Christianity under the fashionable guise of an amusement," the author would be throwing in "his mite toward introducing a reformation so much wanted."

The Translator's Preface continues:

> But the instruction, I think, is not carried to it's proper extent: the scene of action is generally laid in exalted and publick life; among deep politicians and martial heroes. . . . .

But when history is reduced to our own level, and applicable to our real circumstances in life, much extensive and lasting benefit may accrue from the perusal of it; for, in the right discharge of the common duties of humanity, and in a proper conduct, either in affluent or in embarrassed or difficult circumstances, every one has an immediate and important concern; in the frailties too, and little foibles of our nature, we are all pretty equal sharers. An example, therefore, given to these purposes, that describes every different disposition of the mind, according to the variety of it's situations, and the actions naturally flowing from these dispositions; and all guarded, too, with just encomiums on the side of virtue, and severe censures and remonstrances against vice; cannot fail, I think of making a strong impression on the mind of every person not wholly lost to all sense of moral excellence, and producing some of the genuine fruits of it in his conduct.

Besides histories of this kind are generally made publick by way of entertainment; and, under that notion, even a libertine may be induced to read them with eagerness and delight; and, it is highly probable that if he goes through them with attention, and is not past all reflection and serious thought, some instance, or applicable circumstance may strike him, and tend greatly to his reformation. And what an entertainment, indeed, will they be to a sober and judicious reader, when he finds religion and virtue painted in most lovely colours, and set in every attractive light.

This last sentence is so similar in diction and sentiment to the religious discussions both in this translation[1] and in *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte*, as to suggest the probability that this Preface was written either by Mrs. Collyer or by her husband, who outlived her. Equally like Mrs. Collyer's utterances elsewhere is the paragraph on educational ideals, which follows. These discussions in the Preface make very clear the translator's personal interests and her moral intention, which appear in the interpolations and in the conclusions she supplies for Marivaux's more objective original:

The advantage, too, that these entertaining pictures of human nature may be of to youth, is very considerable. Those who have been concerned in the important business of education, must know that the love of pleasure is the most easy inlet to young minds: everything that presents itself through this channel is sure to gain a ready access; close and abstract reasoning are above their capacity; grave and serious discourses may sometimes fail of the intended effect; for (not to insist on the aversion common in young people to everything gloomy and solemn, and that is imposed as a task) it requires great exercise of thought and reflection to attend to the thread of a discourse, and conceive immediately every idea the writer or speaker would express.

[1] See above, p. 171.

But lively examples and plain matters of fact, are easily comprehended; and, the moment their understandings are informed, the affections are excited; which being free from all false biasses, are properly and exactly suited to each particular incident as it occurs to them; and thus if due care is taken to fix the application deeply in their minds, a love of virtue and an abhorrence of vice, is insensibly instilled into them, and the impressions may last for ever.

It must be acknowledged then, that a history in familiar and common life is in point of real usefulness preferable to any other; since the benefits arising from it are universal, and extend to all stations and circumstances; for even the statemen and general (in which two peculiar views mankind are commonly represented in history) cannot be said to form a complete character, without attending to the offices and duties of private life; and it is this last branch of conduct (when this history is related) that can be of real advantage to the generality, and point out anything to them capable of their imitation.

The history before us deserves to be considered as a useful piece of instruction; a lesson of nature; a true and lively picture of the human heart. . . . .

As to this translation, I have not much to offer. When I read the original, I thought it would admit of an English dress, that might do justice to the fine spirit that reigns throughout: with this view, and to give my female readers especially a piece worthy of their attention, entire, and in some measure perfect, I immediately set about it. How I have succeeded in my attempt, the publick must determine; and the encouragement it meets with will sufficiently declare their sentiments.

Reference in the last paragraph is apparently to the interpolations and conclusion supplied, which may be conceived of as making for the production of the piece "entire, and in some measure perfect." A less candid justification of these additions appears in a footnote early in the first part:

> The Paris edition, and that of the Hague of 1735, have omitted this, and several of the foregoing particulars, but for what reason we cannot imagine.[1]

This note may not be the work of the translator herself; in the Preface *I*, not *we*, is used. The date 1735 is of course incorrect; the edition was 1745. This dates the composition of the note as after that year, but not necessarily the rest of the work. I suspect the note of being an addition of much later date by a wary and sophisticated publisher.

[1] *The Virtuous Orphan* (London, 1784), p. 14.

Certain artistic and moralistic attitudes common to this Preface to the Collyer translation of *Marianne* and to some of Richardson's critical statements enforce a point which, while not new, has not, I think, been sufficiently stressed; namely, that to prove specific indebtedness on Richardson's part to the reading of Marivaux's *Marianne* is after all less significant and less possible, perhaps, than to prove that Richardson and Marivaux held similar positions in relation to literary predecessors of similar sort; that both illustrate fictional tendencies growing out of literature of other *genres* immediately preceding them, so that like results, not only in their novels, but in the works of their contemporaries, may spring from like causes of earlier date in England and in France, and not from the influence of a particular Frenchman upon his English contemporary. As indicative, then, of certain widespread influences and tendencies at work in the fiction of the Richardsonian period, the following points may be noted:

1. The Translator's Preface to the Collyer version seems to suggest the relation of *Marianne* to that drama to which I feel Richardson's work is certainly related, that is, to *Domestic Tragedy* and *Sentimental Comedy*,[1] to what Mr. Bernbaum has termed the *Drama of Sensibility*, which immediately preceded both Richardson and Marivaux. This drama Richardson quotes and cites repeatedly in *Pamela* and *Clarissa*[2] and to this drama, in France, Marivaux contributed.[3] This common background, out of which may have emerged similar effects with nothing more than a subconscious connection, I think has not been sufficiently considered. For instance, in the prologue to Rowe's *Fair Penitent* (1705), a domestic tragedy, avowedly admired by Richardson, which perhaps in the character of Lothario provided the prototype for Lovelace, appear the following lines, similar in thought and feeling to the second and third paragraphs just quoted from the Translator's Preface to *Marianne*, and to statements by Richardson quoted later:

[1] The choice of the name *Indiana* seems an echo of Steele's *Conscious Lovers*, in which the heroine of that name is also a child of mystery, identified at the end, and reunited to her family.

[2] On Richardson's relation to Rowe, especially to his *Fair Penitent*, see H. G. Ward, "Richardson's Character of Lovelace," in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VII (1912), 494–98.

[3] On Marivaux and the sentimental drama see E. Bernbaum, *The Drama of Sensibility* (Boston and London, 1915), pp. 188 ff.

Long has the fate of kings and empires been
The common business of the tragic scene,
As if misfortune made the throne her seat,
And none could be unhappy but the great.
. . . . . .
Stories like these with wonder we may hear,
But far remote and in a higher sphere,
We ne'er can pity what we ne'er can share.
. . . . . .
Therefore an humbler theme our author chose,
A melancholy tale of private woes:
. . . . . .
Who writes shou'd still let nature be his care,
Mix shades with lights, and not paint all things fair,
But shew you men and women as they are.

Moreover, just as Richardson and Marivaux may both be shown to be influenced by the *Drama of Sensibility*, just so a common indebtedness may be proved to the periodical essays, particularly to the *Spectator*. Marivaux's debt to the *Spectator* has been clearly set forth in Mr. Baldwin's study, "Marivaux's Place in Character Portrayal."[1] Richardson's familiarity with the *Spectator*, as well as with the *Tatler* and *Guardian* and with other works of Addison and Steele, is indicated by the quotations from his correspondence and from *Pamela* and *Clarissa* collected in Dr. Erich Peotzsche's dissertation.[2] This common influence Mr. Gosse suggests when he says:

The direct link between Addison as a picturesque narrative essayist and Richardson as the first great English novelist is to be found in Pierre de Marivaux (1688–1763), who imitated the *Spectator*, and who is often assumed, though somewhat too rashly, to have suggested the tone of *Pamela*.[3]

2. The passages quoted from the Translator's Preface to *Marianne* may be compared in their statement of the author's purpose with a temporary preface to one of Richardson's works—the Preface reprinted by Mr. Macaulay[4] from the beginning of the fourth volume of the first edition of *Clarissa* (1748), omitted from subsequent editions.

[1] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVII (1912), 168–87.

[2] *Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit* (Kiel, 1908), pp. 6, 46–47.

[3] *A History of Eighteenth Century Literature* (London, 1896), p. 243. (Quoted by Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 168, note.)

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 465–66.

This Preface is admittedly not by Richardson, but by "a very learned and eminent hand"; therefore I think it hardly deserves the credence Mr. Macaulay accorded it as "a definite statement made on Richardson's own authority that in the writing of *Pamela* he had been following the lead of those French writers who had at length hit upon the true secret" of making fiction improve as well as entertain. I do not believe that in this preface Richardson himself necessarily "acknowledges obligation to the way of writing in which some of the late French writers had greatly excelled," or that he ascribes not to himself but to the French "the discovery of the true secret of fiction."[1] Richardson, I believe, sincerely felt what he expressed in the much quoted letter to Aaron Hill:

> I thought the story if written in an easy and natural manner, suitable to the simplicity of it, might possibly introduce a new species of writing, that might possibly turn young people into a course of reading different from the pomp and parade of romance-writing, and dismissing the improbable and marvellous, with which novels generally abound, might tend to promote the cause of religion and virtue.[2]

But I believe that the more learned and cosmopolitan writer of his temporary preface interpreted in the light of his own wider reading the intention of the provincially minded author, while expressing views not at all unusual to his time. That this Preface was later omitted, that the comparison to French fiction was not incorporated in Richardson's own Preface or Postscript, that his correspondence (so far as it has been published) makes no reference, appreciative or hostile, to this Preface or to the ideas expressed in it, seems to me to indicate that Richardson did not necessarily value highly nor, indeed, suggest or authorize the sentiments involved.

For its similarities at certain points to the Preface to the Collyer translation of *Marianne*—both of them signs of one time, I repeat—this temporary preface is of interest to my purpose. For in this anonymous Preface to *Clarissa*, in Richardson's letter about *Pamela* to Aaron Hill, and in the Translator's Preface to *Marianne*, appear the same desire to purvey instruction in the guise of entertainment, the same emphasis on the portrayal of life and manners by reducing

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[2] Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Compare this with the quotation from the Translator's Preface.

history to the level of the readers. The temporary preface to *Clarissa* reads:

> If it may be thought reasonable to criticize the Public Taste, in what are generally supposed to be Works of mere Amusement; or modest to direct its judgment, in what is offered for its Entertainment; I would beg leave to introduce the following Sheets with a few cursory Remarks, that may lead the common Reader into some tolerable conception of the nature of this work, and the design of its Author.

It traces the corruption of public taste and moral standards through the stories of enchantment, the stories of intrigue, and finally through the heroical romances of the French. Then it goes on to say:

> At length this great People . . . . hit upon the true secret, by which alone a deviation from strict fact, in the commerce of Man, could be really entertaining to an improved mind, or useful to promote that Improvement. And this was by a faithful and chaste copy of real *Life* and *Manners:* In which some of their late Writers have greatly excelled.
>
> It was on this sensible plan, that the Author of the following Sheets attempted to please. . . . .
>
> . . . . He apprehends that, in the study of Human Nature, the knowledge of those apprehensions leads us farther into the recesses of the Human Mind, than the colder and more general reflections suited to a continued and more contracted Narrative.
>
> This is the nature and purport of his Attempt. Which, perhaps may not be so well or generally understood. For if the Reader seeks here Strange Tales, Love Stories, Heroical Adventures, or, in short, for anything but a *Faithful Picture of Nature in Private Life,* he had better be told before hand the likelihood of his being disappointed. But if he can find Use or Entertainment; either *Directions for his Conduct* or *Employment for his Piety,* in a HISTORY *of* LIFE *and* MANNERS, where, as in the world itself, we find Vice, for a time, triumphant, and Virtue in distress, an idle hour or two, we hope, may not be unprofitably lost."[1]

Compare with this final paragraph the concluding paragraphs of the Translator's Preface to *Marianne,* and the prologue to Rowe's *The Fair Penitent,* just quoted.

The Translator's Preface to *The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne* appears to me, then, an interesting piece of literary criticism of the Richardsonian period, indicating a current popular view of Marivaux's novel, and revealing, as do Richardson's prefaces (both those of his own writing and the temporary one just quoted)

[1] Macaulay, *op. cit.,* pp. 465–66.

a well-developed attitude toward fiction of that period, an attitude of which *Pamela* and *Clarissa* were perhaps the full expressions and not the initial inspiration. These documents indicate the deliberate acceptance of the novel as a moral, democratic force, setting forth the popular philosophy of the day—a strange compound of Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hume, devoted to the doctrine of the rewards of innate virtue and the harmony of a divinely created universe.[1]

For the student of English fiction, then, what are the conclusions to be drawn from the known facts about the translations of *Marianne*?

1. That before the publication of *Clarissa* at least three translated versions of *Marianne* were at hand. Of the first one (which appeared in parts in 1736, 1737, 1742) the first two volumes, available before the publication of *Pamela*, probably contained only the first six parts of the story. That this translation continued on sale long after the appearance of the second translation is evidenced by its advertisement among "Books Sold by C. Davis. Octavo. Duodecimo.," in the back of Lockman's translation of Marivaux's *Pharsamond* in 1750. The second translation—which I believe to be the work of Mary Collyer—probably appeared first at some time between 1737 and 1743 under the title *The Virtuous Orphan; Or, the Life of Marianne;* and in 1746 under the title *The Life and Adventures of Indiana, the Virtuous Orphan.* Both titles reappear in the later editions, as attested by Bent: the former reappeared in a reprint in Harrison's "Novelists' Magazine" in 1784; the latter was known to Clara Reeve and was described by her in 1785. *The Virtuous Orphan* is vaguely referred to in the periodicals of 1767 and 1768. Apparently, therefore, quite apart from the wide reading it had in French among the more cosmopolitan of the English reading-public, Marivaux's

[1] Miss Schröers points out (*op. cit.*, p. 252) that Marivaux was not without some moralistic intention: "Richardson mit seinem strengen, puritanischen ansichten liess deutlicher als Marivaux die moralische seite seines werkes hervortreten. Aber jene kritiker haben unrecht, die beweisen wollen, das Marivaux in *Marianne* absolut nicht an einen moralischen zweck dachte. Er drückt sich in klaren worten über seine absichten aus: 'Si vous (les lecteurs) regardez *La Vie de Marianne* comme un Roman . . . votre critique est juste; il y a trop de réflexions, et ce n'est pas là la forme ordinaire des Romans, ou des Histoires faites simplement pour divertir. Mais Marianne n'a point songé à faire un Roman non plus' [*La Vie de Marianne* par Marivaux. Avertissement, 2nde partie, tome I^re]."

novel must have had an extensive vogue in translated form, since no canny publisher of any time would risk the duplication of current translations unless the demand very obviously justified such an augmentation of the supply.

2. It seems legitimate to argue, quite apart from the question of Richardson's indebtedness to his reading of *Marianne*, that though the germinal idea of *Pamela* originated at an early date in a veritable situation, yet the method of treating it might have been influenced, perhaps even unconsciously to the author, by the current interest in bourgeois psychology which was stimulated by the wide reading of *Marianne*.[1] In similar fashion, Richardson's use of the epistolary method was doubtless the result of the current interest in letter-writing in various forms and the popularity of previous experiments for purposes of fiction by Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Manley, Mrs. Haywood, and others. That Richardson should have felt the backwash from literary currents which he himself had not directly perceived is not incredible. Just as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is not the first but the greatest of a long line of allegories, French and English, several of which resemble it in essential particulars, but to none of which specific indebtedness has been proved, so Richardson's "new species of writing" may well have been the spontaneous result of antecedent conditions unaffected by conscious borrowing or imitation.

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[1] As indication of the effect upon even minor fiction of the tone and method of *Marianne* I quote a paragraph from a review of *The History of Cornelia*, a novel attributed to Mrs. Sarah Scott:

"The author of Cornelia has distinguished his attempt to gratify the taste of mankind for works of imagination, from most authors, by the graver turn of his performance. In this, as well as several of the incidents he affects an imitation of *Marianne;* but has unfortunately carried his seriousness too far. For the history of *Marianne*, tho' grave, is not stiff; and tho' serious, not formal, but an agreeable vein of freedom and good humor runs through the whole, and sets it at an equal distance from what is loose and trifling on the one hand and dull and pedantic on the other" (*Mon. Rev.*, III [May, 1750], 59)

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NEW FACTS ABOUT GEORGE TURBERVILE

I

In the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) Puttenham praises George Turbervile thus:

> In her Maiesties time that now is are sprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maiesties owne seruauntes, who haue written excellently well . . . . of which number is first that noble Gentleman *Edward* Earle of Oxford. *Thomas* Lord of Bukhurst, ... *Henry* Lord Paget, Sir *Philip Sydney*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Master *Edward Dyar*, Maister *Fulke Greuell*, *Gascon*, *Britton*, *Turberuille* and a great many other learned Gentlemen.[1]

In Book III, chap. xxii, Puttenham remarks:

> The historiographer that should by such wordes report of these two kings [Henry VIII and Philip] gestes in that behalfe, should greatly blemish the honour of their doings and almost speake vntruly and iniuriously by way of abbasement, as another of our bad rymers that very indecently said.
>
> *A misers mynde thou hast, thou hast a Princes pelfe.*
>
> A lewd terme to be giuen to a Princes treasure (*pelfe*). . . . . These and such other base wordes do greatly disgrace the thing and the speaker or writer.[2]

The phrase greatly provoked him, for in the following chapter he takes occasion to say: "Another of our vulgar makers, spake as illfaringly in this verse written to the dispraise of a rich man and couetous. Thou hast a misers minde (thou hast a princes pelfe) a

[1] Arber's reprint, p. 75 (Book I, chap. xxxi). [2] *Ibid.*, p. 266.

lewde terme to be spoken of a princes treasure, which in no respect nor for any cause is to be called pelfe, though it were neuer so meane."[1]

Koeppel was the first, I think, to point out that Puttenham had quoted Turbervile's[2] lines, "Of a ritch Miser." They are:

A MISERS minde thou hast
thou hast a princes pelfe;
Which makes thee welthy to thine heire,
a beggar to thy selfe.

Koeppel[3] naturally concluded that Puttenham had here nullified his former praise of Turbervile, and Seccombe, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, follows him by remarking that after Puttenham had praised Turbervile he then called him a "bad rhymer." This would have been an extraordinary proceeding, and the truth is that Puttenham had probably never read the lines in Turbervile's *Epitaphes*, but, by the phrases "another of our bad rymers" and "another of our vulgar makers," intended to condemn Timothy Kendall, a writer both bad and vulgar, who in his *Flowers of Epigrammes, out of sundrie the moste singular authours selected, as well auncient as late writers* (1577) prints these verses verbatim, without acknowledgment to Turbervile, as being translated "out of Greek."

Kendall's plagiarisms are almost unbelievably impudent. Various writers have already pointed out the appearance of verses by Turbervile in the *Flowers of Epigrammes* (Seccombe himself does so), but I doubt whether the extent of Kendall's plagiarisms has been realized. In the following list, which includes all the important borrowings, Kendall's epigram is first named, its equivalent in Turbervile's *Epitaphes* is then given, and Kendall's method of treating the stolen verses is briefly indicated:[4]

EPIGRAMS SAID BY KENDALL TO BE TRANSLATED FROM AUSONIUS

1. Kendall's "To one that painted Eccho" (p. 116) = Turbervile's "To one that painted Eccho" (p. 177). Almost verbatim.

[1] Arber's reprint, p. 281. Gregory Smith (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 421) referring to the lines quoted by Puttenham remarks: "This may be Heywood's: but I have failed to find it."

[2] In his *Epitaphes, Epigrams*, etc., J. P. Collier's reprint, p. 214.

[3] "George Turbervile's Verhältnis zur italienischen Litteratur," *Anglia*, N.F., XIII, 70–71.

[4] The page references are to the Spenser Society's reprint (1874) of the *Flowers of Epigrammes* and to Collier's reprint (1870?) of the *Epitaphes*.

2. "Of a Hare taken by a Dog-fishe" (p. 117) = "Of a Hare complayning of the hatred of Dogs" (p. 177). Verbatim.

3. "The same otherwise" (i.e., "Of Venus in armour," p. 120) = "Of Venus in Armour" (p. 176). Verbatim. By a typographical error Turbervile's lines begin "In complete Pallas saw," instead of "In complete armour Pallas saw," and Kendall did not correct the error!

4. "Of the picture of Rufus a vaine Rhethoritian, of whom there is an Epigram before" (p. 120 [he refers to an epigram on p. 115, "Of the Picture of Rufus, a vaine Rhethorician," which he also gives under Ausonius, but which was no doubt suggested by Turbervile]) = "Of the picture of a vaine Rhetorician" (p. 151). Verbatim. Kendall gives two further epigrams on Rufus immediately after this, each of which is dreadfully stupid; both, I feel sure, were suggested entirely by Turbervile's epigram.

EPIGRAMS SAID BY KENDALL TO BE TRANSLATED "OUT OF GREEK"

5. "Of a Thracian lad" (p. 137) = "Of a Thracyan that was drownde by playing on the Ise" (p. 195). Kendall has "that swam" and "bare" for Turbervile's "it swam" and "bore"; otherwise he quotes verbatim.

6. "Fayned frendship" (p. 139) = "Of an open Foe and a fayned Friend" (p. 213). Kendall borrows the first four lines almost verbatim; Turbervile's epigram has four other lines, for which Kendall substitutes eight, and these eight paraphrase, not only the four omitted lines, but also another epigram by Turbervile on the same subject ("Againe") that immediately follows on p. 214.

7. "Against stepdames" (p. 140) = "Of the cruell hatred of Stepmothers" (p. 189). A close paraphrase; cf. No. 16, below.

8. "A controuersie betwene Fortune and Venus" (p. 140) = "A Controversie of a conquest in Love twixt Fortune and Venus" (p. 110). Verbatim. Kendall has another epigram on this subject immediately preceding the foregoing (p. 140), suggested by, and a paraphrase of, Turbervile's lines.

9. "To one, hauying a long nose" (p. 144) = "Of one that had a great Nose" (p. 149). Turbervile's first two lines, "Stande with thy nose against/ the sunne with open chaps," Kendall renders as "Stand with thy snoute against the sunne,/ and open wide thy chaps"; he quotes the other two lines verbatim.

10. "Of a deaf Iudge, a deaf plaintife, and a deaf defendant" (p. 144) = "Of a deafe Plaintife, a deafe Defendant, and a deafe Judge" (p. 132). Turbervile's first sixteen lines are borrowed almost verbatim; for his last twelve Kendall substituted two of his own, which make the epigram (so-called) pointless and the title senseless.

11. "Against one very deformed" (p. 145) = "Of a marvellous deformed man" (p. 152). A close paraphrase.

12. "Otherwise [of drunkennesse]" (p. 146) = "Of Dronkennesse" (p. 151). Verbatim.

13. "Againe of the same [dronkennesse]" (p. 147) = "Againe of Dronkennesse" (p. 151). Verbatim.

14. "Of a rich miser" (p. 147) = "Of a ritch Miser" (p. 214). Verbatim. This is the bad rhyme condemned (and quite justly) by Puttenham.

15. "Of Asclepiades, a greedie carle" (p. 148) = "Of a covetous Niggard, and a needie Mouse" (p. 128). Verbatim, but Kendall omits Turbervile's last four lines.

EPIGRAM SAID BY KENDALL TO BE TRANSLATED FROM THEODORUS BEZA VEZELIUS

16. "Against stepdames" (p. 164) = "Againe [of the cruell hatred of Stepmothers]" (p. 189). Paraphrased; cf. No. 7, above.

Turbervile was the greatest sufferer at the hands of this "vulgar maker," who also, however, plagiarized from Sir Thomas Elyot, Grimald, and the Earl of Surrey.[1]

II

Turbervile's works have never been given in correct order, though to do so requires little more than an attentive reading of his poems and prefaces. And this order must be established before any biographical sketch of the poet can hope to be accurate. Among the poems prefixed to his *Tragical Tales*, the extant edition of which is dated 1587, is one entitled "The Authour here declareth the cause why hee wrote these Histories, and forewent the translation of the learned Poet Lucan." In this we are told that Melpomene appeared to the poet, rebuked him for his attempt to translate Lucan, and advised him to follow her sister Clio only; for

Shee deales in case of liking loue,
her lute is set but lowe:
And thou wert wonte in such deuise,
thine humour to bestow.
1 As when thou toldest the Shepheards tale
that Mantuan erst had pend:
2 And turndst those letters into verse,
that louing Dames did send
Vnto their lingring mates, that fought
at sacke and siege of Troy:

[1] Cf. *England's Parnassus*, ed. C. Crawford, Oxford, 1913, p. 485.

3 And as thou didst in writing of
thy Songs of sugred ioy.
4 Mancynus vertues fitter are,
for thee to take in hande,
Than glitering gleaues, and wreakfull warres,
that all on slaughter stand.

According to this list, then, before the *Tragical Tales* appeared Turbervile had already written four works, whose titles in extant copies run:

1. *The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan*, Turned into English Verse, & set forth with the Argument to euery Egloge by George Turbervile Gent. Anno. 1567. . . . . Imprinted at London in Pater noster Rowe, at the signe of the Marmayde, by Henrie Bynneman.

2. *The Heroycall Epistles of the Learned Poet Publius Ouidius Naso*, In Englishe Verse: set out and translated by George Turberuile Gent. With Aulus Sabinus Aunsweres to certaine of the same. Anno Domini 1567. Imprinted at London, by Henry Denham.

3. *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, with a Discourse of the Friendly affections of Tymetes to Pyndara his Ladie. Newly corrected, with additions, and set out by George Turberuile, Gentleman. Anno Domini 1567. Imprinted at London, by Henry Denham.

4. *The Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue:* Deuised and found out by Mancinus a Latin Poet, and translated into English by G. Turberville Gentleman. . . . . Imprinted at London in Knight-rider streate, by Henry Bynneman, for Leonard Maylard. Anno 1568. [Title from Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 1867, p. 368.][1]

It by no means follows, however, that these works were written and published in this order.

Clearly enough, as Collier first pointed out, there was an earlier edition of the *Epitaphes* than that of 1567.[2] The title-page announces that the work is "newly corrected, with additions," and this is corroborated by the dedicatory epistle "To the Right Noble and his singular good Lady, Lady Anne, Countesse Warwick," in which Turbervile wrote: "As at what time (Madame) I first published this fond and slender treatise of Sonets, I made bolde with you in dedication of so unworthy a booke to so worthie a Ladie," now I have increased "my former follie, in adding moe Sonets to those I wrote

[1] Leonard Maylarde registered "a boke intituled *a playne path Waye to perfyete vertu &c*" late in 1567 or early in 1568 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 357).

[2] *Bibliographical Account of the Rarest Books*, II, 447. A fragment of what is supposed to be a copy of this first edition is said still to be extant.

before. . . . . " It is impossible to tell what poems were in the original edition and what were later added; it is practically certain, however, that the *Epitaphes* was published after Barnaby Googe's *Epitaphes and Sonnets* appeared (March 15, 1563/64), for Googe's work deeply influenced Turbervile, who refers to it several times in his own *Epitaphes*.[1] Turbervile's epitaphs on Arthur Broke, who supposedly died in 1563, and on Sir John Tregonwell, who died in January, 1564/65, probably were written for the first edition of the *Epitaphes*, which, it seems safe to assume, was published in or after 1565.

The so-called first edition of the *Heroycall Epistles* was published, as a separate colophon at the end of the book states, on March 19, 1567,[2] that is, 1567/68; but in a dedicatory letter "To the Right Honorable and his Singular good Lord, Lord Tho. Hovvarde Vicount Byndon," Turbervile declares that these epistles "are the first fruites of his trauaile," while "To the Reader" he writes: "May be that if thou shewe thy selfe friendly in well accepting this prouision, thou shalt be inuited to a better banquet in time at my hands," evidently a reference to a projected edition of his *Epitaphes*. Evidence is at hand to prove the truth of Turbervile's statement that the *Epistles* preceded the *Epitaphes*. In the 1567 edition of the latter there is an address "To the Reader" which may have belonged to the original edition, and which says: "Here have I (gentle Reader) according to promise in my Translation [i.e., in the *Heroycall Epistles*], given thee a fewe Sonets"; and at the beginning of the work appear also lines addressed "To the rayling Route of Sycophants," in which after objecting to the criticisms that have been leveled at his work, Turbervile says:

> For Ovid earst did I attempt the like,
> And for my selfe now shall I stick to strike?

[1] E.g., his verses called "Maister Googe his sonet of the paines of Loue" (p. 14), "Mayster Googe his Sonet" (p. 19), "Maister Googes fansie" (p. 205), "To Maister Googe his Sonet out of sight out of thought" (p. 222).

[2] Collier, *op. cit.*, II, 71; Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 1867, *s.v.* "Ovid." The copy (formerly owned by F. Locker-Lampson) in the Huntington Library, New York, also has this colophon. The colophon in the Harvard College Library copy does not have the words "Mar. 19": both the title-page and the colophon of this copy have been mended, and the address to the sycophants, signs. X 2–X 3, has been bound in after sign. A 8 *b*. But the Harvard copy seems to belong to the same edition as do those dated "Mar. 19, 1567."

Though thou [sycophant] affirme with rash and railing jawes
That I *invita* have Minerva made
My other booke, I gave thee no such cause
By any deede of mine to drawe thy blade.

This "other booke" was certainly the *Heroycall Epistles*, and it likewise has eleven six-line stanzas called "The Translator to the captious sort of Sycophants," which were probably not included in the first issue.

The Stationers' Registers, too, offer proof that the *Epistles* had appeared before 1567/68; for about July, 1566, Henry Denham (the publisher of the extant 1567/68 edition) licensed for publication "a boke intituled *the fyrste epestle of Ovide*,"[1] a day or two later licensed *An epestle of Ovide beynge the iiij*th *epestle &c*,[2] and about January, 1566/67, paid twelve pence "for his lycense for ye pryntinge of *the Reste of the Epestles of Ovide*."[3] If Denham had printed the book immediately after securing this last license, it would have appeared several months before the 1567 edition of the *Epitaphes*, which was registered for publication about March, 1566/67;[4] and that he did actually print the *Epistles*, in part or in whole, at this time is certain; for otherwise Turbervile's remark in the preface to the 1567 edition of the *Epitaphes*—"Here have I . . . . according to promise in my Translation, given thee a few Sonets"—would be senseless. If his words are to be interpreted literally, the preface to the *Epistles* shows that this book, containing all his translations, preceded the first issue of the *Epitaphes*, and hence may have appeared by 1565; but it is possible that the address to Lord Howard was printed in the "boke intituled *the fyrste epestle of Ovide*," which Denham licensed, and may have published separately, in July, 1566, and that the first edition of the *Epitaphes* appeared shortly after this date, but before the *Epistles* were published in collected form.[5] The extant edition of the *Heroycall Epistles* dated March, 1567/68, at any rate cannot be the first edition.

[1] Arber's *Transcript*, I, 328.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 329. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 335. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 338.

[5] There would have been nothing unusual in so issuing one of Turbervile's books twice in a year. They were all extremely popular. The *Epitaphes*, e.g., were printed in 1565?, 1567, 1570, 1579, 1584; the *Heroycall Epistles*, 1567/68, 1569, 1570?, 1600, 1605; the *Eglogs*, 1567, 1572, 1577, 1594, 1597.

Turbervile's *Eglogs*, too, may have been printed in two or more instalments, for Henry Bynneman (the publisher of the first extant edition) secured a "lycense for pryntinge of *the fyrste iiij*^{or} *eggloges of Mantuan &c*" about January, 1566/67,[1] and about March of the same year a "lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled *the Rest of the eggleges of Mantuan.*"[2] It is more probable, however, that to protect his title from pirate printers, Bynneman licensed this work as the translation progressed and that immediately after he secured the last license the entire work was first published. In an address to the reader prefixed to the *Eglogs*, Turbervile remarks: "Having translated this Poet (gentle Reader) although basely and with barren pen, [I] thought it not good nor friendly to wythhold it from thee: knowing of olde thy wonted curtesie in perusing Bookes, and discretion in iudging them without affection," a remark which substantiates the statement that his first two works had appeared "of olde"—one or two years earlier.[3] Turbervile's *Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue*, translated from Mancinus, appeared in 1568; the book is not accessible to me, and I am unaware what light it may throw on these vexing bibliographical matters.

In 1567 Turbervile, then the most important professional poet in London, contributed complimentary verses to Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin*, a work which no doubt suggested the compilation of *Tragical Tales, translated by Tvrbervile, In time of his troubles, out of sundrie Italians.* The only extant copies of this work were "imprinted at London by Abell Ieffs, dwelling in the Forestreete without Crepelgate at the signe of the Bel. Anno Dom. 1587."[4] The nature of Turbervile's troubles will be discussed later; here it must be shown that the book appeared

[1] Arber's *Transcript*, I, 334. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

[3] The *Eglogs*, dated 1567, seems actually to have come from the press shortly after the new year began (on March 25); so that it preceded by almost a year the March 19, 1567/68, edition of the *Heroycall Epistles*—another reason why that cannot be considered the *first* edition.

[4] The "tragical tales" are ten in number, seven being translated from Boccaccio, two from Bandello, and one from an unknown source. The book is considerably lengthened by a number of miscellaneous poems, for which a separate title-page is provided: "Epitaphes and Sonnettes annexed to the Tragical histories, By the *Author*. With some other broken pamphlettes and Epistles, sent to certaine his frends in England, at his *being in Moscouia*. Anno 1569. *Omnia probate. Quod bonum est tenete.*"

The book was reprinted at Edinburgh, 1837 (fifty copies only)—a careful reprint, according to Collier's *Bibl. Account*, II, 452; "very incorrectly" reprinted, according to Hazlitt's *Handbook* (1867), p. 617—and my references are to this reprint.

between 1574 and 1575. It may be remarked, first of all, that from June, 1568, to September, 1569, Turbervile was in Russia; most of the poems published in the *Tales* were, as will be shown, written after his return to England.

Prefixed to the *Tales* are verses (already referred to) in which the poet explains why he "forewent the translation of the learned Poet Lucan":

I had begonne that hard attempt,
to turne that fertile soyle.
My bullocks were alreadie yokte,
and flatly fell to toyle.
Me thought they laboured meetlie well,
tyll on a certaine night

Melpomene appeared to him, advised him to continue to follow Clio, and rebuked his presumption thus:

How durst thou deale in field affaires?
leaue off, vnyoke thy steeres.
Let loftie Lucans verse alone.[1]

Now in Thomas Blener-Hasset's prefatory epistle, dated May 15, 1577, to the second part of the *Mirror for Magistrates* occurs this passage: "But how hard a thing it is to compell *Clio*, with her boysterous banners, to couch vnder the compasse of a few metered lines, I referre you vnto the good *Turberuile*, who so soone as he began to take the terrible treatise of *Lucan* in hand, he was inforst to vnyoke his steeres, and to make holy day."[2] From this Koeppel rightly decided that the *Tales* had appeared before May, 1577, and referred also to a note in Malone's copy of the *Tales* (1587 edition, now in the Bodleian), which runs: "There was a former edition of the Tales in 1576."[3] There may actually have been an edition of 1576[4]

[1] This clumsy figure was probably suggested by an explanation in Googe's *Zodiake of Life* (1560) of why he (Googe) gave up the translation of Lucan urged by Melpomene. See Arber's reprint, 1871, of Googe's *Eglogs*, p. 7.

[2] *Mirror for Magistrates* (ed. J. Haslewood, 1815), I, 348. Haslewood noted that Blener-Hasset was quoting Turbervile's own words.

[3] Koeppel, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–49. Seccombe, in the *D.N.B.*, apparently considers the 1587 edition the first and only edition.

[4] The existence of this 1576 edition has generally been assumed, e.g., by Wood-Bliss, *Athen. Oxon.*, I, 627; by Hutchins, *Dorset*, 1861, I, 196; by Chalmers, *Works of the English Poets*, I, 578; and by Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, 1834, II, 1839, following *Censura Literaria*, 2d ed., I, 318, where the existence of such an edition is merely taken for granted. Collier (*Bibl. Account*, II, 450) claimed to have a fragmentary copy of an edition apparently older than that of 1587, but strangely enough made no effort to establish its date.

(though Malone probably thought so because of Blener-Hasset's remark), but the book was certainly written and published before 1575.

The ten tragical tales were, the title-page informs us, "translated by Turbervile, In time of his troubles," and his troubles were (as he thought!) over in 1575, for in the dedication of his *Booke of Faulconrie*,[1] published in that year, he addressed the Earl of Warwick as follows:

> Had leysure answered my meaning, and sicknesse giuen but some reasonable time of truce sithence my late troubles, I had ere this in Englishe verse published, vnder the protection of your noble name the haughtie woorke of learned *Lucane*. . . . . But occasions breaking off my purposes, & disease cutting my determinations therein, am now driuen to a newe matter . . . . and forced to fall from haughtye warres, to hie fleeing Hawkes . . . . yet for that it best fitteth a melancholike heade, surcharged with pensiue and sullen humors, my earnest sute must be for good acceptance at your honors hands.

This passage, with its reference to "my late troubles" and to the abandonment of the translation of Lucan, proves beyond all doubt that the *Booke of Faulconrie* appeared after the *Tragical Tales*. Had biographers actually read Turbervile's work, this fact would long ago have been established.

The other limit of the appearance of the *Tales* can be fairly well established by an examination of the "Epitaphes and Sonnettes annexed to the Tragical histories." Three of the poems there printed are said to be poetical epistles written by Turbervile from Russia in 1569. Among the others there are three that can be used in dating the book: one of these is an elegy on "The right noble Lord, William, Earle Pembroke his death," and the other two lament the death of Henry Sydenham and of Giles Bampfild. Pembroke died on March 17, 1569/70; the other elegies inform us that Sydenham and Bampfild were drowned in "Irishe streame" while with the army of the Earl of Essex, and this places their death in 1573.[2] The

[1] *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hauking*, for the Onely Delight and pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen: Collected out of the best aucthors, as well Italians as Frenchmen, and some English practises withall concernyng Faulconrie. . . . . By George Turberuile Gentleman. . . . . Imprinted at London for Christopher Barker, at the signe of the Grashopper in Paules Churchyarde. Anno. 1575."

[2] According to the *D.N.B.* Essex sailed with his army from Liverpool on July 19, 1573, and Turbervile tells us that his friends were drowned in a storm before the army had disembarked.

Tragical Tales, then, must have been published about 1574, not long before the *Booke of Faulconrie*. Unfortunately the Stationers' Registers for this period are lost.

There is still further proof for the priority of the *Tales* to the *Faulconrie*. Not only is the *Faulconrie* omitted in Melpomene's list of books published by Turbervile,[1] but in complimentary verses prefixed to the *Tales*, Robert Baynes prophesies:

> The same who vewes, shall find his lines, with learned reason dight.
> And as to elder age, his stayed braine shall grow:
> So falling from, his riper penne, more graue conceites may flow,

verses which if written in 1587 would have been absolutely ridiculous. Furthermore, in verses prefixed to the *Faulconrie*, Baynes refers specifically to the ten tragical histories:

> The Booke so done, as neede no whit, the wryters name empare.
> VVhose noted skill so knowne, whose penne so had in price,
> As credite yeeldes, eche worke of his, that falles from his deuice.
> Among the which, though this doth differ from his lore:
> From grauer stuffe a pause it is, to sharpe his wittes the more.

Some of the "Sonnettes" printed in the last part of the *Tales* seem to have been composed in Russia, and one of them, "A farewell to a mother Cosin, at his going towardes Moscouia," claims to have been written in June, 1568. It was natural that Turbervile should have collected these older poems and added them to his newer poems in 1574 to fill out the volume of translated tales.[2]

Turbervile's other work of this period was "*The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hvnting*. . . . . Translated and collected for the pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen, out of the best approued Authors." The book has no imprint,[3] but the dedication to Sir Henry Clinton is signed by C[hristopher] B[arker], a distinguished printer. "The Translator to the Reader," also unsigned, is dated June 16, 1575.

[1] This list, from the *Tales*, is quoted on pp. 516–17, above.

[2] *Censura Literaria*, 2d ed., I, 318, informs us (and has the usual number of followers) that "to the latter edition [i.e., of 1587, an earlier edition of 1576 being assumed] of the Tales were annexed 'Epitaphs and Sonets.'" This is absurd: even Turbervile would hardly have added epitaphs on men who had been dead for fifteen years.

[3] This at least is the case with the facsimile reprint issued in the "Tudor and Stuart Library," Oxford, 1908; but the copy formerly in the Hoe Library (*Catalogue*, IV, 295) had the imprint, "Imprinted by Henry Bynneman, for Christopher Barker."

The work, however, is everywhere attributed to Turbervile,[1] and is usually found bound with his *Booke of Faulconrie.* With this book Turbervile's literary career may have come to an end; there is no proof that he wrote anything more, although various later works have been attributed to him. These attributions will not be discussed here.

III

The "troubles" to which Turbervile so often refers have aroused some interest in his biographers, although no one has attempted to show what his troubles were. The *Tragical Tales,* not content with informing us on the title-page that it was written "in time of his troubles," constantly reminds us of them. The dedication, "To the Worshipfull his louing brother, Nicholas Turberuile, Esquire," declares that "these few Poeticall parers [*sic*], and pensiue Pamphlets" are "the ruful records of my former trauel, in the sorowful sea of my late misaduentures: which hauing the more spedily by your carefull and brotherly endeuour, ouerpassed and escaped, could not but offer you this treatise in lieu of a more large liberalitie." Then in a long epistle "To his verie friend Ro. Baynes," Turbervile remarks:

> VVherein if ought vnworth the presse thou finde
> Vnsauorie, or that seemes vnto thy taste,
> Impute it to the troubles of my minde,
> Whose late mishap made this be hatcht in haste,
> By clowdes of care best beauties be defaste.

He also adds that

> in my life I neuer felt such fittes,
> As whilst I wrote this worke did daunt my wittes.

Even to Melpomene he announces that

> late mishaps haue me bereft
> my rimes of roisting ioye:
> Syth churlish fortune clouded hath
> my glee, with mantell blacke,
> Of foule mischaunce, wherby my barke
> was like to bide the wracke.

[1] H. G. Aldis (*Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, IV, 389) says: "It was at the instance and expense of Christopher Barker that Turbervile undertook the compilation of *The noble arte of venerie or hunting* (1575), the publisher himself seeking out and procuring works of foreign writers for the use of the compiler."

The troubles to which Turbervile referred were, as I have shown, over by 1575. And what were they? Not sickness, for the dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Warwick shows that sickness followed, but was not a part of, his troubles. Nor had they begun as early as 1568. By that time Turbervile had attained great prominence as a poet, and in 1568 he was chosen by Randolph as secretary for the embassy to Russia, a post of some honor. If, however, Turbervile's "Farewell to a mother Cosin," a poem in the *Tales*, was actually written before he left for Russia, he was either deliberately feigning melancholy or else his troubles had begun. To his mother he writes that "cruel fortune will never smile on me," "my country coast would never allow me one good luck," "I have spent all my years in study, and yet have never got a better chance."

Sith I haue livde so long,
and neuer am the neere,
To bid my natiue soile farewel,
I purpose for a yeere.
And more perhaps if neede
and present cause require.

It seems more probable that this poem was composed after Turbervile had returned to England, for there is certainly no trace of sorrow or melancholy or trouble in the other poetical letters that he sent from Russia to various English friends.[1]

After reading the woebegone love songs that are added to the *Tales*, one might be tempted to believe that Turbervile's troubles were only those of the heart. One, for example, begins:

Wounded with loue, and piercing deep desire
Of your faire face, I left my natiue land.[2]

Others have such titles as "That though he may not possible come or send, yet he liues mindfull of his mistresse in Moscouia"[3] and "To one whom he had long loued, and at last was refused without cause,

[1] According to Randolph's own account of the embassy (in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1589, pp. 339 ff.), he had about forty in his company, "of which the one halfe were Gentlemen, desirous to see the world." It was probably a spirit of adventure that led Turbervile to accompany Randolph. He can hardly have been having any deep-rooted trouble when he could stop his metrical tale of woe to assure his mother:

"Put case the snow be thicke,/and winter frostes be great:
I doe not doubt but I shal finde/a stoue to make me sweat!"

[2] Page 315.

[3] Page 302.

and one imbraced that least deserued it."[1] In many of his poems Turbervile is frankly, or better, naïvely, autobiographical; but at the end of the *Tragical Tales* he takes occasion explicitly to warn his readers against misinterpreting these love poems, adding "The Authors excuse for writing these and other Fancies, with promise of grauer matter hereafter." "My prime," he says, "prouokt my hasty idle quil To write of loue, when I did meane no ill." Ovid, whose every "leafe of loue the title eke did beare," encouraged him; and besides, he lived in the Inns of Court among sundry gallants who were victims of love,

> And being there, although my minde were free,
> Yet must I seeme loue wounded eke to be.

Many of these gallants, he continues, had persuaded him to write poems for them to send to their own mistresses, until

> So many were the matters, as at last
> The whole vnto a hansome volume grewe:
> Then to the presse they must in all the hast,
> Maugre my beard, my mates would haue it so.

He concludes with the assurance that "I meane no more with loues deuise to deale."[2]

Evidently, then, hopeless love was not Turbervile's trouble—but it would be interesting to know what share his wife had in his penning this public apology. For when the *Tales* was published Turbervile was certainly married. In a jingle called "To his Friend Nicholas Roscarock, to induce him to take a Wife," Turbervile writes that since his own "raging prime is past" he is now sending an epistle which

> toucheth mariage vow,
> An order which my selfe haue entred now.

If I had known this sacred yoke earlier, he says,

> Good faith, I would not wasted so my prime
> In wanton wise, and spent an idle time

as "my London mates" still do. Koeppel was pleased by this letter, because it made him feel that happier days came to the poet after

[1] Page 336.

[2] In his preface "To the Reader" in the *Epitaphes* (1567) Turbervile had made a similar disclaimer: "By meere fiction of these fantasies, I woulde warne (if I myghte) all tender age to flee that fonde and filthie affection of poysoned and unlawful love." He admits, however, "my selfe am of their yeares and disposition."

his marriage: "Das klingt uns nach den vielen klagen T.'s tröstlich zu ohren und lässt uns hoffen, dass auf seinen weiteren lebensweg, der sich unseren blicken entzieht, manch freundliches licht gefallen sein wird."[1] But Turbervile had evidently found an old proverb true: he was complaining of his troubles just after he had married! Unhappily for Koeppel's theory, furthermore, instead of expressing only delight with marriage, in verses that follow those quoted above, Turbervile writes like a confirmed woman-hater and a cynic. You may not wish to marry, he tells Roscarock, until you find a maiden who is "both yoong and faire, with wealth and goods," but that is foolish:

> Be rulde by me, let giddy fansie go,
> Imbrace a wife, with wealth and coyne enough:
> Force not the face, regard not feature so,
> An aged grandame that maintains the plough,
> And brings thee bags, is woorth a thousand peates
> That pranck their pates, and liue by Spanish meates.

It is to be hoped that, however hard looking Mrs. Turbervile may have been, she at least brought heavy bags to her troubled husband.[2]

But not all the blame for the poet's "fittes" can be thrown on his wife. It is possible that he was suspected of complicity in the Northern Rebellion of 1569. One thinks, in this connection, of the epitaph Turbervile wrote on William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, a nobleman whose alleged sympathy for the rebel earls led to his ruin. Furthermore, Turbervile may have been a Catholic, as the State Papers of the period are full of references to Dorsetshire Turberviles who were summoned before the Privy Council to answer charges of nonconformity; and this alone would have brought him into suspicion. Some probability is added to this conjecture by the obvious anxiety Turbervile showed, in his dedication of the *Book of Falconry*, to stay under the protection of the Earl of Warwick, who in September, 1573,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

[2] Nobody can doubt that this is one of Turbervile's autobiographical poems. He was evidently intimately acquainted with Roscarock, who, according to the "Authors Epilogue" (*Tales*, pp. 401–2), was responsible for the publication of the book:

> "Roscarockes warrant shal suffise,/who likte the writing so,
> As did embolden me to let/the leaues at large to goe.
> If il succeede, the blame was his/who might haue kept it backe:
> And frendly tolde me that my booke/his due deuise did lacke."

had been made a member of the Privy Council. However this be, I can point out two happenings that might well have "troubled" our poet.

The first is sufficiently explained by this entry in the *Acts of the Privy Council*[1] for March 29, 1571:

A letter to the Vicount Bindon and others, &c., Justices of Peax in the countie of Dorset, where the Quenes Majestie by her owne letters signified that her pleasure was they shuld cause certaine nombers of men to be in redines to serve upon further warning to be gyven unto them, and also were by letters amonges other thinges advertised from their Lordships that her plesure was they shuld make choise of such fit persons to have the leading of them as for their experience and other qualities agreable thereunto might be thought hable to take such a charge upon them; forasmuch as they are informed that contrary to her Majesties expectation and their order they have made choise for the leading of one hundred soldiours as well of one Hughe Bampfild, a man besides his old yeres farre unfitte to take such a charge upon him, having not ben imploied in like service, as also of George Turbervile, who hath ben alwaies from his youth, and still is, gyven to his boke and studie and never exercised in matters of warre; lyke as they can not but finde it strainge that emongest such a nomber of fitt men as they know are to be found out in that countie they wold committe the same to persons farre unfitte for that purpose, so they are required to make sume better choise for the furniture of her Majesties service, or els to signifie why they can not do so, to thintent they may upon knowledge thereof take such furder order for the supply of their wantes as they shall find convenient.

Hugh Bampfild, here described as old and unfit for military service, was Turbervile's uncle, and to him the poet, in terms of great respect and affection, had dedicated the *Eglogs*. It is easy to see how the order of the Privy Council would deeply have humiliated Turbervile, and his abortive attempt at a soldier's life no doubt caused him to abandon the translation of Lucan's warlike poem. The deaths of Giles Bampfild—perhaps the son of Hugh and a cousin of the poet[2]—and Henry Sydenham soon followed.[3] Turbervile was

[1] Ed. Dasent, VIII, 21–22.

[2] In the *Tales*, p. 356, Turbervile remarks:

"The second neere vnto my selfe allyde,
Gyles Bamfield hight, (I weepe to wryte his name)."

It may be noted also that George's paternal grandmother was Jane, daughter of Thomas Bampfild, of Somerset (Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, 3d ed., I, 139).

[3] Cf. p. 522, above.

evidently very fond of these men, for he included two mournful elegies on them in the *Tragical Tales*. Even ignoring the dubious Mrs. Turbervile, here is humiliation and grief enough to trouble anyone.

IV

If the date of the *Tragical Tales* could be pushed forward to 1587, there would be no difficulty in explaining the poet's troubles; for after 1576 they came, not single spies, but in battalions. In August, 1577, he had a quarrel with Sir Henry Ashley, which was of sufficient moment to attract the attention of the Privy Council.[1] On August 20, three years later, the Commissioners for Musters in Dorsetshire appointed a new captain for service in Ireland in place of Mr. George Turbervile (he can hardly have been any other than the poet), who was "a great spurner of their authority."[2] But a far worse trouble had previously befallen him.

On March 17, 1579/80, Richard Jones, a London printer, licensed for publication *A dittie of master Turbervyle Murthered: and John Morgan that murdered him: with a letter of the said Morgan to his mother and another to his Sister Turbervyle.* The ballad itself is not extant, but the bare entry, though not before utilized, has high value for a biographer of George Turbervile. Thomas Park,[3] to be sure, noticed that in Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities* the ballad was listed among Jones's publications, and half believed that the poet himself had been murdered; but (like the editor of the Edinburgh reprint of the *Tragical Tales*[4]) he was not wholly convinced, because Anthony à Wood[5] had specifically said that the poet was alive in 1594. Collier in 1849 commented under the entry of the ballad, "This is supposed to have been George Turberville, the poet."[6] But a few years later, because meanwhile he had read Wood's statement and because he believed that the *Tragical Tales* first appeared in 1587, Collier changed his mind.[7] Other writers have paid no attention to the ballad-entry.

[1] "A letter to Lord Marques of Winchester and the Justices of Assises in the countie of Dorset for thexamining of a quarrell betwene Sir Henry Asheley and George Turbevill, gentleman, according to a minute remaining in the Counsell Chest" (*Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, X, 14).

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547–80, p. 673.

[3] *Censura Literaria*, 2d ed., I, 315. [4] Page viii. [5] *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, 628.

[6] *Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*, II, 109. [7] *Bibliographical Account*, II, 453.

As a matter of fact, the murdered Turbervile was not George but Nicholas. For on February 18, 1579/80, the Privy Council instructed the Sheriff of Somerset to select a jury "of good and indifferent men for thenquiry and triall of the murther committed by Jhon Morgan upon Nicholas Turbervile, esquire . . . . and to have regard that the said Morgan may bee safely kept to bee forthcoming to awnswer unto justice."[1] Nine days later the Council ordered the release of one William Staunton who had been committed to prison "appon suspition that he shold have consented to that detestable fact," the murder, because it had been "credibly enformed that he ys not anywayes culpable therof," but directed that he be bound to appear at the Assizes.[2]

Now there were at least three Nicholas Turberviles—the poet's father, his brother (to whom the *Tragical Tales* is dedicated), and his second cousin, Nicholas of Crediton. This cousin lived until 1616,[3] and a Nicholas Turbervile of Winterbourne Whitchurch, who was surely, I think, the poet's brother, died shortly before August 7, 1584, when his estate was administered.[4] Only Nicholas, the poet's father, remains to be considered. He was sheriff of Dorset in the nineteenth year of Elizabeth's reign.[5] As his term had expired only a short time before the murder, this would account for the interest shown in the case by the Privy Council. His wife was a daughter of Morgan of South Mapperton;[6] hence merely from the title of the ballad it is clear that the murdered man was George Turbervile's father, for it informs us that the murderer *Morgan* wrote a letter "to his *Sister* Turbervyle." Nicholas Turbervile, then, was murdered by John Morgan, his brother-in-law—a tragedy that instinctively reminds one of the immortal descendant of this family, Tess of the D'Urbervilles.

[1] *Acts*, ed. Dasent, XI, 391.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 401.

[3] Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, 3d ed., I, 139.

[4] *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, II, 89.

[5] Hutchins, *op. cit.*, I, xlii; Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. P. A. Nuttal, I, 472; *Acts of the P.C.*, X, 216.

[6] See the pedigrees in Hutchins, I, 139. There, by the way, the poet's brother Nicholas is not mentioned. Troilus, the elder brother, is said by Seccombe to have died in 1607; but Hutchins (I, 201) shows that his fourth and fifth sons were baptized at Winterbourne Whitchurch in 1607 and 1609; he died about July 8, 1609, when his estate was administered by his widow, Anne (*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, II, 297).

Fortunately, further proof of this relationship is available. In Anthony Munday's lugubrious *View of sundry Examples, Reporting many straunge murthers* (1580)[1] is included an

Example of John Morgan, who slew Maister Turbervile in Somersetshire, 1580

Likewise in Somersetshire, one John Morgan, by common report a lewd and wicked liver, and given to swearing, roysting, and all wickednes abounding in him, slew his brother in law, Maister Turbervile, a gentleman of godly life, very sober, wise, and discreet, whose wife lying in childebed [this is probably an invention of Munday's], yet arose and went to have law and justice pronounced on that cruel malefactor. So, at Chard, before the Lord Chief Justice, hee was condemned and suffered death for his offence. 1580.

No one who has read this book can doubt that Munday may have manufactured incidents here, as he certainly did in his other "examples," to increase the effect of his story.[2] His account is important, however, because it proves that John Morgan was Nicholas Turbervile's brother-in-law; and the pedigrees of Morgan and Turbervile given in Hutchins' *Dorset* show beyond all question that Morgan's brother-in-law, Nicholas Turbervile, was the poet's father.

The fact that Nicholas was murdered in Somerset, not in Dorset, is of no importance. Dorsetshire and Somersetshire adjoin each other, and indeed until the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign had formed one county.[3] The indictment itself charged that John Morgan, "gentleman, lately of Dorset, did in the aforesaid county strike and kill the said Turbervile"—an ambiguous wording that later proved fortunate for Morgan's heirs.[4] Just when the murder occurred I have been unable to determine. The first mention I find of it is in the order of the Privy Council, February 18, 1579/80, already quoted. But there is a record that on January 27, 1579/80, the estate of Nicholas Turbervile of Winterbourne Whitchurch,

[1] Ed. Collier, Old Shakespeare Society, 1851, pp. 85–86.

[2] One of his examples (p. 90) is of "A Woman of lix yeers delivered of three Children," each of whom at once made some such appropriate remark as "The day appointed which no man can shun."

[3] I have searched vainly through histories and records of Somerset for a Nicholas Turbervile.

[4] See Sir George Croke's *Reports*, 1790, p. 101. Croke reports that the Queen's Bench (30 Eliza.) reversed the attainder and restored Morgan's estates to his heir, because the indictment was shown to be faulty: it charged Morgan with having killed Turbervile in the "aforesaid county" (of Dorset), when Somersetshire was actually meant. Croke mistakenly gives the murderer's name as Thomas Morgan.

Dorset, was administered by his widow.[1] It can hardly be doubted that this Nicholas was the poet's father, and that he was murdered shortly before January 27. As for John Morgan, he was attainted, his estates were forfeited to the Crown, and he was hanged on March 14, 1579/80.[2] Three days later ballad singers were singing a lamentable ditty about his crime and execution through the streets of London.

In spite of their ancient and honorable ancestry—and long before the days of Tess—all the Turberviles were having evil fortunes. It seems probable that they were suspected of papistry and, as a corollary, of disloyalty to the Queen. On August 4, 1581, for example, Viscount Bindon, the nobleman to whom the *Heroycall Epistles* was dedicated,[3] was notified by the Privy Council "touchinge Turbervile of Beere, who cometh not to the churche, and . . . . harbourethe one Bosgrave" to arrest both men and "to searche the house for bookes and other superstitious stuffe."[4] Francis Turbervile, of Dorset, was outlawed in 1587 for "divers robberies committed";[5] Thomas was summoned before the Council in July, 1587, on the charge of aiding and maintaining felons;[6] Jenkin and his two sons, who lived in Wales, were Catholics and were suspected of harboring priests;[7] in March, 1591, Mr. Morgan[8] of Weymouth, Dorsetshire, was reported to be keeping a priest in his house, as was also "the sister-in-law of Turberville, who serves one of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland's daughters, and is much trusted by the Jesuits."[9] Many other instances of this sort could be cited, and while none of them may refer directly to the poet, they do refer to his kinsmen, and in some of them he was probably concerned.

On June 22, 1587, Turbervile himself appeared before the Privy Council "to answeare certaine matters objected against him," and

[1] *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, II, 54.

[2] Hutchins, *op. cit.*, II, 158. I have not traced the source whence the editors derived this date. They remark that John Morgan killed his brother-in-law, Nicholas Turbervile, but do not attempt to indicate which Nicholas the murdered man was.

[3] John Turbervile, of Bere and Woolbridge, married Lady Anne, Viscount Bindon's daughter, in 1608 (Hutchins, *op. cit.*, I, 154).

[4] *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, XIII, 150.

[5] *Ibid.*, XV, 96.

[6] *Ibid.*, XV, 164.

[7] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 310, 378 (November, December, 1596).

[8] The name *Morgan* suggests that the poet's relatives may have been aimed at in this report.

[9] *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1591–94, III, 24.

was ordered "not to depart without speciall licence from their Lordships obtained in that behalfe."[1] Nicholas Turbervile (George's cousin?) received similar orders on April 25, 1588.[2] What these charges were, I have no means of determining; but the poet was apparently exonerated, for on April 12, 1588, the Council sent a letter to the Lord Treasurer, notifying him that

whereas George Turvyle, gentleman, was appointed by the Earle of Warwycke to be the Muster Master in the countye of Warwycke under his Lieutenancy, therefore his Lordship was praied, accordinge unto a Privy Seale graunted unto his Lordship for those purposes, to paie or cause to be paied unto the said gentleman, by waye of imprest, the somme of fyvteene poundes after tenn shillinges the daye, to be allowed him for so many dayes as he should be emploied in that service, allowing him for his repaier thether and his retorne hether againe so many daies as should suffice for that jorney.[3]

That Turbervile was a *protégé* of the Warwicks is certain; in addition to the genuine gratitude he expressed to the Earl in the dedication of the *Book of Falconry*, he had previously dedicated "to his singular good Lady," the Countess of Warwick, the first and second editions of the *Epitaphes* and the *Plain Path to Perfect Virtue* (1568). It seems almost certain, then, that "George Turvyle, gentleman," was Turbervile the poet; and that in 1588, as in 1574–75, the Earl had come to the help of his rhyming friend.

V

On October 7, 1578, Nicholas Turbervile, gentleman, was ordered to appear before the Privy Council for contempt of "the Commissioners appointed to deale betwene the prisonners of her Majesties Benche and their creditours," because he had repeatedly refused to appear before the Commissioners so that they could deal "with him in a cause betwene him and one Thomas Spencer, prisonner in the said Benche."[4] Presumably he appeared, but some time later the Council ordered Sir William Courtney and others to settle "certaine controversies touchinge matters in accompt betwene Nicholas Turbervile and Thomas Spenser of Crediton in that countie of Devon" or to advise the Council which of the two was at fault.[5]

[1] *Acts*, XV, 135. Seccombe, in the *D.N.B.*, has also noticed this record. Surely the poet is meant by the phrase "George Turbervile of Wolbridge in the countie of Dorsett, gentleman."

[2] *Ibid.*, XVI, 41.

[3] *Ibid.*, XVI, 31–32.

[4] *Ibid.*, X, 338–39.

[5] *Ibid.*, XII, 76 (June 29, 1580).

The Turbervile here mentioned was probably Nicholas of Crediton, George's second cousin; but I have quoted these records only to suggest that Thomas Spencer, or another of his family, was the person addressed by George Turbervile in the three poetical letters printed in the latter part of his *Tragical Tales*.[1]

Turbervile addresses his friend merely as "Spencer," but Anthony à Wood[2] supplied the name "Edmund," believing that the letters were written to the *Faerie Queene* poet. Park[3] remarked that they were addressed to "Edmund Spenser (not the poet)"; but the editor of the Edinburgh reprint of the *Tales* in his preface declared that "one of the epistles . . . . is inscribed to Edmund Spenser, with whom he [Turbervile] was in habits of intimacy"! Collier, also, believed that Turbervile was "a young friend of Spenser" and that he wrote the poetical epistle from Russia "in the very year [1569] when the author of the *Faerie Queene* was matriculated at Pembroke Hall, at the age of seventeen."[4] Turbervile, it should be remembered, had left Oxford in 1561, when Spenser was nine years of age; and there is little probability, certainly no evidence, that he knew Edmund Spenser.

Koeppel nevertheless adopted Collier's view, and went much farther by distorting the lines in *Colin Clout*,

> There is good Harpalus, now woxen aged
> In faithful service of faire Cynthia,

into an allusion to Turbervile. He bases this interpretation on the altogether untenable grounds "dass T. auf der fahrt nach Russland der königin gedient hatte, und dass wir daher aus dem umstande, dass uns der dichter nach so vielen klagen plötzlich als glücklicher ehemann entgegentritt, ohne kühnheit schliessen dürfen, ein von der königin, Cynthia, gewahrter posten habe ihn der schlimmsten not des lebens entrissen; dass T. sicherlich *aged* war,"[5] and so on. None of these remarks can be substantiated. I have already shown that Turbervile was "ein glücklicher ehemann" in the years 1573–74, just when he was complaining most bitterly of his troubles, and that his attempts to serve "Cynthia" in the army brought him only humilia-

[1] Pages 300, 308, 375. The last of these, with two other letters from Russia addressed "To Parker" and "To Edward Dancie," is also reprinted in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1589, pp. 408–13.

[2] *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, 627. [3] *Censura Literaria*, I, 314.

[4] *Bibl. Account*, II, 70, 453. Cf. also his *Spenser*, I, xxiii.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff. A third reason is "dass Harpalus sich in der silbenzahl mit dem namen unseres freundes deckt"!

tion and dismissal. There is no evidence to show that Cynthia ever aided him, nor is there any reason to believe him as "aged," say, as Thomas Churchyard; indeed, he was very probably dead when *Colin Clout* was published. There is also, I am well aware, no reason whatever for identifying the Thomas Spencer mentioned above with the Spencer of the poetical epistles; but nevertheless, the supposition that Turbervile wrote to a Dorsetshire friend named Spencer, just as he wrote to other local friends named Parker and Dancie, is very reasonable. Koeppel's view is fanciful in the extreme.

VI

Early bibliographers, after agreeing upon 1540 as the date of Turbervile's birth,[1] pointed out that Thomas Purfoot's 1611 edition of the *Book of Falconry* announced on its title-page that it was "heretofore published by George Turbervile, Gentleman. And now newly reviued, corrected, and augmented, with many new Additions proper to these present times";[2] and hence gave 1610 as the year of his death. This date, given the weighty approval of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is now generally accepted; so well accepted that the *Cambridge History of English Literature* puts a question mark after 1540, but omits it after 1610, although the former is the more accurate date. Seccombe, apparently following Ritson,[3] in his sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography* gives the misleading statement that Turbervile prefixed complimentary verses to Rowlands' *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1596), whereas Turbervile was probably dead in 1596, and his verses appeared in the 1586 edition of Rowlands' translation.

Anthony à Wood wrote that Turbervile "lived and was in great esteem among ingenious men, in fifteen hundred and ninety-four (36 reg. Elizab.),"[4] but he probably got this notion from an epitaph

[1] Because Wood says that Turbervile was admitted scholar of Winchester College in 1554 at the age of fourteen. In the *Epitaphes* (Collier's reprint, p. 81) there is a poem entitled "The Lover to Cupid for mercie," which states that

> "In greene and tender age
> (my Lorde), till xviii years,
> I spent my time as fitted youth
> in schole among my feeares."

Wood, who on this point ought to be correct, tells us that the poet left Oxford in 1561; so that if Turbervile's words be taken literally, he was born about 1543.

[2] See *Catalogue of the Hoe Library*, IV, 297.

[3] *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 370. Rowlands' *Lazarillo* was licensed for publication by Colwell in 1568 and sold by him to Bynneman on June 19, 1573 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 378), who got out an edition in 1576.

[4] *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, I, 628.

(presently to be quoted) written on Turbervile by Sir John Harington, and his very specificness makes his accuracy doubtful. In other details of the poet's life Wood is notably inaccurate, and there is no particular reason for trusting him here. There is no proof whatever that in 1594 the poet was in great esteem among men, ingenious or otherwise. On the contrary, although new editions of his works were still appearing, by 1590 he was regarded as an antiquated writer of an unlettered age. His literary work was completed in 1576—at least records of later works are untrustworthy—and Elizabethan writers condescendingly referred to him and Gascoigne as authors of bygone days. "Maister *Gascoigne*," Nashe wrote in 1589, "is not to bee abridged of his deserued esteeme, who first beate the path to that perfection which our best Poets haue aspired to since his departure. . . . . Neither was M. *Turberuile* the worst of his time, though in translating hee attributed too much to the necessitie of rime."[1] Gabriel Harvey's comment seems to be more important. He writes of Nashe: "Had he begun to Aretinize when Elderton began to ballat, Gascoine to sonnet, Turberuile to madrigal, Drant to versify, or Tarleton to extemporise, some parte of his phantasticall bibble-babbles and capricious panges might haue bene tollerated in a greene and wild youth; but the winde is chaunged, & there is a busier pageant vpon the stage."[2] Elderton's first known ballad appeared in March, 1559/60; he was certainly dead by 1592, and probably a year or two earlier. Gascoigne came into prominence as a poet in 1573 and was dead by 1577; Drant died about 1578 and Tarlton in 1588. Does it not seem as if Harvey had chosen for comparison with Nashe only dead authors whom he held in contempt? My own feeling is that Turbervile was dead by 1593; at any rate he was far from being in great esteem. Robert Tofte would hardly have written in 1615 the following passage if Turbervile had died only five years before: "This nice Age wherein wee now liue, hath brought more neate and teirse Wits into the world; yet must not old *George Gascoigne* and *Turberuill*, with such others, be altogether

[1] Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, Nashe's *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 319.

[2] *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, II, 96). In *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 1596 (*Works*, III, 123), Nashe wrote: "I would make his [Harvey's] eares ring againe, and haue at him with two staues & a pike, which was a kinde of old verse in request before he fell a rayling at *Turberuile* or *Elderton*." Comparison with Elderton certainly is not a sign of high esteem.

reiected, since they first broke the Ice for our quainter Poets, that now write, that they might the more safer swimme in the maine Ocean of sweet Poesie."[1]

In the notes to the fifth book of his *Orlando Furioso* (1591) Sir John Harington wrote: "Sure the tale [of Geneura] is a prettie comicall matter, and hath beene written in English verse some few yeares past (learnedly and with good grace) though in verse of another kind, by *M. George Turberuil.*"[2] This passage may well have been written two or three years before 1591, but in any case throws no light on the date of Turbervile's death.[3] In *Palladis Tamia* (1598) Meres praised Turbervile for his "learned translations" along with Googe and Phaer (who had long been dead), Golding, Chapman, Harington, and others;[4] and Allot included eight quotations from Turbervile in his *England's Parnassus* (1600).[5]

It is almost certain, however, that Turbervile was dead before 1598. In Sir John Harington's *Epigrams*[6] is printed

An Epitaph in commendation of George Turbervill a learned Gentleman

When times were yet but rude, thy pen endevored
To pollish Barbarisme with purer stile:
When times vvere grown most old, thy heart persevered
Sincere and just, unstain'd with gifts or guile.
Now lives thy soule, though from thy corps dissevered,
There high in blisse, here cleare in fame the vvhile;
To vvhich I pay this debt of due thanksgiving,
My pen doth praise thee dead, thine grac'd me living.

Harington himself died in 1612, and the epigrams were not written during the last three or four years of his life. They were, indeed, written during an interval of five or six years, and, although the exact date of this epitaph on Turbervile cannot be determined, the limits of the epigrams as a whole can easily be fixed. Many of the epigrams (which were first published in their entirety in 1618) were written after Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596); No. 85 in

[1] *The Blazon of Jealousie*, 1615, p. 64.

[2] 1634 ed., p. 39.

[3] For a discussion of the *Comic Tales* supposed, because of Harington's note, to have been written by Turbervile see *Censura Literaria*, I, 319, and Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.*, p. 370.

[4] Arber's *English Garner*, II, 102.

[5] Ed. Charles Crawford, p. 383.

[6] Book I, No. 42, 1633 ed. (added to *Orlando Furioso*, 1634 ed.).

Book II is entitled "*Ouids* confession translated into English for Generall *Norreyes*. 1593"; III, 26, is "In commendation of Master *Lewkners* sixt description of Venice. Dedicated to Lady *Warwick*. 1595"; II, 64 and 84 are on Thomas Bastard and apparently refer to his *Chrestoleros* (1598); and IV, 11, is on Thomas Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, which was licensed for publication at Stationers' Hall on October 19, 1597. The latest epigram that I have noted is one (IV, 10) on the execution of Essex (1601). But the majority of the epigrams were written during 1596–98.[1] It would be more reasonable, then, to date Turbervile's death "1598?" (or even "1593?") than "1610?"

A contemporary elegy on Turbervile, which has never been reprinted or even referred to by his biographers, is preserved in Sloane MS 1709, folio 270, *verso*. Judged as burlesque, the verses are not altogether stupid. They run:

> Wth tricklinge teares ye Muses nine, bewaile o^{r} present woe,
> W^{t} Dreerye Drops of doleful plaintes o^{r} sobbinge sorrowes shewe,
> Put on y^{r} mo^{r}ninge weedes alas, poure forth your plaintes amayne,
> Ringe owte, Ringe out Ringe out y^{e} knell of Turbervile whom crewell death hath slaine, whom cruell death hath slaine
> Resurrexit a mortuis, there is holy S^{t} Frauncis, qui olim fuit sepultus, non ipse sed magi hic stultus, so toll the bell,
> Ding Donge Ringe out his knell.
> Dinge Donge, cease nowe the bell, he loued a pot of stronge ale well.[2]

Apparently the author of this doggerel had for Turbervile small esteem.[3]

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[1] McKerrow "guesses" that the epigrams which mention Nashe were written "*ca.* 1593" (Nashe's *Works*, V, 146).

[2] Cf. E. J. L. Scott's *Index to the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum*, 1904, p. 358. Scott dates the elegy "ca. 1605."

[3] I may add that in Harleian MS 49 there is a page (fol. 148^{v}) blank save for the signature of George Turbervile and a couplet in his autograph:

George Turbervyle
A Turbervyle a monster is that loveth not his frend
Or stoops to foes, or doth forget good turns and so I end.

My attention was called to this autograph by a note in Sir Frederick Madden's interleaved and annotated copy of Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica* (p. 370), now in the Harvard College Library. Copies of the autograph couplet and of the elegy were furnished me through the courtesy of the Keeper of MSS in the British Museum.

From the *Sale Catalogue* (p. 25) of J. P. Collier's library, it appears that in an interleaved copy of his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* Collier had inserted a "stanza of 3 lines and signature of George Turbervile, upon the title from the folio edition of Sir Thomas More's Works."

THEODULUS IN SCOTS

Not far from 1504–5 a lively and abusive correspondence,[1] in verse, sprang up between William Dunbar, the Scottish poet, courtier, and free-spoken ecclesiastic, and his friend, Walter Kennedy, also reckoned a poet in his day, who rather piqued himself on his piety and his Celtic blood. They went to the business of "flyting," as they called it, with some thoroughness. Dunbar confides to his friend, Sir John the Ross, that Kennedy and Quintyne Schaw have been praising each other in an extravagant manner; he would be sorry, indeed, to get into a controversy with them—what he would write would be too dreadful; but if the provocation continues he may be forced to "ryme, and rais the feynd with flytting."

Kennedy quickly takes up the challenge on behalf of himself and his "commissar," Quintyne, demanding an apology and silence. Dunbar then begins the attack with a torrent of abuse against the "Iersche brybour baird" (vagabond Celtic bard). The battle is now on, and Kennedy replies with abuse no less torrential. "Insenswat sow," he calls Dunbar, in an obscure passage on which we shall be able to shed some light before we are through:

> Insenswat sow, ceiss, fals Ewstace air!
> And knaw, kene skald, I hald of Alathia [ll. 81–82].

He again demands penance from Dunbar and recognition of his own superiority as a poet. He then takes up the cudgels on behalf of "Erische" as the proper tongue of all true Scotsmen, and blames Dunbar for his and his ancestors' partiality to the English—a matter which he later develops at length—bids him, meanwhile, be off to England and perish. He then enters with some detail upon an imaginary genealogy of his opponent. In reply, Dunbar, with a liberal sprinkling of epithet, reminds his antagonist of two presumably discreditable passages in his past life at Paisley and in Galloway, taunts him with using

> Sic eloquence as thay in Erschry vse [l. 243],

[1] J. Schipper, "The Poems of William Dunbar," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Cl. (Wien, 1892), Bd. 40, Abth. IV, pp. 50–99; on the date see especially p. 52.

and, after some description of Kennedy's personal appearance, concludes with a masterly picture of Kennedy's entrance into Edinburgh. Kennedy, as an offset, offers an exaggerated and unsavory account of Dunbar's sea voyage, and discusses at length the unpatriotic record of Dunbar's ancestors, contrasting it with that of his own forbears. In conclusion he advises Dunbar to get himself hanged in France, or, better still, to come home and be hanged at Ayr.

Who conceived the plan of collecting and publishing this correspondence is not known. There is a print of 1508 by Chepman and Myllar, a fragment of which is extant; there are, besides, three manuscripts, Bannatyne, Maitland, and Reidpeth. In none of these forms is the material ordered precisely as outlined above. The arrangement here adopted is Dr. Schipper's, which pays due regard to the internal evidence. With the help of such evidence the *Flyting* takes on some appearance of literary form; it seems to be reducible to some sort of order. Dunbar sounds the warning in three stanzas; Kennedy responds in three stanzas of the same metrical scheme. Dunbar opens the attack in three stanzas; Kennedy's reply covers sixteen stanzas, closing with one containing internal rhyme. Dunbar comes back with twenty-two stanzas in the same metrical scheme, closing, like Kennedy, with internal rhyme. Kennedy's last word is again of twenty-two stanzas. Following Kennedy's first reply (l. 48) and his second (l. 200) (but not his last), there is an appeal to

Iuge ȝe now heir quha gat the war [worse].

If Schipper's arrangement is mainly right, there is certainly an approach to metrical regularity, to the "matching" of stanzaic arrangement. This, together with the appeal to the judge, and, indeed, the notion of collecting the correspondence soon after its composition and serving it up as a literary whole, has lent encouragement to the search for the literary origins of the "flyting."

It may very well be that such a search is supererogatory. Although of personal animosity between the "flyters" there may have been none at all,[1] there was difference of opinion in abundance. Politically there would be little sympathy between the Ayrshire Celt,

[1] Dunbar, in his *Lament for the Makaris* (ll. 89 ff.), speaks without malice of "gud Maister Walter Kennedy," now at the point of death.

Kennedy, at whose "Erische" Dunbar scoffs,[1] and the Lothian Saxon, sprung of a family traditionally favorable to the English, and himself the preferred servant of the King's English queen. Between the two men there was a temperamental difference no less striking: Kennedy, to judge from his works, was inclined to a piety which delighted in conformity to tradition; Dunbar, who had left the Franciscans to seek preferment at court as a secular priest, spoke lightly sometimes of religious matters, and told stories not wholly to the credit of his old order. Kennedy evidently had a kind of personal vanity (he styles himself "the rose of rhetoric," [l. 148]), which may well have tested the endurance of Dunbar, who belongs to the genus, at any rate, of Rabelais and Swift. Two such men needed no strong literary promptings to fall into controversy, even though they did not personally dislike each other, and went to it in great part for the amusement of the bystanders and the exercise of their own wits.

After Dunbar and Kennedy had shown the way, the "flyting" had considerable vogue as a court amusement. Skelton engaged in a "flyting" with Garnesche, and four of his "defenses" are extant, written or published, so he says, "by the kynges most noble commaundment."[2] He ran at tilt also with Robert Gaguin, a French friar.[3] Sir David Lyndesay was called upon thus to bandy words with his sovereign, James V;[4] Lyndesay's answer, all that is extant, is a rather tame mixture of compliment and good, if grossly phrased, advice. Still later, Thomas Churchyard exchanged broadsides with one Camel, which ran into "surrejoindre unto rejoindre."[5] Between Alexander Montgomerie and Sir Patrick Hume, of Polwart, there was much "laidlie language loud and large," which greatly amused the royal author of the *Reulis and Cautelis*.[6] I cannot see in these

[1] Lines 49, 105 ff., 243 ff., 273.

[2] *The Poetical Works of John Skelton: Principally According to the Edition of the Rev. Alexander Dyce* (Boston, 1864), I, 132-53.

[3] *Garlande of Laurell, ibid.*, II, 186, 222. For what is possibly a fragment of the *Recule ageinst Gaguyne*, see F. Brie, "Skelton-Studien," *Englische Studien*, XXXVII (1907), 31 f.

[4] *Early English Text Society*, XLVII, 563–65.

[5] *The Contention betwyxte Churchyeard and Camell, upon David Dycers Dreme*, 2d. ed., 1565. See Robert Lemon, *Catalogue of . . . . Printed Broadsides in . . . . Society of Antiquaries* (London, 1866), pp. 7–10. Cited by *Dictionary of National Biography*. The broadsides belong to the year 1552.

[6] James Cranstoun's *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie* (Scottish Text Society, 1887 [pp. 59–86]) has been superseded by the supplementary volume edited for the society by George Stevenson in 1910. The latter dates the "flyting" *ca.* 1582 (p. xxv).

works the direct imitation of Dunbar and Kennedy that some scholars profess to find,[1] though it is quite probable that the later "flyters" were aware of the classical example of the exercise in which they were engaging. Doubtless they derived some sort of literary sanction from it, but, of course, where the object is to stifle one's adversary in a cloud of unwholesome epithet, to deal above everything else in *personalities*, a great deal of literal copying from one's predecessors is not likely to be observable. In this sense, did Dunbar and Kennedy, in the first instance, have any literary models in mind when they set to work?

Analogues there are, of course, in abundance, from Ovid's *Ibis* and the *Lokasenna* to the sonnet war of Pulci and Matteo Franco. Our Germanic ancestors had a way of twitting each other, and quite possibly both Dunbar and Kennedy were familiar with similar practices among the Celts.[2] Brotanek finds the immediate impulse to the correspondence between Dunbar and Kennedy in the invectives of Poggio against his fellow humanists, Filelfo and Valla.[3] Poggio had visited England in 1419, and Gavin Douglas, at any rate, had some acquaintance with these very invectives.[4] It cannot be said that Brotanek's parallels really prove direct literary indebtedness on the part of the Scotsmen to the Florentine's quarrels, though it is quite within the range of possibility that his letters may have been known to either Dunbar or Kennedy or both, and even have supplied them with some abusive epithets—Poggio has plenty in good mouth-filling Latin—of which apparently they stood very little in need.

Models which Dunbar and Kennedy more nearly approach in form are provided by the many poetical controversies in Provençal and French. Schipper attributes the "künstlerische Idee" of the "flyting" to the influence of the *jeu-parti* and the *serventois*.[5] The

[1] As Brotanek and Brie.

[2] See *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Scottish Text Society, 1893), Vol. I, Introduction, by Æ. J. G. Mackay, pp. cix ff. Warton (p. 37) mentions some sort of poetical quarrel at the Court of Henry III (1272) between Henry de Avranches and a Cornish poet.

[3] *Untersuchungen über das Leben und die Dichtungen Alexander Montgomerie* (Wiener Beiträge [Wien und Leipzig, 1896]), pp. 100 ff.

[4] "And Poggius stude with mony girne and grone,
On Laurence Valla spittand and cryand fy."
["Palis of Honour," in *Poems of Gavin Douglas* (ed. Small, 1874), I, 47, ll. 13 f.]

[5] *William Dunbar, sein Leben und seine Gedichte* (Berlin, 1882), p. 64.

former seems to have been much the more common type in Northern France.[1] The challenger propounds his question; his opponent, keeping to the rhymes set him, chooses the side he will defend; then the argument passes back and forth through four stanzas (*coblas*), ending with an appeal by each party to a disinterested judge. Brotanek,[2] who accepts and develops Schipper's suggestion, cites three *jeux-partis*, one of which, by the way, is not French, but a Provençal *joc-partit*,[3] which contain a trace, but hardly more than a trace, of personal invective. Much more of this is found in the Provençal *tenso* and *sirventes*, which discuss, not a question carefully framed for debate, but things in general and personalities in particular. The *tenso* presents obviously analogous traits. Without necessarily implying personal hostility,[4] it deals freely in personalities: Albert de Malespine twits Raimbaut de Vaqueiras with having been wretched and hungry in Lombardy;[5] Sordel hopes that Blacatz may be hanged;[6] Uc de Saint-Circ and the Count of Rhodes accuse each other of avarice.[7] Even political discussions are not entirely absent from the *tenso*,[8] but for these the usual place is the freer form of the *sirventes*. Bertrand de Born's outgivings in this form on politics and the strenuous life are as engagingly personal as those of any modern candidate for office.[9] The *sirventes* did not presuppose an answer, but it sometimes drew one: the Dauphin of Auvergne defended himself against the taunts of Richard I of England.[10] Richard was himself the inheritor of a splendid troubadour tradition. But it seems highly improbable that either Dunbar or Kennedy could

[1] About two hundred examples survive; Voretzsch, *Altfranzösische Literatur* (Halle, 1913), p. 353. For detailed description of these literary types see Heinrich Knobloch, *Die Streitgedichte im Provenzalischen und Altfranzösischen* (Breslau, 1886); Ludwig Selbach, *Das Streitgedicht in der altprovenzalischen Lyrik* (Marburg, 1886); and A. Jeanroy, "La Tenson provençale," *Annales du Midi*, II (1890), 281 ff., 441 ff.

[2] *Untersuchungen*, pp. 96 ff.

[3] Paul Meyer gives it in a French translation in his review of Levy's *Guilhem Figueira*, *Romania*, X (1881), 261 ff.

[4] Jeanroy, p. 452.

[5] Raynouard, *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours* (Paris, 1819), II, 193; cf. the *Flyting*, ll. 269 ff.

[6] Knobloch, p. 16; cf. the *Flyting*, ll. 545 ff.

[7] Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale* (Elberfeld, 1880), p. 159.

[8] Knobloch, p. 19.

[9] Barbara Smythe, *Trobador Poets* (London, 1911), pp. 72 ff.

[10] Ida Farnell, *The Lives of the Troubadours* (London, 1896), pp. 56 ff.

have encountered any real tradition of this sort as late as the close of the fifteenth century. The *tençon* and *serventois* seem to have been little cultivated in Northern France,[1] where Dunbar might have met with them on his travels; the Provençal forms are a matter of the thirteenth century at the latest.

As we have already seen, the human impulse to quarrel, in fun or fact, which has found frequent literary expression in the past, was perhaps aggravated in the case of Dunbar and Kennedy by political and temperamental differences between the two men. For further prompting they may have known the letters of Poggio, which, however, offered little or nothing in the way of literary form; this they might have had from certain Romance forms, with which, however, it is difficult to believe they could have had much acquaintance. Any literary form which would suggest the notion of a poetical contest, involving a certain metrical symmetry, with a more or less explicit appeal for a decision between the contestants, would provide all the literary stimulus and sanction that the "flyters" would need. That they had definitely in mind a well-known work which possessed these characteristics, however great or little its actual influence upon them may have been, I shall now undertake to demonstrate.

We return to Kennedy's dark utterance, to which passing reference has already been made:

> Insenswat sow, ceiss, fals Ewstace air!
> And knaw, kene skald, I hald of Alathia.[2]

The lines have hitherto proved a puzzle, the cause of much fruitless speculation among the editors.[3] The difficulty lies with the proper names. Why is Dunbar called "false Eustace's heir," and who or what is "Alathia"?

Æneas J. G. Mackay, who writes the Introduction in the Scottish Text Society edition, includes the name "Eustase" among the "Historical Notices of Persons Alluded to in Dunbar's Poems," "but

[1] Gaston Paris, *Littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1905), p. 202; Knobloch, p. 52; Voretzsch, p. 353.

[2] Schipper, *Denkschriften*, etc., XL, 65, ll. 81–82; *The Poems of William Dunbar* (ed. John Small) (Scottish Text Society, 1893), II, 21, ll. 321–22; *The Poems of William Dunbar* (ed. H. Bellyse Baildon) (Cambridge, 1907), p. 74, ll. 81–2.

[3] Schipper, quoted above, is printing from the Bannatyne MS. The variants give no help: "Eustase air" (Chepman and Myllar), "Eustace fair" (Reidpeth); "Alathya" (Maitland).

who false Eustase was has not been discovered."[1] Concerning Alathia, Dr. Walter Gregor, in his notes to the same edition,[2] exhibits considerable classical learning not greatly to the point:

Alathya, Alethia = probably ἀλήθεια, Truth, in contrast with "fals Eustase air." Probably a figure in some masque was so called. Or is Alathya = Ilithyia, Εἰλείθυια, the goddess of the Greeks who aided women in childbirth, Lat. *Juno Lucina*, and the poet means to say that he knows everything about the genealogy and birth of his opponent, as if he had the information from the goddess who assisted at his birth?

Schipper (*loc. cit.*) quotes Mackay as to Ewstace and for the explanation of Alathia resorts, not to mythology, but to logic:

Murray, A New Engl. Dict., explains *alethiology* as the doctrine of truth, that part of logic which treats of the truth, and he quotes a passage from Sir W. Hamilton's (1837–1838) Logic, where the word occurs in this sense. Possibly the word *alethia* was in former times used as a logical term in a similar sense.

H. Bellyse Baildon, so far as I know the latest to comment on the passage, refrains from conjecture: "*Fals Ewstace air* (heir). It is not known to whom this refers . . . . *Alathia*, Gk. ἀλήθεια, 'truth.'"[3]

All this is obviously desperate to the last degree. It is cited merely to show that the true meaning of this passage, if it could be hit upon, would be welcome. When it appears, it is not in the least recondite from the early sixteenth-century point of view.[4] Kennedy's

[1] I, ccxx. [2] III, 54–55. [3] P. 255.

[4] Dr. Gregor's "Ilithyia" is much too recondite. Sixteenth-century poets much later than Dunbar and Kennedy share with those of the Middle Ages the desire to have their allusions understood. Of Daphne, Chaucer is at pains to tell us

"I mene nat the goddesse Diane,
But Peneus doughter, which that highte Dane" [*Cant. Tales*, A 2063 f.].

The hint puts us straight. No one is going to miss Sackville's allusion to sleep, in the "Induction" to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, as

" . . . . esteming equally
Kyng Cresus pompe, and Irus pouertie" [Skeat, *Specimens*, p. 293],

simply because he doesn't remember who Croesus and Irus were, much less that Ovid had already contrasted them (*Tristia* III. 7. 42). Where no hint is given the resemblance may safely be taken as intended to be of the most general sort, as when Skelton compares Mistress Margaret Tylney to Canace and Phaedra (*Garlande of Laurell*, ll. 906 ff.); the common term is merely the "goodness" of the mediaeval "good woman." Too much learning is sometimes a dangerous thing. Douglas, in the *Palice of Honour*, says that among these lovers and their ladies—

"There was Arcyte and Palemon aswa
Accompanyit with fair Aemilia" [p. 22, ll. 25 f.];

whereupon Small solemnly assures us that Aemilia was a vestal virgin who miraculously rekindled the sacred fire!

allusion means little or nothing, unless it is recognized. He is not merely calling names;[1] he is making a point; and for such a purpose he is hardly the man to risk a dark hint at pagan mythology or dubious school-logic. His own reading, we may guess, was largely of a devotional sort, for all he says he has "perambulit of Pernaso the montane" (l. 97). Of the readers of his own time he complains:

> But now, allace! men ar mair studyus
> To reid the Seige of þe toun of Tire,
> The Life of Tursalem, or Hector, or Troylus,
> The vanite of Alexanderis empire.[2]

This, we may guess, is a fair sample of Kennedy's own reading in his more secular moods; it is not of a sort to encourage the kind of allusion his commentators would have him indulge in.

There is, however, one sort of book to which allusion could safely be made—a widely used schoolbook. A reference to *Cato* would not have gone astray. Such another book is the *Ecloga Theoduli*, a Carolingian Latin poem of the ninth century.[3] Furnished with a commentary, it was frequently recommended as a textbook during the later Middle Ages.[4] Of this famous work Osternacher lists no less than one hundred and twenty-one MSS, twenty-five printed editions before 1515, and as many more of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries bound up with other works, chiefly in the volume known as *Auctores Octo*. Subsequent research has made some additions to this list.[5] "Qua re dilucide probatur hunc auctorem illa aetate

[1] When he does that, his allusions are not always perfectly obvious; later, among the ancestors of "Deulbeir," he mentions "Vespasius thy eme" (l. 180):

> "Herod thy vthir eme, and grit Egeass,
> Martiane, Mahomeit, and Maxentius . . . .
> Throip thy neir neice and awsterne Olibrius,
> Pettedew, Baall, and eke Eȝobuluss [ll. 185–89].

The name *Fermilus*, in *Passion of Christ* (l. 25), remains unexplained, though it is presumably biblical. See "Poems of Walter Kennedy" (ed. J. Schipper), *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Cl. (Wien, 1902), Bd. 48, p. 26, and F. Holthausen, "Kennedy Studien," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXII, 298.

[2] *Passion of Christ*, ll. 36–39.

[3] *Theoduli Eclogam* recensuit . . . . Johannes Osternacher, Ripariae prope Lentiam, MDCCCCII.

[4] On the vogue of *Theodulus* see two interesting papers by Professor G. L. Hamilton, "Theodulus, a Mediaeval Textbook," *Modern Philology*, VII (1909), 169 ff., and "Theodulus in France," *ibid.*, VIII (1911), 611 ff.

[5] Hamilton, *Modern Philology*, VII (1909), 180.

discipulis vulgo legendum praebitum esse."[1] Kennedy could hardly have missed it, nor could his contemporary reader.

It is not necessary to describe the *Theodulus* in detail. It is an *amoebaean* pastoral, in which the shepherd Pseustis tells in hexameter quatrains (with single internal, not strictly leonine, rhyme) a story of classical mythology, as of Deucalion's flood, Hippolytus, Hercules, and the like, four lines to each. Each story is immediately capped by the shepherdess Alithia with an analogue, also told in four lines, from the Bible: Noah, Joseph, or Samson. Toward the close Pseustis begins to weaken, and finally the judge, Fronesis, intercedes on behalf of the defeated pagan. A later hand has added Alithia's closing hymn of triumph and praise.[2]

The reader has now doubtless availed himself of the opportunity to guess that the names of the contestants in the *Theodulus* solve the puzzle of Kennedy's unexplained reference. "Alathia" is Alithia and "Ewstace" was originally "false Pseustis," or as Kennedy is more likely to have written it, "fals Sewstis" (so Kennedy's contemporary, Barclay, spells the name).[3] Then "fals Sewstis" has become by wrong division "falss ewstis," or by a natural haplography "fals ewstis"; later this has undergone brilliant restoration to outward sense (at the hand of the transcriber ?) in the form "fals Ewstace."[4] With this hint Kennedy's allusion appears as pat as can be. His adversary, whom he accuses of heresy and irreligion,[5] is the heir of Pseustis, or falsehood, the pagan opponent of orthodoxy or truth, which, in turn, is represented by Alithia, from whom Kennedy derives his inheritance, or, merely, on whose side he is to be found.[6] Here then, if

[1] Osternacher, p. 23.

[2] Dante runs a similar parallel between the Hebraic and the Hellenic up the seven terraces of Purgatory, but his examples, chosen to illustrate particular vices and virtues, differ from those of the *Theodulus*, where the ingenuity goes to the matching of analogous stories, except in the doubtless fortuitous instance of the coupling of Cain and Cecrops in the latter (ll. 53–60) and of Cain and Aglauros, daughter of Cecrops, in Dante (*Purg.*, XIV, 130–39).

[3] See below.

[4] Such distortion of the name is not surprising. Henri d'Andeli's *Bataille des sept arts* has Sextis and Malicia in both MSS; see L. J. Paetow, *Memoirs of the University of California*, IV (1914), 1, Plates V and IX. The printer betrays even Professor Hamilton, at the moment of referring to this point, into seeming to write *Peustis* himself, *Modern Philology*, VII (1909), 182.

[5] "Lollard lawreat" (l. 172), "lamp Lollardorum" (l. 196), "primas Paganorum" (l. 197), he calls him.

[6] See *New English Dictionary*, *s.v.* "hold," 19, 21. Kennedy's insistence on his own orthodoxy rules out the possibility that he might have come upon the names Pseustis

nothing else, is a bit of text cleared up and another literary allusion to a famous book restored to a place between Chaucer's "dan Pseustis"[1] and Barclay's

> . . . . father auncient,
> Which in briefe language both playne and eloquent,
> Betwene Alathea, Sewstis stoute and bolde
> Hath made rehearsall of all thy storyes olde,
> By true historyes vs teaching to obiect
> Against vayne fables of olde Gentiles sect.[2]

I have no wish to force a parallel between the form of the *Theodulus* and the *Flyting;* they are not in result at all the same thing. But it is fair to note that the *Theodulus* offers, with its poetical contest, its "matched" stanzas, and its appeal to the judge, everything in the way of literary suggestion that the "flyters" could have required for a start. Such suggestion might have come, as we have already seen, from a variety of sources; it might have come from the vernacular *débat,* upon which, as Professor Hanford has recently shown,[3] the *Theodulus* was an important influence. But over all the possible sources which have been put forward for the work of Dunbar and Kennedy the *Theodulus* itself now has the immense advantage of being certainly known to them. It provides a thread, if a slender one, which leads us back through the Carolingian *conflictus,* to the *amoebaean* song of Vergil and Theocritus. It is not without significance that the road back to the classics lies through the Middle Ages.

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and Alithia in Wicklif's well-known *Trialogus* (ed. Gotthardus Lechler, Oxon., 1869), where the three disputants bear the names of the characters of the *Ecloga.* Wicklif's Alithia approvingly elicits from Phronesis, who is a lecturer rather than a judge, statements concerning the sacraments and the clergy, particularly in Book IV, which Kennedy would certainly repudiate.

[1] *Hous of Fame* (l. 1228). *Atiteris* in the preceding line is certainly not *Alithia.* Holthausen's suggestion (*Anglia,* XVI, 264 ff.) of *Tityrus* is most apt. Perhaps the initial *A* is really due to some confusion with *Alithia,* of whom the scribe or author would be likely to think in this connection.

[2] *Certayne Egloges of Alexander Barclay, Priest,* reprinted from the edition of 1570 for the Spenser Society (1885), No. 39, p. 1. Eclogue IV mentions the death of Sir Edward Howard, in 1513, so that Barclay's allusion is presumably later than Kennedy's.

[3] "Classical Eclogue and Mediaeval Debate," *Romanic Review,* II (1911), 16–31, 129–43.

THE RELATION OF SPENSER AND HARVEY TO PURITANISM

The relation of Spenser to Puritanism has been discussed by various investigators during recent years. Some of the writers do not recognize the fact that, even if we can make sure that Spenser was a "Puritan," our inquiry is then only begun, not ended. For the words "Puritan" and "Puritanism" covered a very wide range of meaning. A recent paper by Professor F. M. Padelford brings this out with great clearness. He points out that the employment of these terms in sixteenth-century England resembles the undiscriminating use of the words "socialist" and "socialism" at the present time. He says:

> Such diverse personalities as Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Cox, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, and Thomas Cartwright are all denominated Puritans, or credited with Puritan sympathies. Yet Grindal regarded Cartwright as a dangerous fellow who was poisoning the minds of the young men of Cambridge; Bishop Cox did not hesitate to class the Puritans with the Papists as very anti-Christ; and, to borrow a suggestion from Matthew Arnold, fancy the distress of Sidney or of Leicester if he had found himself confined for a three months to the "Mayflower," with only the Pilgrim Fathers for a solace! Like "socialism" today, "Puritanism" in the sixteenth century was a relative matter.[1]

A favorite opinion in recent years has been that Spenser was an extreme Puritan, presumably a Presbyterian at heart. He must have had some contact with the great Presbyterian leader of that day, Thomas Cartwright, who returned to Cambridge as Margaret professor of divinity in 1569, the very year when Spenser entered the University, matriculating at Pembroke Hall. The view that Spenser was an extreme Puritan is advocated by James Russell Lowell,[2] Lilian Winstanley,[3] and James Jackson Higginson.[4]

[1] "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda," *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 85–106.

[2] "Spenser," *Prose Works*, Vol. IV, Riverside ed., Boston.

[3] "Spenser and Puritanism," *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, III, 6–16, 103–10.

[4] *Spenser's Shepherd's Calender* (Columbia University Press, 1912), pp. 38–162.

That Spenser was Calvinistic in his theology is entirely probable. Miss Winstanley presents evidence in support of the following assertions:

> The Church in its earlier days was Calvinistic in its theology, and Puritanism was only an attempt to reduce it to the Calvinistic model in other respects. . . . . We may say generally that Spenser accepted the Calvinism which was, as has been pointed out, the common creed of the day.[1]

The more recent study of Professor Padelford[2] confirms these statements.

But I cannot believe that Miss Winstanley is correct when she concludes that Spenser was also opposed to episcopacy: "On the question, then, that was after all the main point at issue in Elizabeth's reign—the question of church discipline—Spenser sided as strongly as possible with the Puritans."[3]

Dean R. W. Church[4] and Professor T. W. Hunt[5] oppose this view. They hold that Spenser was not hostile to episcopacy, but that he favored a purified Anglicanism. This is the opinion of Professor Padelford in an article already cited.[6]

An important piece of evidence was unknown to those writers already mentioned who believed that Spenser was an "out-and-out Puritan,"[7] that he "threw himself heart and soul into the cause of Cartwright."[8] In a paper read before the British Academy on November 29, 1907, Dr. Israel Gollancz told of a collection of books of travel bound together which formerly belonged to Gabriel Harvey. One of these books, *The Traveiler of Ierome Turler* (1575), has upon its title-page the following inscription in Harvey's handwriting: *Ex dono Edmundij Spenserij, Episcopi Roffensis* [=of Rochester] *Secretarij*, 1578.[9] The reviewer of Higginson's book in the *Nation* for November 21, 1912 (p. 486), comments as follows:

> Before this simple fact the whole elaborate structure of Mr. Higginson's interpretation of the tale of the Shepherd Roffy or Roffynn, his dog Lowder,

[1] Pp. 8–9.

[2] "Spenser and the Theology of Calvin," *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 1–18.

[3] P. 16.

[4] *Spenser*, "English Men of Letters" series (Macmillan, 1879), *passim*.

[5] "Edmund Spenser and the English Reformation," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXVII, 39–53.

[6] "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda." See above.

[7] Higginson, p. 152. [8] Winstanley, p. 13.

[9] See *The Athenaeum*, December 7, 1907, p. 732.

and the Wolf, in the September eclogue, virtually crumbles to pieces. The discovery makes it plain that Grosart was right in identifying the shepherd with Young, Bishop of Rochester, who had previously been Master of Pembroke Hall (Spenser's own college) at Cambridge. . . . . Still further, Spenser's relations to Young have a direct bearing on Mr. Higginson's theory in regard to the poet's supposed bitter hostility towards Anglicanism. The fact that Spenser was a Puritan in his views—at least in his early life—is not open to serious question; but would a thoroughgoing Anglican like Young have appointed the poet to so confidential a position as that of private secretary if the views of the latter had been so extreme as our author [Higginson] assumes? It is to be remembered that Young had been master of Spenser's college through the whole seven years of the poet's residence there, so that he could not possibly have been ignorant of Spenser's opinions in matters of religious doctrine and church government.

Since the present article was first written, Dr. Percy W. Long has published an important paper upon "Spenser and the Bishop of Rochester."[1] Dr. Long holds that Spenser's "rise from the rank of poor scholar, his moral and ecclesiastical ideas, and much of his early poetry were immediately conditioned by his close affiliation with the Bishop of Rochester."[2] The facts set forth in the article, many of them newly discovered, make this conclusion entirely probable. Spenser's connection with Bishop Young shows that he cannot have been an extreme Puritan, an enemy of the episcopal system.

I wish to advocate the view that Spenser was always a Low-Churchman. Even in *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Mother Hubberds Tale*, presumably composed at about the same time, there is evidence to confirm this opinion. The three eclogues of the *Calender* which are plainly and primarily concerned with church affairs are those for May, July, and September. In the first two of these Archbishop Grindal is praised under the name of "Algrind" or "Algrin"; in the September eclogue, as we have seen, Bishop Young is praised as "Roffynn," "Roffy." Line 176,

> Colin Clout, I wene, be his selfe boye,

seems to mean that Spenser was in Young's employ when this eclogue was written. A well-known line in the April eclogue also (l. 21) applies to Bishop Young and Spenser:

> *Colin* thou kenst, the Southerne shepheardes boye.

[1] *Publications of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, December, 1916, pp. 713–35. [2] P. 735.

We note that Spenser shows very special admiration for Archbishop Grindal in *The Shepheardes Calender*. On June 24, 1569, one month after Spenser matriculated at Cambridge, "Cecil received a letter from Grindal, recently installed as Archbishop of York, who strongly denounced the 'love of contention and liking of novelties' with which he heard that Cartwright had disturbed the University, and advocated his expulsion unless he conformed."[1] Is it likely that Spenser, the admirer of Grindal, favored the views of this same Cartwright, the arch-Presbyterian? Later in this paper we shall find Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's close friend, opposing Cartwright by name.

In a gloss to line 121 of the May eclogue E. K. seems to accept episcopacy as a satisfactory system. There is no good reason to suppose that he is insincere in these words, or that he misrepresents Spenser's meaning. He says:

> *Some gan*, meant of the Pope, and his Anti-christian prelates, which usurpe a tyrannical dominion in the Churche, and with Peters counterfet keyes open a wide gate to al wickednesse and insolent government. Nought here spoken, as of purpose to deny fatherly rule and godly governaunce (as some malitiously of late have done, to the great unreste and hinderaunce of the Churche) but to displaye the pride and disorder of such as, in steede of feeding their sheepe, indeede feede of theyr sheepe.

I feel confident that "fatherly rule" in this passage applies especially to the rule of the bishops, the spiritual fathers. Professor Padelford so interprets it.[2] Higginson believes, strangely enough, that those who "malitiously of late" have denied "fatherly rule and governaunce" are "the Anabaptists, with whom the Puritans disclaimed any connection."[3]

The following lines in *Mother Hubberds Tale* are evidently meant to satirize zealous, solemn-visaged Puritans:

> First therefore, when ye have in handsome wise
> Yourself attyred, as you can devise,
> Then to some Noble man your selfe applye,
> Or other great one in the worldes eye,
> That hath a zealous disposition
> To God, and so to his religion:
> There must thou fashion eke a godly zeale,

[1] Higginson, pp. 21–22. [2] *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 103. [3] P. 81.

Such as no carpers may contrayre reveale:
For each thing fained, ought more warie bee.
There thou must walke in sober gravitee,
And seeme as Saintlike as Saint *Radegund:*
Fast much, pray oft, looke lowly on the ground,
And unto everie one doo curtesie meeke:
These lookes (nought saying) doo a benefice seeke,
And be thou sure one not to lacke or long.
[Ll. 487–501.]

Book II of *The Faerie Queene* may well have been written, at least in an early form, before Spenser went to Ireland. Canto II of that book tells us of the sour, discontented Elissa and her like-minded lover, Sir Huddibras, of the "comely courteous dame," Medina, who symbolizes the golden mean, and of the wanton Perissa with her bold lover, Sansloy. Elissa and Sir Huddibras are a plain satire upon the ultra-Puritans. Samuel Butler took from this canto the name of Elissa's lover, Huddibras, for the title of his great satire upon Puritanism, *Hudibras,* and for the name of the central figure.[1] Butler interpreted Spenser's allegory at this point as directed against the extreme Puritans.

Even those who believe that Spenser was an out-and-out Puritan at one time are forced to assume that he changed his views somewhat in later years. Let us look at the passages which compel them to admit this.

Near the end of Book VI of *The Faerie Queene,* published in 1596, one portion of the career of the Blatant Beast is thus described:

From thence into the sacred Church he broke,
And robd the Chancell, and the deskes downe threw,
And Altars fouled, and blasphemy spoke,
And th' Images for all their goodly hew,
Did cast to ground, whilest none was them to rew;
So all confounded and disordered there.
[VI, xii, 25.]

Ben Jonson told Drummond that "by the Blating Beast the Puritans were understood."[2] It is quite certain that it is they who are satirized in these lines.

[1] *Cambridge History of English Literature,* VIII, 73.

[2] *The Works of Ben Jonson* (Gifford-Cunningham ed.), III, 478.

The writings of Spenser that appeared after his death contain two distinct expressions of antipathy to the Puritan extremists. One of these concerns their manners; the other, their teachings. In the fragments of *The Faerie Queene* which were published in 1609, and which are usually assigned to Book VII, a crab is described as going backward,

> as Bargemen wont to fare
> Bending their force contrary to their face,
> Like that ungracious crew which faines demurest grace.
> [Canto vii, stanza 35.]

In his prose *View of the Present State of Ireland*, first printed in 1633, Spenser says concerning the church edifices of that country:

> Next care in religion is to builde up and repayre all the ruinous churches . . . . for the outward shewe (assure your selfe) doth greatlye drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, what ever some of our late to nice fooles saye—"there is nothing in the seemelye forme and comely ordere of the churche."[1]

Lowell, Miss Winstanley, and Mr. Higginson recognize that these passages last quoted show Spenser to have been out of sympathy with ultra-Puritanism during his later years. They all assume that a change has come over him, and suggest reasons for the supposed transformation. But a simpler and more probable view is that there never was any fundamental alteration in Spenser's attitude toward Puritanism, that he always was a Church Puritan, an earnest, zealous Low-Churchman.

The considerations that have so far been presented are not new, but it seemed best to indicate them briefly for the sake of completeness. The main purpose of this paper is to call attention to a source of evidence concerning Spenser's attitude toward Puritanism which has been neglected. The friendship between Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey was so intimate and unclouded that I feel confident of a substantial agreement in their religious views. Harvey has given somewhat full expression to his religious convictions. Can we fairly cite his utterances as representing the opinions of Spenser also?

About the close and life-long sympathy between the two friends there can be no mistake. I have already noted that Spenser made a

[1] *The Globe Spenser*, p. 680; Todd's *Spenser*, VIII, 503–4.

present of Turler's *Traveiler* to Harvey in 1578. The Bodleian Library possesses a copy of *Howleglas* which, together with other books, Spenser gave to Harvey conditionally on December 20, 1578. A note by Harvey in the volume records a list of all the books concerned and a boyish wager made between the two men.[1]

The Shepheardes Calender, 1579, closes with the lines addressed to Harvey:

> Adieu good *Hobbinol*, that was so true,
> Tell *Rosalind*, her *Colin* bids her adieu.

The published letters that passed between the friends in 1579 and 1580 manifest the good understanding between them. A sonnet of Spenser, dated at Dublin, July 18, 1586, expresses warm admiration for "Harvey, the happy above happiest men." When the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* appeared in 1590, they were accompanied by a charming poem of commendation from "Hobynoll," who rejoices that "Collyn" has turned

> From rustick tunes, to chaunt heroique deeds.

In the prefatory matter prefixed to Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, Barnabe Barnes mentions "divinest morall Spencer" as the honored friend of Harvey.[2]

In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, 1595, Hobbinol still figures as Colin's closest friend:

> At last when as he piped had his fill,
> He rested him: and sitting then around,
> One of those groomes (a iolly groome was he,
> As ever piped on an oaten reed,
> And lov'd this shepherd dearest in degree,
> Hight *Hobbinol*) gan thus to him areed.
>
> [Ll. 10–15.]

It is practically certain that this close, harmonious intimacy between the two men, apparently extending over the last thirty years of Spenser's life, could not have existed without substantial agreement on religious questions. Mr. Higginson shows us that the University of Cambridge was "at all times during Elizabeth's reign a hotbed of Puritanism" (p. 20), and that, during Spenser's stay there,

[1] *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, ed. by G. C. Moore Smith (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), p. 23.

[2] Grosart's *Harvey*, II, 24.

it was, next to London, "the chief centre of Puritan agitation" (p. 30). Spenser had been at Cambridge two and one-third years when, in September, 1571, "Whitgift as Master of Trinity expelled Cartwright from his fellowship in that college on the ground that he had not taken priest's orders."[1] It is probable that the popularity of his opponent was one reason for Whitgift's action. Cartwright was so popular as a speaker that, when his turn came to preach, the windows at St. Mary's had to be taken down, so that the crowd upon the outside might listen.[2] We have direct evidence that the poet was interested in the agitation that was carried on by Cartwright. In a published letter to Spenser, Harvey, writing from Cambridge, recalls the vestment controversy of former days, in which Cartwright was prominent: "No more adoe aboute *Cappes* and *Surplesses:* Maister Cartwright nighe forgotten."[3]

With religious controversy so clamorous and omnipresent at Cambridge, it is entirely improbable that Spenser and Harvey could have maintained complete friendship and sympathy unless their religious views were harmonious and upon all fundamental questions substantially identical.

But we are not confined to this reasoning from general probability. There is some corroborative evidence. We know from the letters to Dr. John Young, Master of Pembroke Hall, preserved in Harvey's *Letter-Book*,[4] that the younger scholar relied upon the elder as his faithful friend. Presumably Dr. Young never failed him. In 1573 some of the Fellows of Pembroke Hall put a technical obstacle in the way of Harvey's obtaining his M.A. degree. Dr. Young was absent at the time; but, says Professor G. C. Moore Smith, he "came down to Cambridge in person, and in a few days crushed all opposition."[5] This statement is a matter of inference, but is practically certain.

Early in 1578 this same Dr. Young became Bishop of Rochester. As already noted, the new bishop made Spenser his secretary. There is no longer any doubt that the poet praises Young in the September

[1] Higginson, p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[3] *The Oxford Spenser*, p. 621; Grosart's *Harvey*, I, 71.

[4] Printed for the Camden Society, 1884.

[5] *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, Introduction, p. 12.

eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* as "Roffynn," "Roffy." Hobbinol says in line 176:

Colin Clout, I wene, be his [Roffynn's] selfe boye.

I have used this evidence before to show that Spenser was probably a loyal churchman, though a Low-Churchman. I wish to point out here that the friendship of Bishop Young for both Harvey and Spenser furnishes distinct corroboration of the presumption that the two men were agreed in their views about religion. I have yet to show affirmatively what were Harvey's religious opinions.

The evidence to be submitted will prove that Gabriel Harvey was a broad-minded Low-Churchman. I like to call him a Church Puritan. I consider that Professor Padelford is correct in calling Spenser "a consistent advocate of the golden mean in matters ecclesiastical";[1] but it can be plainly demonstrated that the phrase describes Harvey. In 1573, when some of the Fellows of Pembroke Hall, as already noted, sought to prevent Harvey from obtaining the M.A. degree, one of the charges brought against him was that he "had greatly commendid thos whitch men call praecisions and puritanes." This looks like accusing Harvey of being liberal-minded; and the nature of his spirited reply makes it quite probable that there was some ground for the charge. He says:

As for puritanes I wuld fain know what those same puritanes ar and what quallities thai have, that I have so hihly and usually commendid. Let M. Phisician name the persons and then shew that I have praised them, in that respect thai ar puritanes or that ever I have maintainid ani od point of puritanism, or praecisionism mi self, and I shal be contentid to be bard of mi mastership and iointid of my fellowship too, yea and to take ani other sharp meddecine that his lerning shal iudg meetist for sutch a maladi.[2]

Much later Harvey was even suspected of being himself the mysterious Martin Marprelate.[3] Thomas Nash ridicules the suggestion that his enemy had "so much wit."[4]

As the Harvey family seem to have been very much of one mind, it is significant that Richard, Gabriel's clerical brother, in his *Lamb of God*, 1590, "seemed disposed to take a middle line between the

[1] *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 106.

[2] *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*, pp. 29, 30.

[3] In *Pierces Supererogation*, Grosart's *Harvey*, II, 131.

[4] In *Have With You to Saffron-Walden*, McKerrow's *Nash*, III, 138.

bishops and their opponents."[1] Both the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Cambridge History of English Literature* consider Richard Harvey to be the probable author of the anonymous pamphlet *Plaine Percevall.*[2] In this work he is said to be somewhat Puritan in his sympathies.

John Lyly sought to defend the English church from the attacks of Martin Marprelate by retorting in kind to that writer's slangy, lampooning attacks. Lyly's *Pappe with a Hatchet*, appearing anonymously late in 1589, contained a rap at Gabriel Harvey. Harvey wrote a reply entitled *An Advertisement for Papp-hatchett, and Martin Marprelate.* This bears the date of November 5, 1589. It was not published for four years. In 1593 Harvey brought out *Pierces Supererogation* as a part of his verbal war with Thomas Nash. Nearly one-third of this work consists of the foregoing *Advertisement*,[3] then first printed. Here in a hundred pages we get a full presentation of the views of Harvey concerning church polity.

I quote a summary and eulogy of this *Advertisement* from Professor G. C. Moore Smith:

> [Harvey's reply to Lyly] contains a most serious treatment of the Marprelate controversy, in which Harvey's statesmanship, his independence of ecclesiastical prejudices, and his powers as a writer are seen to the highest advantage. He shows that a perfect system of Church Government is not to be had in a day, that the Primitive Church adapted itself to temporal circumstances, and that the creation of a theocracy represented by ministerial rule in every parish would be intolerable. The better scholar, he says, the colder schismatic. We must have mutual charity or Church and State will be overthrown. Perhaps nothing wiser or more far-sighted was ever written in the whole of the 16th century.[4]

Harvey's discussion certainly deserves hearty commendation, but when we recall that the completed portions of Richard Hooker's great work, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, appeared in 1594 and 1597, and that they were an outcome of this same general controversy, Professor Smith's praise of Harvey's *Advertisement* seems somewhat excessive.

[1] *The Dictionary of National Biography.*

[2] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 613.

[3] Grosart's *Harvey*, II, 124–221.

[4] Introduction to *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, pp. 58, 59.

It will be best now to let Harvey speak for himself. Since only fifty sets of Grosart's edition of Harvey's works were printed, the passages quoted are not generally accessible.[1]

In cases indifferent, or arbitrary, what so equall in generall, as Indifferency: or so requisite in speciall, as conformity to the positive Lawe, to the custome of the Countrey, or to the present occasion? To be perverse, or obstinate without necessary cause, is a peevish folly: when by such a duetyfull and iustifiable order of proceeding, as by a sacred League, so infinite Variances, and contentions may be compounded. To the cleane, all thinges are cleane. S. Paule, that layed his foundation like a wise architect, and was a singular frame of divinity, (omnisufficiently furnished to be a Doctour of the Nations, & a Convertour of People) became all unto all, and as it were a Christian Mercury, to winne some. Oh, that his Knowledge, or Zeale were as rife, as his Name: and I would to God, some could learne to behave themselves toward Princes, and Magistrates, as Paul demeaned himselfe, not onely before the King Agrippa, but also before the twoo Romane Procuratours of that Province, Felix, and Festus: whome he entreated in honourable termes, albeit ethnicke governours. Were none more scrupulous, then S. Paul, how easily, and gratiously might divers Confutations bee reconciled, that now rage, like Civill Warres? The chiefest matter in question, is no article of beliefe, but a point of pollicy, or governement: wherin a Iudiciall Equity being duely observed, what letteth but the particular Lawes, Ordinances, Iniunctions, and whole manner of Iurisdiction, may rest in the disposition of Soveraine Autoritie? [pp. 140–42].

May it therefore please the busiest of those, that debarre Ecclesiasticall persons of all Civill iurisdiction, or temporall function, to consider; how every pettie *Parish*, in England, to the number of about 5200. more, or lesse, may be made a Ierusalem, or Metropolitan Sea, like the noblest Cittie of the Orient, (for so Pliny calleth Ierusalem): how every *Minister* of the sayd Parishes, may be promoted to be an high Priest, and to have a Pontificall Consistorie: how every *Assistant* of that Consistorie, may emproove himselfe an honorable, or worshipfull Senior, according to his reverend calling: . . . . how a *Princely and Capitall Court*, and even the high Councell of Parlament, or supreme Tribunall of a Royall Cittie, ... how such a Princely, and stately Court, should be the patterne of a *Presbitery in a poore Parish:* how the Principalitie or *Pontificalitie of a Minister* according to the degenerate Sanedrim, should be sett-upp, when the *Lordship of a Bishop*, or Archbishop, according to their position, is to be pulled-downe: finally how the *supremacie over Kings*, and Emperours should be taken from the highest Priest, or *Pope*, to be bestowed upon an *ordinarie Minister*, or Curate: . . . .

[1] The following extracts from the *Advertisement* are found in Grosart's edition of *Harvey*, Vol. II in the Huth Library, 3 vols., 1884–85; but here the modern *s* is used throughout, and the modern distinction between *v* and *u* is observed.

When these points are considered; if withall it be determined by evident demonstration, as cleere as the Sunne, and as invincible as Gods-word, that whatsoever the Apostles did for their time, is immutably perpetuall, and necessarie for all times: and that nothing by way of speciall respect, or present occasion, is left to the ordinaunce, disposition, or provision of the Church, but the strict and precise practise of their Primitive Discipline, according to some Precepts in S. Paules Epistles, and a few Examples in the Actes of the Apostles: *So be it*, must be the suffrage of us, that have no Voyce in the Sanedrim. All is concluded in a fewe pregnant propositions: we shall not neede to trouble, or entangle our wittes with many Articles, Iniunctions, Statutes, or other ordinances: the Generall, Provinciall, and Episcopall Councels, lost much good labour in their Canons, Decrees, and whatsoever Ecclesiastical Constitutions: the workes of the fathers, and Doctours, howsoever auncient, learned, or Orthodoxall, are little, or nothing worth: infinite studdies, writings, commentaries, treatises, conferences, consultations, disputations, distinctions, conclusions of the most notable Schollers in Christendome, altogither superfluous. Well-worth a fewe resolute Aphorismes; that dispatch more in a word, then could be boulted-out in fifteen hundred yeares; and roundly determine all with an *Upsy-downe*. . . . . Now if it seeme as cleere a case in Pollicie, as in Divinitie; that one, and the same Discipline may serve divers, and contrarie formes of regiment, and be as fitt for the head of England, as for the foote of Geneva: The worst is, Aristotles Politiques must be burned for heretiques. But how happie is the age, that in stead of a thousand Positive Lawes, and Lesbian Canons, hath founde one standing Canon of Polycletus, an immutable Law of sacred governement? And what a blissefull destinie had the Commonwealth, that must be the Modell of all other Commonwealthes, and the very Center of the Christian world? [pp. 143–47].

M. Calvin, the founder of the plott, (whome Beza stileth the great Calvin) had reason to establish his ministery against Inconstancy, and to fortify himselfe against Faction (as he could best devise, and compasse with the assistance of his French party, and other favorites) by encroaching upon a mechanicall, and mutinous people, from whose variable and fickle mutability he could no otherwise assecure himselfe. As he sensibly found not onely by dayly experiences of their giddy and factious nature, but also by his owne expulsion, and banishment: whome after a little triall, (as it were for a dainety novelty, or sly experiment) they could be content to use as kindly, and loyally, as they had used the old Bishopp, their lawful Prince. Could M. Cartwright, or M. Traverse seaze upon such a Citty, or any like popular towne, Helvetian or other, where Democraty ruleth the rost: they should have some-bodies good leave to provide for their owne security; and to take their best advantage uppon tickle Cantons. Some one peradventure in time would canton them well-enough; and give a shrewd pull at a Metropolitan Sea, as soveraine, as the old Bishoprike of Geneva. It were not the

first time, that a Democraty by degrees hath prooved an Aristocraty; an Aristocraty degenerated into an Oligarchy; an Oligarchy amounted to a Tyranny, or Principality. . . . . I am no pleader for the regiment of the feete over the head, or the governement of the stomacke over the hart: surely nothing can be more pernitious in practise, or more miserable in conclusion, then a commaunding autority in them, that are borne to obey, ordained to live in private condition, made to follow their occupations, and bound to homage. You that be schollars, moderate your invention with iudgement: and you that be reasonable gentlemen, pacify your selves with reason. If it be an iniury, to enclose Commons; what iustice is it, to lay open enclosures? and if Monarchies must suffer popular states to enioy their free liberties, and amplest fraunchises, without the least infringment, or abridgment: is there no congruence of reason, that popular states should give Monarchies leave, to use their Positive lawes, established orders, and Royall Prerogatives, without disturbance or confutation? [pp. 152–54].

Possession was ever a strong defendant: and a iust title maketh a puissant adversarie. Bishops will gooverne with reputation, when Marr-Prelats must obey with reverence, or resist with contumacie. Errours in doctrine; corruptions in manners; and abuses in offices, would be reformed: but degrees of superioritie, and orders of obedience are needefull in all estates: and especially in the Clergie as necessarie, as the Sunne in the day, or the Moone in the night: or Cock-on-hoope, with a hundred thousand Curates in the world, would proove a mad Discipline. Let Order be the golden rule of proportion; & I am as forward an Admonitioner, as any Precisian in Ingland. If disorder must be the Discipline, and confusion the Reformation, (as without difference of degrees, it must needes) I crave pardon. *Anarchie*, was never yet a good States-man: and *Ataxie*, will ever be a badd Church-man. . . . . Equality, in things equall, is a iust Law: but a respective valuation of persons, is the rule of Equity: & they little know, into what incongruities, & absurdities they runne headlong, that are weary of *Geometricall proportion*, or distributive Iustice, in the collation of publique functions, offices, or promotions, civile, or spirituall. God bestoweth his blessings with difference; and teacheth his Lieutenant the Prince, to estimate, and preferre his subiectes accordingly. When better Autors are alledged for equalitie in persons Unequall; I will live, and dye in defence of that equalitie; and honour *Arithmeticall Proportion*, as the onely ballance of Iustice, and sole standard of governement. Meane-while, they that will-be wiser, then God, and their Prince, may continue a peevish scrupulositie in subscribing to their ordinances; and nurrish a rebellious Contumacie, in refusing their orders. I wish unto my frendes, as unto miselfe: and recommende Learning to discretion, conceit to iudgment, zeale to knowledge, dutie to obedience, confusion to order, Uncertaintie to assurance, and Unlawfull noveltie to lawfull Uniformitie: the sweetest repose, that the Common-wealth, or Church can enioy [pp. 158–60].

Every Miller is ready to convey the water to his owne mill: and neither the high Priestes of Ierusalem, nor the Popes of Roome, nor the Patriarckes of Constantinople, nor the Pastors of Geneva, were ever hastie to binde their owne handes. They that research Antiquities, and inquier into the privities of Practises, shall finde an Act of *Praemunire* is a necessarie Bridle in some cases. The first Bishops of Roome, were undoubtedly vertuous men, and godly Pastors: from Bishops they grew to be Popes: what more reverend, then some of those Bishops; or what more Tyrannical, then some of those Popes? Aaron, and the high-Priestes of Ierusalem, and of other ceremoniall nations, were their glorious Mirrours; and they deemed nothing too-magnificall, or pompous, to breede an Universall reverence of their sacred autoritie, and Hierarchie. We are so farre alienated from imitating, or allowing them, that we cannot abide our owne Bishops; yet withall would have every Minister a Bishop, and would also be fetching a new patterne from old Ierusalem, the moother-sea of the high-Priesthood. So the world (as the manner is) will needes runne-about in a Circle: pull-downe Bishops; set up the Minister; make him Bishop of his Parish, and head of the Consistorie, (call him, how you list, that must be his place): what will become of him within a few generations, but a high Priest in a low Ierusalem, or a great Pope in a small Roome? And then, where is the difference betweene him, and a Bishop, or rather betweene him, and a Pope? [pp. 181–82].

How probable is it, they are now at their very best, and even in the neatest and purest plight of their incorruption, whiles their mindes are abstracted from worldly thoughts, to a high meditation of their supposed-heavenly Reformation: and whiles it necessarily behooveth them, to stand charily and nicely upon the credit of their integritie, sinceritie, precisenesse, godlinesse, Zeale, and other vertues? When such respects are over, and their purpose compassed according to their harts desier; who can tell how they, or their successours may use the Keyes; or how they will besturr them with the Sworde? If Flesh proove not a Pope Ioane; and Bloud a Pope Hildebrand, good enough. Accidents, that have happened, may happen agayne; and all thinges under the Sunne, are subiect to casualtie, mutabilitie, and corruption. At all adventures, it is a brave Position, to maintaine a Soverain, and supreme autoritie in every Consistorie; and to exempt the Minister from superiour Censure; like the high Priest, or greatest Pontiffe. . . . . He had neede be a wise, and Conscionable man, that should be a Parlament, or a Chauncerie unto himselfe: and what a furniture of divine perfections were requisite in the Church, where so many Ministers, so many spirituall high Iustices of Oier, and Terminer: and every one a supreme Tribunall, a Synode, a Generall Councell, a Canon Law, a heavenly Law, and Gospel unto himselfe? If no Serpent can come within his Paradise, safe enough. Or were it possible, that the Pastor, (although a man, yet a divine man) should as it were by inheritance, or succession, continue a

Sainct from generation to generation: is it also necessary, that the whole company of the redoubted Seniors, should wage everlasting warre with the flesh, the world, and the Divell; and eternally remaine an incorruptible Areopage, without wound, or scarre? Never such a Colledge, or fraternitie upon Earth, if that be their inviolable order. But God helpe Conceit, that buildeth Churches in the Ayer, and platformeth Disciplines without stayne, or spott.

They complaine of corruptions; and worthily, where Corruptions encroche, (I am no Patron of corruptions): but what a surging sea of corruption would overflow within few yeares, in case the sword of so great and ample autoritie, as that at Ierusalem most capitall, or this at Geneva most redoubted, were putt into the hand of so little capacitie in governement, so little discretion in Discipline, so little iudgement in causes, so little moderation in living, so little constancie in saying, or dooing, so little gravitie in behaviour, or so little whatsoever should procure reverence in a Magistrate, or establish good order in a Commonwealth. Travaile thorough ten thousand Parishes in England; and when you have taken a favourable vew of their substantiallest, and sufficientest Aldermen, tell me in good sooth, what a comely showe they would make in a Consistorie; or with how solemne a presence they would furnish a Councell Table. . . . . I deny not, but the short apron may be as honest a man, or as good a Christian, as the long gowne: but methinkes he should scantly be so good a Iudge, or Assistant in doubtfull causes: and I suppose, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* is as fitt a Proverbe now, as ever it was, since that excellent Painter rebuked that sawcie Cobler [pp. 184–87].

If Bishops-gate be infected, is it unpossible for Alders-gate to be attainted? and if neither can be long cleere in an Universall plague of Corruption, what reason hath Zeale to fly from Gods blessing into a warme Sunne: What a wisedome were it, to chaunge for the worse? or what a notorious follie were it, to innovate, without infallible assurance of the better? What Politique state, or considerate people, ever laboured any Alteration, Civill, or Ecclesiasticall, without Pregnant evidence of some singular, or notable Good, as certaine in consequence, as important in estimation? To be short, ... had Martin his lust, or Penry his wish, or Udal his mynde, or Browne his will, or Ket his phansie, or Barrow his pleasure, or Greenwood his harts-desire, or the freshest Practitioners their longing, (even to be Iudges of the Consistorie, or Fathers Conscript of Senate, or *Domine fac totum*, or themselves wott not what); there might fall-out five hundred practicable cases, and a thousand disputable questions in a yeare, (the world must be reframed anew, or such points decided) wherewith they never disquieted their braynes, and wherein the learnedest of them could not say A. to the Arches, or B. to a Battledore. If the graver motioners of Discipline (who no doubt are learneder men, and might be wiser: but M. Travers, M. Cartwright, Doctour Chapman, and all the

grayer heads begin to be stale with these Noovellists) have bethought themselves upon all cases, and cautels in Practise, of whatsoever nature, and have thorowly provided against all possible mischieffs, inconveniences, and irregularities, as well future, as present; I am glad they come so well prepared: surely some of the earnestest and egrest sollicitours, are not yet so furnished [pp. 207–8].

Hans Berli, at the close of his full and able discussion of the work of Gabriel Harvey, tells us: "Er war Humanist und Puritaner."[1] But simply to call him a Puritan leaves many questions unanswered. He was a broad-minded Low-Churchman, accepting and defending the episcopal system, but with no illusions about it, and no extreme views. At times he shows a liberality of mind and a grasp of fundamental questions that remind us of Bishop Hooker himself.

There can be little doubt that Spenser's position was substantially identical with that of Harvey. The poet appears to have been more aggressively hostile than his friend to abuses in the church. I believe that the intensity of Spenser's reforming zeal has helped to mislead some careful students as to his fundamental position.

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[1] *Gabriel Harvey, der Dichter-freund und Kritiker*, Dissertation (Zürich, 1913), p. 146.

REVISIONS IN THE ENGLISH MYSTERY PLAYS

In discussions concerning the interrelations of the English mystery plays some misapprehension seems to proceed from the initial assumption that the text of an entire cycle may periodically have been subjected to revision. Thus, for example, Professor F. W. Cady,[1] in trying to establish his theory that the direct borrowings from the York cycle are the latest additions to the Towneley plays[2]—later even than the Wakefield group of plays—assumes that two editors, the first writing in couplets and the second in quatrains, successively revised the text of the whole cycle.

With this theory I am unable to agree for several reasons. In the first place, the characteristic nine-line stanzas of the Wakefield playwright, concerning which there is no diversity of opinion, are found in the T *Judicium*,[3] where they are obviously additions or insertions in an older play derived from Y. I say "obviously," because it is difficult to understand why the work of the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*[4] should be displaced by a less developed play from York, and also because the insertions, broadly comic in character, seem definitely intended to refurbish an older, more serious play. The Wakefield stanza, moreover, occurs in three other T plays much resembling Y: (1) in T 20, where the Wakefield playwright's lines (1–53) putting "snap" into Pilate's speech are immediately followed by stanzas in the meter of the so-called Y *parent cycle*;[5] (2) in T 16, which may be a rewriting of a York play (cf. Y 19); and (3) in T 22, the second half of which suggests Y 34, where the Wakefield dramatist contributes twenty-three stanzas, one of them, ll. 233–41, containing reminiscences of Y 34, ll. 26–35. When, therefore, the nature

[1] "The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, X, 572 ff. For another view see Pollard, *The Towneley Plays*, *E.E.T.S.*, extra series, LXXI, Introduction, and Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, pp. 161 ff.

[2] Hereafter the Towneley plays will be designated by T and the York plays by Y.

[3] T 30, stanzas 16–48 and 68–76. Cf. Pollard, *op. cit.*, pp. xx ff.

[4] His work is undisturbed in T 3, 12, 13, 16, and 21, and is apparently used for the purpose of embellishment in T 20, 22, 24, and 30.

[5] Whether or not one accepts Davidson's conclusions concerning the presence in Y of a parent cycle, there can be no question but that the septenar stanza is identified with early plays in Y. Cf. Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, pp. 137 ff.

of the Wakefield playwright's contributions is considered—his specialties seem to have been demons, torturers, Herods, and Pilates—one can hardly, I think, regard them as remnants of older work, afterward replaced by heavy lines from Y, in one instance by lines from a Y play of the earliest type.

The so-called editorial couplets, moreover, are found in only a small number of plays, a fact which might indicate that the hypothetical editor labored upon only a part of the cycle or that, as Pollard and Gayley plausibly assume, these couplets are survivals of an earlier stage in the history of the T plays.

Finally, that the couplets and quatrains are "editorial" in the sense assumed, i.e., that they are the work of a late reviser who had all or most of the plays in hand and rewrote or edited parts of them, appears to me questionable.

An investigation of the problem of revisions in the plays may perhaps shed some light upon the subject of the interrelations of the cycles. As suggested above, it has been widely assumed that at various times additions were made to the cycles *in toto*. This might indeed have been the case had all the plays remained in the custody of one man or of one group of men. It would seem, however, that whoever may have been responsible for the cycles originally,[1] the plays themselves reposed in the hands of the guilds,[2] and that in towns where the crafts were charged with the task of producing the pageants they also supervised the revisions of the text.

[1] The city accounts of Coventry for 1584 record a payment to Mr. Smythe of Oxford "for hys paynes for writing of the tragedye xiij li vjs viijd," which shows that at this late date, in any case, a wholly new play for all the guilds was provided by the city. Cf. Sharp, *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry*, 1825, p. 40. At Coventry the pageants for special occasions also seem to have been provided by the city (cf. extracts from the Cov. Leet Book published in *E.E.T.S.*, extra series, LXXXVII, 114); but who supplied the "new playes" mentioned in the *Annals* for 1519–20, I have been unable to discover. Cf. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 358, and Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, *E.E.T.S.*, extra series, LXXXVII, xxi.

[2] In places like Shrewsbury, New Romney, Lydd, Ipswich, and Norwich before 1527, where the corporation or a particular guild assumed full charge of all the plays, different conditions would of course obtain (cf. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 118). No cycles seem to survive from such towns, unless the *Ludus Coventriae* be identified with Lincoln (cf. H. Craig in *The Athenaeum*, August 16, 1913). Madeleine Hope Dodds, however, has recently suggested that interpolations from some five different sources have been added to an old N-town cycle, and that this eclectic cycle emanates from the pen of a clerk of Bury St. Edmunds (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1914, pp. 79 ff.). Cf. also Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*, pp. xxviii ff. and F. A. Foster, *A Study of the Middle-English Poem Known as The Northern Passion*, Bryn Mawr Dissertation, 1914, pp. 97 ff.

Thus at Coventry, several guilds independently employed Robert Croo to amend their plays for them;[1] the accounts of the Smiths record that in 1506 they "resevyd amonge bredren and other good ffelowys toward the Orygynall ij ^{s}. ix ^{d}.";[2] the accounts of the Cappers and Drapers detail various payments for songs;[3] those of the Cappers mention disbursements "for writyng a parte for herre (?) person," "for þe matter of þe castell of emaus,"[4] etc.; and in the Smiths' Company's accounts an agreement is recorded whereby it is seen that one, Thom's Colclow, who is to have *þe Rewle of þe pajaunt*, is "to bring in to þ^{e} mast^{r} on sonday next aft^{r} corp^{s} xp̄i day þ^{e} originall,"[5]—the master of course being a guild officer.

At Norwich, where after 1527 the guilds became responsible for the plays, they seem to have taken charge of the texts also. In the books of the Norwich Grocers' Company were found two entirely different versions of their play dating from 1533 and 1565 respectively. In 1534 the Grocers paid to "S^{r} Stephen Prowet for makyng of a newe ballet, 12^{d}," and in 1563 their play was "preparyd ageynst y^{e} daye of M^{r} Davy his takyng of his charge of y^{e} Mayralltye" with a "devyce" to be prepared by the surveyors at a cost of 6 *s.* 8 *d.*[6]

At Beverly in 1452 the Porters and Creelers were held responsible for a new pageant,[7] and the "worthier sort" in 1411 "should thenceforth . . . . cause a fit and proper pageant to be made, and a fit play played in the same."[8] Apparently the city itself, however, paid for the composition of the banns—which naturally could devolve on

[1] The Drapers in 1557 paid "Robart Crowe for makyng of the boke for the paggen xx ^{s}." (Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 67). In 1563 the Smiths gave him "viij ^{d}." "for ij leves of ore pley boke" (*ibid.*, p. 36). Our copies of the Shearmen and Taylors' and the Weavers' pageants show that in 1534 he "corrected" and "translated" for both these crafts.

The words, "makyng of the boke," and the like, which occur in the guild accounts from Coventry refer sometimes to copying, sometimes to writing. The sums expended, however, and the items accompanying the entry usually reveal which is intended. Compare the Drapers' accounts for 1572 (*ibid.*, p. 74) where x *s.* is paid "for wryttyng the booke" with the entry in a *Chamberlain's Book of the City of York* (cited in Smith, *York Plays*, p. 18): "Item, payd to John Clerke for entryng in the Regyster the Regynall of the pagyant pertenynge to Craft of Fullars, which was never before regestred, 12 d." The largest amount spent for copying at Coventry seems to be 5 *s.*, paid by each of three crafts in 1584 for the book of the *Destruction of Jerusalem* (Sharp, pp. 37, 65, 78).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 64, 67.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[6] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 118, 387, 388, 425.

[7] *Historical MSS Commission Reports, Beverley Corporation*, p. 136; A. F. Leach, "Some English Plays and Players" in *An English Miscellany*, p. 210.

[8] *Hist. MSS Comm., Bev.*, p. 67; Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

no one guild—for in 1423[1] a friar preacher received 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for writing them.[2]

Our late accounts from Chester reveal the fact that there, too, although the city authorities might choose to exhibit their taste in the selection of the plays submitted to them, the initiative in the matter rested with the crafts. Thus in 1575 the plays were to be "sett furth" "with suche correction and amendemente as shall be thaught conveniente by the saide maior, & all charges of the saide plays to be supported & borne by thinhabitaunts of the saide citie as have been heretofore used,"[3] a statement significantly interpreted by the accounts of the Smiths for the same year, which show that the guild submitted two alternative plays for the choice of the aldermen.[4]

Our manuscripts of the Chester plays are of course very late and all, with the exception of the *Hengwrt MS* of the *Antichrist* (play xxiv), date from a time many years after the cycle had ceased to be performed. That the plays had been subjected to some revision at the hands of guilds, however, is to be inferred from the composite nature of the plays themselves and, to a lesser extent, from a comparison of the list of plays in *Harl. MS* 2150, f. 85*b*,[5] of the pre-Reformation Banns,[6] of the post-Reformation Banns,[7] and of our versions of the plays.

That at York also the plays were not in the keeping of the city but in the charge of the crafts our manuscript of the official register bears witness. Thus three plays, which, according to Miss Smith,[8] were probably copied a few years later than the body of the manuscript, occupy an inserted quire at the beginning. In two places, blank pages have been left for the insertion of plays which we know

[1] *Hist. MSS Comm., Rev.*, p. 160; Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[2] At Sleaford, Lincolnshire (Chambers, II, 395), the accounts of the guild of the Holy Trinity for 1480 include "It. payd for the Ryginall of ye play for ye Ascencon & *the wrytyng of spechys* and payntyng of a garmet for God iij^{s}. viij^{d}.", but it is uncertain whether a cycle existed at Sleaford.

[3] *Hist. MSS Comm.*, 8[1], p. 363, and Morris, *Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*, p. 321.

[4] Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 305, note: "1575. Spent at Tyer to heare 2 playes before the Aldermen to take the best, xviii^{d}." Cf. Chambers, II, 355, and Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[5] Cf. Chambers, II, 408, and Furnivall, *Digby Plays*, p. xxi.

[6] Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 307–9.

[7] Deimling, *Chester Plays*, pp. 2–9, and Furnivall, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

[8] *York Plays*, p. xiv. Cf. also p. xvii.

from Burton's lists existed but which, for some reason, were never entered.[1] Three pieces, also on subjects known to Burton, were not added to the register until 1558,[2] and one of them, *The Fullers' Play*, as appears from the *Chamberlain's Book of the City of York*, never before was registered.[3] The late notes in the margins of the manuscript tell the same tale: evidently even in 1568, when the entire cycle was submitted to the reforming Dr. Matthew Hutton in the "happie time of the gospell," he had to be told that parts of the plays in it had been superseded. Note, for example, p. 93, "Doctor, this matter is newly mayde, wherof we haue no coppy,"[4] the "coppy" presumably being in the hands of the Spicers, who were responsible for the play.[5]

If the corporation had been responsible for the texts of the plays, such omissions would scarcely be intelligible. Nor can one understand the silence of the corporation documents on the subject of payments for "making the books." Not until 1568, so far as we know, did the corporation interfere and order an emendation of the whole, and it is evident[6] that this order and the orders of 1575 and 1579 were brought about by the sweeping changes of the Reformation.[7]

[1] Burton's list of 1415, Nos. 22 and 25, printed in *York Plays*, pp. xix ff. The second list is in Davies, *York Records of the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 233 ff.

[2] Plays 4 and 41, and part of 7. Compare Burton's list of 1415, Nos. 4, 17 and 7.

[3] Spencer seems to be mistaken (*Corpus Christi Pageants*, p. 38) in stating that the crafts went to the town register to copy their individual scenes. How could the crafts whose plays were not entered do so? He also fails, I think (p. 54), to interpret the marginal notes correctly.

[4] Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*, p. 264, seems to think that our present text at this point is the "matter" referred to, and that it dates from the sixteenth century. But Miss Smith, p. xxviii, definitely assumes that the Prologue of Y 12 is in the same hand as the body of the manuscript, which she dates 1430–40. The note, therefore, must refer to lines not registered.

[5] For examples of the *nota* indicating alterations and corrections—there are some fifty of them—cf. *York Plays*, pp. xv, xvi, and the text itself. In some cases they may refer to changes made after 1568 (Miss Smith does not seem to me quite clear on this point), but in others they are obviously addressed to Dr. Hutton and point to revisions before this date. That some changes in the plays were registered and some not is apparent. Thus the Innkeepers registered both their plays, one probably not until 1483 (Intro., p. xlii), and in Y 7 two leaves were removed from the register and the new lines, written to fill the lacuna, were added upon a blank page at the end of the play. On the other hand, various plays were never registered, or registered very late, and the numerous cases of "Hic caret," in one case of "Hic caret finem. This matter is newly mayd & devysed, wherof we haue no coppy regystred" (p. 177), show that the rules were not stringent. Cf. also note 4, above.

[6] Cf. *York Plays*, p. xvi.

[7] The order of 1575 states that the *play bookes* were to be "reformed" "by the lawes of this realme."

By comparing Burton's two lists (that of 1415 must be denuded of its late interlinings and corrections) with the body of plays written about 1430–40,[1] and then by comparing these plays with the additions to the cycle written in later hands, we may form some small idea of the changes taking place in the plays after 1415.[2] What occurred during the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, a much more important period in the development of the cycle, can only be conjectured. It is safe to assume, however, that then as later—and to a still greater extent—plays were rearranged, revised, and rewritten.

Our records, of course, are by no means complete. That the text was far from being the most important element in the pageants, the paucity of references to it, the small sums expended upon it, and, on the other hand, the heavy disbursements for stage properties, the fines for inadequate acting, etc., all eloquently testify.[3] The records that we possess, however, seem to me to point to the crafts and not to the town authorities as those held responsible for the texts. To be sure, as the town authorities became more and more powerful they tended to interfere more and more in the affairs of the guilds. The corporation at York in 1568, 1575, and 1579 ordered the plays "corrected," i.e., "reformed," but whether the guilds, like those of Chester in similar circumstances,[4] were to undertake any of these corrections themselves is uncertain. How early such municipal authority may have been exerted elsewhere I do not know. At Beverley in 1519–20 the twelve governors seem to have spent 7 *s.*, "being with Sir William Pyers, poet, at Edmund

[1] The date assigned to the greater portion of our MS by its editor.

[2] It must always be remembered that only changes affecting a few essentials can be detected from Burton's slight summaries. Thus he knows nothing of the Prologue of Y 12 in 1415; he includes an *obstetrix* in Y 14, who disappeared from the play before it was registered; Y 16 and 17 were one play when he first wrote both lists, and this play apparently excluded two characters which now appear; the 1415 play on the Purification—ours dates from 1558—had *duo filij Symeonis;* play 19 had four soldiers and four women instead of the two each in our present play; and so on. The list is too long to cite, but it will be noted that F. W. Cady in his article on "The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIV, 419 ff., takes no account of them.

[3] It is therefore pleasant to discover that at York in 1476, the "moste connyng discrete and able players" of the city were to "serche" and "examen" not only all the *plaiers* and *pagentes* belonging to the *Corpus Xti plaie* but also the *plaies* as well; cf. *York Plays*, p. xxxvii. (I assume that the guilds were ordered to revise those found unsuitable; cf. the Smiths' accounts of Chester, above.)

[4] Cf. p. 568.

Metcalff's house to make an agreement with him for transposing (?) ['transposicione'] the Corpus Christi Play," and 3 *s.* 4 *d.* were "given to the said William Pyers for his expenses and labour in coming from Wresill to Beverley for the alteration of the same."[1] These items certainly suggest that in 1519–20 the twelve were concerned in the *transposicione* of the Beverley cycle. That they paid for any work done upon it is not so evident. The first item may record a payment merely for the convivialities of the occasion,[2] the second a payment for the poet's expenses only, but in any case the instance is unique, so far as I know, and of late date, and the sums seem too small to indicate extensive revision. Except for these records, however—that of York definitely related to the unusual circumstances of the Reformation and that of Beverley uncertain—I find nothing to suggest that the cycles were subjected to revision *in toto*. On the other hand, as I have indicated, there seem to be many reasons for assuming that in the great towns where the guilds controlled the other details of their pageants they also supervised the texts of the plays.

The application of these results to the Towneley plays is obvious. No records from the guilds of Wakefield have been found, but Chambers conjectures[3] that our manuscript of the plays is, like that of the Y plays, a *registrum*, and all critics apparently agree that the cycle, as we have it, is highly composite in nature. Davidson[4] is of the opinion that a single compiler garnered his material from here and there, linking it together by verse of his own. Pollard[5] refers to "the period when the York plays were being incorporated into the cycle." Cady finds evidence that the entire cycle was revised by two successive editors. In view of the situation elsewhere, I am inclined to believe that we have in T as in Y a collection of plays each subjected, at least during its formative period, to the vicissitudes

[1] *Hist. MSS Comm., Bev.*, p. 171.

[2] Note the entry almost immediately afterward: "5 *s.* 8 *d.* expenses of Mr. Receiver and the 12 Governors at Antony Goldsmyth's house dining on two bucks there. 3 *s.* 4*d.* to the Lord Cardinal's foresters for bringing them."

[3] *Op. cit.*, II, 143.

[4] *English Mystery Plays*, p. 129.

[5] *Towneley Plays*, p. xxvi.

of life within its particular craft.[1] Some of the crafts were fortunate in being able to command the services of a remarkable Wakefield playwright.[2] Others were content to borrow from Y, perhaps revising or rewriting later. Still others continued to use old plays pieced out by borrowings from elsewhere or enlivened by a scene or two from the hands of the Wakefield dramatist. The possibilities are almost inexhaustible, and nearly every play when thus considered presents a separate problem.

Accordingly, we cannot assume, I think, that at some period a couplet or a quatrain editor made his way through the whole cycle—especially since couplets and quatrains would offer the easiest forms for emendations at any time. Nor is it possible to posit a "York period" in the T cycle, although Y plays may have been more fashionable among Wakefield playwrights at some times than at others. Indeed, to make confusion worse confounded, the Y plays were themselves undergoing the various processes of change all the while.[3] In my opinion, we can assume, however, that old plays were being rewritten and that borrowed plays were being rewritten. And this fact seems to me to account for the origin of certain resemblances between the cycles, both of structure and of phrase, that are otherwise not readily explained.[4]

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[1] Compare the two versions of the *Shepherds' Play* with the two plays on the *Fall* belonging to the Norwich grocers, and the two plays on the *Coronation of the Virgin* belonging to the York innkeepers.

[2] Compare the paradoxically similar situation at Coventry where several guilds requisitioned the pen of Robart Croo—and were less fortunate.

[3] As Gayley has pointed out, we actually find the influence of various different *strata* of Y in T. Cf. *Plays of Our Forefathers*, pp. 161 ff.

[4] I shall hope at some future time to illustrate the application of this theory of revisions as well as to examine certain other hypotheses connected with the relations between the cycles.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Sonnets of Shakespeare. From the Quarto of 1609 with Variorum Readings and Commentary. Edited by RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. Pp. xix+542.

A New Shakespeare Quarto. The Tragedy of King Richard II. Printed for the third time by Valentine Simmes in 1598. Reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy in the library of William Augustus White. With an Introduction by ALFRED W. POLLARD. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1916. Pp. 104+Sig. A–I.

Shaksperian Studies. By Members of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University. Edited by BRANDER MATTHEWS and ASHLEY HORACE THORNDIKE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. Pp. vii+452.

These volumes, representing in three different fields notable products of the Shakespeare Tercentenary, show a degree of excellence that makes the reviewer's task comparatively simple.

Professor Alden's edition of the Sonnets, following the plan and method of Furness' New Variorum editions of Shakespeare's plays, and uniform with those volumes in presswork, size, and binding, is worthy of its place in the series. As far as I can judge, the immense task of reprinting the original text of 1609 and recording variant readings of later editions, of selecting and abridging all important annotation, and of digesting the vast literature on the Sonnets, has been performed with excellent judgment and remarkable accuracy. The introductory pages and the appendix give the history of the text and of the schools of interpreters, select passages of criticism, the important sources, and summaries of the varied arguments on the arrangement of the Sonnets and on the biographical interpretations centering around "the onlie begetter," the Friend, the Rival Poet, and the Dark Lady. Personally I regret that in this edition special attention has not been given to the influence exerted on Shakespeare's Sonnets by Petrarchan, Platonic, and Court-of-Love conventions. If, however, one were inclined to regret the absence of a full record of the vagaries of biographical and other interpretations, a glance at Mr. Alden's enormous bibliography for the Sonnets will give him pause. Yet either a short summary of other theories in regard to the Dark Lady should have been included with the survey of the influence of

Willobie's *Avisa* on the surmises in regard to her, or cross references should have been given to parts of the appendix and notes where other theories are stated, for Dark Lady, Friend, and Rival Poet do not appear in the index to aid one in following the history of the interpretation of the Sonnets.

For students of Shakespeare interested especially in bibliography and text, the most important contribution of the tercentenary year of Shakespeare's death is the discovery and publication in facsimile of a new Quarto of *Richard II*. The volume is a beautiful specimen of book-making, and the reproductions are remarkably clear and uniform. It is gratifying that this Quarto is edited by A. W. Pollard, whose recent bibliographical works have contributed so much to the understanding of Shakespeare and his fellows. His long introductory essay on the text of *Richard II* gives a systematic catalogue, analysis, and classification of all the errors and the notable variations of the texts in the order of their publication, from the Quarto of 1597 through the Folio. Some critic may rise to challenge details of his conclusion, but the method must remain a model. In this investigation the new Quarto, the second belonging to the year 1598, based on the first of that year, aids materially. It derives further importance from the possibility, considered by Mr. Pollard but rejected, that it was used for the Folio text. Mr. Pollard's conclusion is that the Quarto of 1597 furnishes the text nearest to Shakespeare's original form, and that the Folio was set from the fifth Quarto, that of 1615, with some revisions from a copy of the first Quarto used by Shakespeare's company, in which certain corrections of the text, variations in the stage directions, and omissions of passages were found. To my mind, the chief difficulty in accepting this conclusion as final lies in the doubt as to whether fifty lines found in the Quarto of 1615 would have been omitted in the Folio. An interesting deduction of the editor is that Shakespeare's original manuscript was probably used for setting up the first Quarto, and that the punctuation of this Quarto, scant in the main, was intended to guide the actor in the rendering of the lines.

The Columbia *Shaksperian Studies*, with no brilliant essays giving individualistic interpretations or striking discoveries, is very valuable for its inquiries into the methods and purposes of Shakespearian study and for its application of modern logical methods, in various ways, to Shakespearian problems. One essay surveys the points of view and the methods of those who have sought to interpret Shakespeare's personality. Others deal with his use of his sources, with the principles of pronunciation in his day, with stage tradition as contributing to interpretation, with the points of view of American editors, with the interpretation of *Midsummer Night's Dream* in its presentations on the New York stage at various periods, with the structure and characterization of *Julius Caesar* in the light of Shakespeare's sources and his variations on them, with the meaning of *Troilus and Cressida*, with the artistic power of *Romeo and Juliet*, with Parolles not as a weak reflection of Falstaff but as a reflection of Elizabethan manners, with a comparison of

the modern point of view in regard to Henry V with the Renaissance idealization of him as a man of action, with a rational analysis of Hamlet ("Reality and Inconsistency in Shakspere's Characters"), with "Shakspere on His Art," with "Shakspere and the Medieval Lyric." On the whole, the volume furnishes an excellent example of modern historical and common-sense criticism.

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English Literature from Widsith to the Death of Chaucer. A Source Book. By ALLEN ROGERS BENHAM. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. xxviii+634.

The title of this book is misleading since the work itself contains little material dealing directly with literature. A survey of the table of contents reveals this fact and at the same time the real character of the book. The two chapters into which the work is divided, the first treating of England to the Norman Conquest (pp. 1–139), the second, of the period to the death of Chaucer (pp. 140–613), are arranged under the following headings: The political background, social and industrial background, cultural background, linguistic background, literary characteristics, representative authors. Obviously the aim of the book is not to present the literature of the period but to give such a historical and cultural background as will make an understanding of the literature possible: it is in fact a source book for mediaeval English history. This purpose it fulfils very well. It gives extracts (in translation) from chronicles, sermons, poems (chiefly illustrative of aspects of mediaeval life); in footnotes it offers extensive bibliographical information. In nearly all cases the passages selected are well chosen, and the total effect of the book is to give perhaps the best general impression of mediaeval English life to be found between the covers of a single volume.

Individuals will naturally differ in their opinions as to what such a book should contain. To one reader at least the treatment of literature seems inadequate. Only three literary types—romance, drama, history—are exhibited in the Middle English period. Of the translations from Old English poetry none is in the old metrical form. There are, moreover, errors in some of the translations: on page 35, for example, *since* is rendered "treasured life" and *æfter maððum-welan*, "thereafter." The literal meanings fit perfectly. More important, however, is the mistranslation of the refrain in "Deor's Lament" (see Lawrence, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 23 ff.). In a note on page 72 Beadohild and Mæthilde are said to be the same despite the wide divergence of opinions among scholars. The translation of *bryne* as "shield" on p. 371 (*Gawain and the Green Knight*) makes nonsense out of the passage. The sentence on p. 91, "Old English literature is characterized by its simple

literary form and style, its unsophisticated versification and rhetoric, and by its restricted range of types," even with its qualifying note, must give an entirely wrong impression to the uninformed reader. It is to be noted also that the author does not let the reader know which of his documents are in English and which in Latin (he even mixes the two in the note on p. 91).

The linguistic texts show many misprints. P. 75, l. 6 read *lausei uns;* p. 76, l. 3 of Cædmon's hymn, *uuldurfadur;* p. 77, last line, *aldormon;* p. 78, l. 7, *noldan;* l. 18, *weorðunga;* p. 79, l. 8, *almæhtiges;* l. 11, *aselle;* Cædmon's hymn, l. 1, *herigean;* l. 2, *Meotodes meahte ond his modgeþanc;* l. 5, *sceop;* l. 8, *Drihten.* The texts use ae or æ without regard for the spelling in the originals. In the Middle English texts ȝ is avoided, and in its place various alterations are made without consistency, e.g., *reȝhellboc to follȝhenn* becomes *regellboc to follyhenn* (p. 489). Wouldn't an uninformed person be likely to pronounce the last word as a trisyllable? On page 492 *hallȝhe* is represented both by *hallghe* and by *hallyhe;* on p. 497 *drayeth* and *to-dragen* (in both of which the original has ȝ) appear. There are misprints in the Middle English texts also. P. 487, l. 8 (of the *Bruce*) read *lay;* l. 9, *thowsandis;* p. 487, l. 6, *That;* following this a line has dropped out, *Till that Rychard off Normandy,* and the lines of translation at that point are misplaced; l. 13 read *discumfyt.* P. 489, l. 1 of the *Ormulum,* read *flaeshess;* p. 490, l. 9, insert *itt* after *icc;* l. 13 read *te* after *tatt;* p. 492, l. 3, *wilenn;* l. 8, *writenn;* p. 493, l. 4, *Ormin;* l. 6, *Thiss, teyy;* p. 494, l. 1, *alle kinerichen;* l. 4, *tha;* p. 495, l. 5, *thœinen;* l. 7 read *dugethe* and insert *ther* after *duntes;* l. 8, insert *tha* after *while;* l. 12, *yifle* should be *gisle!* l. 14 read *Arthure;* p. 496, l. 7 *floh* should be *sloh!* l. 14 read *Tha;* p. 498, l. 9, *seten;* l. 11, *gleomen;* l. 12, *dugethe;* p. 499, l. 11, *abuten, uten;* l. 12, *to-gœines;* p. 500, l. 2, *beord;* l. 10, *Aevereaelches;* l. 12, *yelpen;* p. 501, last line, transpose *on* and *him;* p. 502, l. 1 read *Arthure;* l. 1 (of the *Ayenbite*), *ywyte;* l. 6, *Thet, inwyttte;* l. 8, *Thet, yeve;* p. 503, l. 2, *onderuonge;* l. 4, *sanynt;* l. 2 (of the *Proclamation*), *Yrloande;* p. 504, l. 3 insert *to* before *werien;* p. 505, l. 4, read *Northfolke, Marescal on.*

In note 1, page 1, reference should be made to H. M. Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation,* Cambridge, 1907. Page 368, note 18, should refer to the best translation of *Gawain* by K. G. T. Webster and to Professor Kittredge's book. The statement that the *Parlement of Foules* celebrates the marriage of Richard II should be modified in view of Professor Manly's article in Morsbach's *Studien,* L, 279 ff.

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Modern Philology

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PHYSIGUNKUS

1. The German word which forms the subject of this paper occurs first in a Reformation pamphlet reprinted by Schade in the second volume of his *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*. The pamphlet, which dates from 1520 and according to Schade represents Rhenish Franconian, according to Fischer (*Schwäb. Wb.*, II, 1525) possibly Swabian speech, is in dialogue form. One of the interlocutors says of the Pope (p. 133): '. . . . wie man im die füesz můsz küssen und in haiszen den aller hailigisten. und etlich visegunklen sagen, er müg nichts unrechts thon, er müg nit sünden.' Here *visegunkeln* means 'charlatans of learning, men whose heads are full of false erudition which they use to mislead the people'—'die Gelehrten, die Verkehrten.'

Another sixteenth-century source, the so-called *Zimmersche Chronik*, Swabian in origin, twice uses our word, though in a slightly different form, *visigunk*. The meaning also is here not quite the same: it seems to be that of 'eccentric idiot.' In one passage (III, 61, of Barack's ed. in the *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*) we read: 'Ain bruder hat er gehapt, grave Ludwig, der ist doch gar ain visigungk gewesen, von dessen abenteurigen und kindtlichen sachen ain ganze legende mögte geschriben werden.' Later on in the chronicle (IV, 3) one Bechtoldt von Rott is described as *ain rechter visigunk* and a piece of his queerness and stupidity is

related: egged on by some practical jokers, who tell him he may thus gain knighthood, he goes into the tent of the Emperor Charles the Fifth and stands there, silently staring about, until his liege lord, the Cardinal of Augsburg, is asked about him and explains the situation, whereupon the Emperor laughs and with a perfumed glove dubs him knight. The chronicler, however, comments: 'Ich het dem gauch ain gute spiszgerten über die lenden geben zu aim glicklichen anfang seiner ritterschaft.'

The next occurrence is in Fischart's *Geschichtklitterung* or German Gargantua. In the 'Drunken Litany' a preceptor, and to all appearance a medical preceptor, is asked (Alsleben's edition, p. 145): 'Domine Phisiguncke ist nicht ein gemeyne Regel, treimal ober Tisch getrunken sey das gesundest, mehr hab ich nit gelesen,' to which the doctor answers: 'Neyn Neyn, Marce fili, du hast den Cratippum nicht recht gehört, das Buch, so gelesen hast, ist falsch verkehrt. Im abschreiben ists versehen worden, drey für dreitzehen.'

Fischart's use of the word is in several respects interesting. It is used frankly as a mock Latinism in address to a learned man. It is spelled as though it were Greco-Latin and receives the Latin vocative ending.

Our tradition does not keep us waiting long for the corresponding nominative. Moscherosch's *Philander*, toward the end of the vision *Höllen-Kinder* (I, 377, of the second Strassburg edition of 1642) meets a philosophizing poet who revels in scholastic hair-splitting of the most nonsensical kind. When this poet fires at Philander a string of syllogisms, part German, part Latin, the hero answers: 'Ihr müszt warlich auff Erden ein nöthlicher Kund, vnnd Lächerlicher Fisigunckus gewest sein, weil jhr die Schnacken vnd Grillen auch bisz hieher behalten!' Later, near the beginning of *Hansz hienüber Gansz herüber* (II, 205, 206, of the second edition), a young student quarrels with a pedantic *Ertz-Schoristen und Academico*, of whom he speaks, to his face, as 'einem so hirn-schelligen Esel und Physikunckusz . . . . bey dem man es doch in einem huy verderbet hätte, so bald mã auch in dem geringsten wörtlein oder Commate fehlete.' On the next page our word recurs, this time in the spelling *Fisigunckhusz*, which appears also when Moscherosch speaks, near the fortieth page of *Wider das Podagram* (Part 4, p. 45,

of the Leyden edition by Wyngarten, 1646[1]) of the 'Astronomi vnd Kalenderschreiber, welche solche fantastereyen vnd wunderfisigunckische bossen in jhren Kalendern mit ein-mahlẽ vñ schreiben.' Thus the faculties of theology, medicine, law, humanities, and natural science are all represented in the ranks of the *Physigunci.*

Schmeller (*Bayer. Wb.*[2], I, 768) quotes for Bavarian a seventeenth-century song: 'Ey du gueter Füsigunges.'

Another seventeenth-century occurrence is known to me only from the Grimm *Dictionary* (*s.v. Fisigunkes, Kunkelfusen*): the Austrian Abele, in his *Gerichtshändel* (1668, I, 262 [or 226?]), is there said to have the sentence: 'haben nicht etliche physicunkes vermeint, dasz Epiphania Christi säugamm gewest sei?'

Here, as in Schmeller's song, the Latin nominative ending *-us* appears in the Germanized form *-es*, which is found also in many words in the modern dialects, as Hildebrand, *D.Wb.*, V, 1495, points out. The feeling for its origin is probably everywhere lost. Examples are Alsatian *Schlappes* 'fauler Mensch,' *Beches* 'Schuhmacher'; the source is to be seen in such Latinisms as *Wackes* 'loafer' from L. *vagus;* see Martin-Lienhart's *Dictionary* as well as the list, there referred to, by Pfaff in *PBB*, XV, 189.

Our word has kept this ending to the present time in Alsace, where *Fisikunkes*, according to Martin-Lienhart, is used mostly in the set expression *Du roter F.*, as 'Schimpfname' for red-headed people—obviously a much-narrowed word-meaning indicative of obsolescence.

Except for this limited use in Alsace, the word seems to survive only in Switzerland. In the canton of Appenzell, according to Staub-Tobler, the word *Fisigunggi* (with Swiss diminutive ending) is used, though but rarely, in such expressions as *en gōlige Fisigunggi* 'ein seltsamer Querkopf.' Modified forms of the word, however, are widespread in Switzerland, but before we discuss them it will be well to inquire into the origin of *Physigunkus.*

2. As the Swiss *Idiotikon* and the rhythm of the songs attest, our word is stressed upon the third syllable. This places it in a class

[1] The incomplete copy of the second edition accessible to me (University of Illinois Library) lacks the last four of the fourteen authentic chapters, including the one here quoted; according to Martin-Lienhart, *Els. Wb.*, II, 937, the passage is to be found in II, 474, of the first Strassburg edition.

of words imperfectly understood: it will be the chief object of this paper to define the fundamental principle by which they are to be explained.

The general law of German word-accent is of course that of stress on the first syllable. Excepted are only the genuine verb-compounds, such as *gestehen, verstehen, überstehen,* and, secondarily, the verbal nouns corresponding to such compounds: *erteilen* has *Erteilung* beside older *Urteil, erlauben Erlaubnis,* beside *Urlaub,* and so on. All these forms, however, have always occupied a very distinct place in German speech-feeling; although they have multiplied, the analogy has not overstepped the above-mentioned bounds, and therefore, be it said at once, such forms as *Fisigunkes* cannot be explained as lying within the analogy of these words.

Apart from the verbal compounds, however, the German language has, in historical times, absorbed a great number of loan-words, chiefly from Latin and French, with accent on syllables other than the first, such as *Soldat, Student, studieren, spazieren.*

Now, as no phonetic law can be supposed to have produced the peculiar accentuation of words such as *Fisigunkes,* they must be analogic formations, and, as the compounds of the type *erlauben Erlaubnis, überstehen* are remote, there remains only one explanation: such words as *Fisigunkes* must be analogic formations for which foreign words with un-German accent have served as models.

This conclusion is confirmed by the meaning of our word: it is a joking word, a mock loan-word, a pseudo-Latinism. The early users were conscious of this and expressed it by the spellings with *visi-* and *physi-*.

J. Grimm, in the *Dictionary* (III, 1690) says of *Fisigunkus:* 'Wol entstellung eines romanischen worts, dessen erster theil *physio-* enthält, wie Abele zeigt; vielleicht nichts als der acc. von *physicus,* doch findet sich auch *filigunkes.*' Hildebrand (*D. Wb.,* V, 2661) says of Fischart's use: 'Offenbar ein Schulwitz,' and of Abele's: 'Deutlich *physici* in spöttischer Form.' Fischer's *Swabian Dictionary* says: '*Physikus* liegt nahe, aber *-gunkes* ist auch sonst ähnlich gebraucht.' Martin-Lienhart adopt Grimm's explanation, saying: 'Aus *Physicus* weitergebildet.' Staub-Tobler explain the word as a purely German compound, but refer also to the word

visierlich 'delicate, over-fine,' and mention Grimm's suggestion with the words: 'Wir müssen diese Deutung offen lassen, um so mehr, da auch bei uns *Fisikus*, in ähnlichem Sinn vorkommt' adding that the end of the distortion is probably based on some German word.

None of these authors explicitly undertakes to discuss the accentuation of the word; had they done so, they would not have questioned the foreign influence. Of the suggested explanations none satisfies the accentual conditions: *Physicus*, with its accusative, is accented on the first syllable, *visierlich* on the second; the type with *physio-* comes nearest. The genitive plural of *physicus*, *physicorum*, would come still nearer. A student's jesting nonce-word **physicunculus* is conceivable and may have been the immediate precursor of *Physigunkel*.

3. Latin words with unaccented initial *fisi-* are not uncommon in German usage. Unfortunately, the German dictionaries do not as a rule give loan-words—a gross violation of the principle that the description (as opposed to the history) of a language must follow the *Sprachgefühl* of its speakers and not the learned historical criteria of the investigator. One of the most pressing needs of German linguistics is a historical dictionary of loan-words, not to speak of an analysis of German Latinity, i.e., of Latin (and French) words and phrases which, though not actually adopted by the language, have as yet various times become current in German speech and writing as technical terms, citations, and ornaments. Nevertheless, one can with some certainty trace the existence in German of a number of Latin words with initial *fisi-*. They fall into two main groups.

a) We may look first at those from the stem of the participle *visus*. Their initial *v* was formerly in German usage pronounced *f* (by sound-substitution: G. *w* had then the semivowel value), as is shown by old spellings with *f*, by the absence of spellings with *w*, by such words as *Vers*, where standard German perserves an old pronunciation, and by the dialects, which frequently still have *f* for such Latin *v*.

In MHG. *visament*(*e*) means, in the words of Beneke's dictionary: 'visierung, modellierung; die eintheilung eines wappens und die beschreibung desselben'—*der wāpen visament*, *der wāfen visamente*. Lexer adds a passage from Laszberg's *Liedersaal* (I, 579), where

the word is spelled *fisiment* and is used in a mocking sense of letters of the alphabet embroidered on clothing, a fad, it seems, at one period of the decline of courtly life. The passage is worth quoting in full:

So wölt ich gerne fragen
Das ir mich bewisten me
Maneger trait dez a b c
An jm ainen buchstaben
Was die betütnust mügent haben
Die sy tragent wundert mich.
Sie sprachent war vmb mügs tu dich
Vmb die selben fisiment
Ez ist sicher ain getent
Vnt ain betrügnust offenlich.

Here *fisiment* seems to have the connotation of 'silly frills.' We shall see later to what influence such a connotation may be due.

For MHG. *visitieren* Lexer gives only the Latin equivalent 'visitare'; but the noun of agent he tells us occurs in the fourteenth century for the inspector of a nunnery. In modern Swiss *visitiere, visidiere* means, according to Staub-Tobler, 'untersuchen,' *Visidatz*, masculine, is 'amtlicher Besuch (eines Mitgliedes) der kirchlichen Oberbehörde beim Pfarrer, zur Untersuchung seiner Amts- und (früher auch) Buchführung.' In Alsatian Martin-Lienhart give for *visitiere* 'ärztlich untersuchen, durchsuchen, jemandes Taschen und Kleider auf etwas Verdächtiges hin aussuchen': 'Herr Dokter, visitiere mi; Eim d Säck visitiere; D Schandarme han s ganz Hus durchgvisitiert; Si hän alles üsgvisitiert, awer si hän nix gfunde.' The Swabian dictionary of Fischer spells the word phonetically with initial *f*, giving *fisidiere* 'früher "besuchen," modern: von einmaliger oder periodischer Untersuchung (*Visitazion*) des Zustands einer öffentlichen Anstalt, Schule udgl. mit und ohne Objekt. Von da ins Privatleben übertragen, mehr oder weniger mit scherzhaft drohendem Ton. Einem faulen naschhaften Buben o. ä. *visitiert* man seinen Schulranzen, seine Taschen, usw.' So older *Fyssydatz* (*Fisitatz*), spelled later with *v* (*Vissedatz*), today replaced by *Visitazion* 'wie nhd., besonders die periodische *Visitazion* der Schulen durch einen *Visitator*.'

It is small wonder that the *Fisigunkes* is a busybody (cf. sec. 6, p. 137): he is a near relative of the *Visitator* or *Visitierer* who performs his *Visitaz*.

Of less importance is the use of *Visitur* for 'Angesicht' in the Zimmer *Chronicle*.

b) The influence of Latin *visi-* is, however, secondary in our word: its real source lies, as Grimm saw, in the Greco-Latin *physi-*. Words containing this element were not uncommon in the learned language of the Middle Ages; some, no doubt, were known to the common people. Wolfram uses *fisike* 'Naturkunde' (*Parz.* 481, 15 Lachm.[2]), as well as a word which fulfils our condition of accent on the third syllable, *fision* 'Kenner der Natur' (*Parz.* 453, 25 Lachm.[2]):

der selbe fisīōn
was geboren von Salmōn.

The L. genitive plural *physicorum* has been mentioned; one thinks also of the adjective *physicalis*. In the age of learned hocus-pocus, that is, in the early NHG. period, when *Physigunkus* and other facetious mock-Latinisms first occur in our texts, such words must have been heard frequently enough, perhaps more frequently than today.[1] Thus in Swabia *Fisikat* 'Amt oder Wohnung eines *Fisikus*, amtlich angestellten Arztes' and even *Oberamtsfisikat* are today obsolete. One says *Oberamtsarzt;* what his office is called is not clear.

Of less importance for us is MHG. *visami* 'Physiognomie.'

Our survey of loan-words beginning with unaccented *fisi-* would no doubt be much extended were it not for the exclusion from most German lexicography of foreign material. Even our brief survey has given us, however, enough material to show how a mock-Latinism of the form *Fisigunkes* could arise. We have, primarily, Latin *physicorum* and *physicalis* and the less relevant *physiologia, physiologus* (accented on penultima in old-fashioned pronunciation), *physion, physikat,* and possibly **physicunculus,* and secondarily *visiment* 'silly ornamentation,' *visitieren, Visitaz, Visitierer, Visitator;* less relevant are *Visitur* and *Visami* for 'face.' The second group

[1] As is well known, the puristic tendency has since then worked deeply, as the now quaint Latinisms and Gallicisms of bygone centuries show; one may recall the charming use of them for poetic effect in Storm's phantasy *Von Heut und Ehedem.*

has affected the meaning of our word, but it is to the first that it owes its origin. As the old spellings and the Latin nominative and vocative endings show, the earlier users of the word were still conscious of its pseudo-Latin character.

Our task is now to see how, on the basis of such loan-words, the precise form of *Fisigunkel*, *Fisigunk*, *Fisigunkus*, *Fisigunki*, was arrived at.

4. Whence came the second member *-gunkus?* Or, this being a Latinization, whence the *-gunkel* of the earliest occurrence?

The word-group of Gothic *gaggan*, German *ging*, *gegangen*, English *gang*, has produced in German a number of words with vowel-variation and with that intensive consonant-doubling which had its origin in a pre-Germanic assimilation of nasal suffixes. To follow this development would take us far afield; we may limit ourselves to the type *gunk-*. Swiss *gunkle* is 'baumeln, straucheln, wackeln . . . . liederlich umherschlendern'; in Alsatian it is 'umherlaufen'; Swiss, *Gungg* 'träges, unhaushälterisches Weib'; Alsatian, *Gunkel*, 'Lump, Schnapssäufer, Säuferin,' *Gunkli* 'langsamer, schlaffer Mensch'; Swabian, *Gunkes* (with Latin ending) 'alter Mann, lendenlahmer Spielmann'; in Nassau (Kehrein), 'ein dummer, der pfiffig sein will'; in Hessian (von Pfister), 'Bezeichnung eines verschmitzten, in Wahrheit aber doch dummen Tropfes.'[1]

It is this *Gunk* and *Gunkel* originally 'tramp, loafer,' then 'scheming but stupid knave,' which furnished the German ending for the mock-Latinism *Physigunkus*. The substratum, however, and immediate occasion for its creation, and the only explanation of its accent, are to be sought in the foreign words beginning with unaccented *fisi-*.

5. *Gunk*, though the oldest, is not, however, the only ending of German mock loan-words with *fisi-*. One finds here that multiplicity of forms which at first discourages the student and then rewards him with the realization of the endless variety, delicacy, and mobility of human speech.

While *Fisigunki* is rare in Switzerland, the form *Fisigūgg*, *Fisigūggi*, *Fisigūgges*, *Fisigūx*, or, with umlaut, *Fisigügg*, *Fisiggüger*,

[1] Our vulgar *gink* 'ridiculous person,' northern British (*EDD*) *ginkie* 'giddy, frolicsome, tricky; a lighthearted girl' may represent the *u*-form, but the history of these words seems to be unknown.

is common and widespread in the meaning 'superkluger subtiler Kopf, Mensch, der alles erklügeln will, alles bis aufs kleinste durchstöbert, seltsame und verwirrte Vorstellungen hat, Halbgelehrter; eingebildeter sonderbarer Mensch, kleinlicher Pfiffikus.' Staub-Tobler cite an occurrence of this form from 1799. There is also the derived verb *fisigūggle* 'den Pfiffikus spielen.' From an early nineteenth-century Alsatian source Martin-Lienhart give *Fisigūgges* 'Halbgelehrter, Mensch mit verworrenen Begriffen; Naseweiser, auch einer, der sich mit Kleinigkeiten abgibt, anscheinend geschäftig ist, sich bei Leuten durch geringfügige Dinge einschmeichelt.' This new formation of *Fisigunk* into *Fisiguk* is explained by the word *Gūgger* 'Kukuk'—for the cuckoo, 'der gouch,' is a favorite name for a fool; Swiss, *en arme Gūgger* is 'ein armer Schlucker' and *en fūsiga Gūgger* (the phrase perhaps suggested by our word) 'ein ausgemachter Pfiffikus.' *Gucklus ein gouch, stultus eyn dor*, says Brant (*Narrenschiff*, p. 5, Zarncke). Hence *Fisigūgger*.

The origin of our entire word-group and its earlier position in the speech-feeling stand out clearly in a jest word quoted by Staub-Tobler from the *Second Helvetian Confession* of 1644, where mention is made of the doctrines of the *Monotheliter oder Monophysiguger;* by the latter term is meant the sect of the *Monophysiter*.

Gäuggel 'Geck, Narr' is another word of the cuckoo family; to it belongs, as Staub-Tobler recognize, the sporadic by-form *Fisigäugger*.

6. The relationship of the *Fisigunkes* and the *Visitator*, the busybody inspector, appears in a form with the ending assimilated to *gucken*, in Swiss (*guggen*) 'neugierig oder heimlich blicken,' *Häfeli-Gugger*, *Gugges* 'Paul Pry,' *Guggi* 'dummer Mensdch'; for Swiss has also *Fisigugg*, *Fisiguggi*, *Fisigugger*, *Fisigux* 'dummer, ungeschickter, zugleich zudringlicher Mensch; Ausspäher, Spion, Schlaukopf; der sich um Kleinigkeiten viel Mühe macht; engherziger Mensch, Spassvogel'; also the verb *fisiguggere*, *fisigüggle* 'gucken, hervorschauen; schlau verstohlen nach etwas blicken, ausspähen.'

In passing we may mention a word with normal German accent which owes its existence to our group: *Fīsigugg*, *Fīsigügger*, with accent on the first syllable is in Swiss a less common word for 'vorwitziger und neugieriger Mensch, der sich in alles mischt; Ausspäher,

Spion, Schlaukopf.' Staub-Tobler rightly explain this word as a re-formation of *Fisigúgger* into a compound with the first member, *Vīsi*, as used in the phrases *öppis im V. ha* 'etwas im Auge, heimliche Absicht darauf haben,' *im V. bhalte* (Swabian *in Visis behalten*) 'im Auge behalten,' for L. *in visu*.

7. Another distortion of *Fisigunk* is Swiss *Fisibutz*, given by Stalder as 'Benennung eines Halbgelehrten, eines Menschen von seltenen und verwirrten Vorstellungen.' The last part is here Swiss *Butz* 'vermummte Person; Narr; unordentlich gekleidete Person,' MHG. *butze* 'Kobold, Schreckgestalt, Klumpen.'

8. The idea of alchemy and magic that was connected with some of the learned words containing the element *physi-* may have prompted the creation of two verbs which occur in Alsace. *Fisimikre* is there 'etwas künstlich herstellen wollen, ohne es zu können.' The second part is denominative from the group *Micke, Mickele* 'kosende Bezeichnung für ein Füllen; Kaninchen; junges Rind; junge Ziege; junges Mädchen,' *Mickele* 'auch für kleine Kinder,' *Micker, Mickerle,* 'Zärtlichkeitsausdruck für kleine Lebewesen, als Kaninchen, Hund, Katze, Kälbchen, Füllen, aber vorzugsweise für Kinder, Schätzchen, Liebchen; kleines Bierglas'; so in Swiss *mīggerig*, rarely with short vowel, 'gering, elend, armselig, kränklich aussehend,' *Miggerli* 'kleines geringfügiges Ding, kleine Person.'

9. The second verb is Alsatian *fisenickere* 'lügen, aufschneiden, schwindeln.' In Swiss *us-niggele* is 'übertrieben auszieren, ausschnörkeln,' and in Alsace *nicke* is 'bei einem Handel zäh sein, feilschen, markten,' *nickle* 'an etwas herumzerren; nörgeln, kleinlich etwas auszusetzen haben; ärgern, verdrieszen'; *Nicki* is 'a bargainer who tries to buy everything below price' and *Nickli* 'a stingy person.'[1]

10. Woeste in his *Wb. d. westfäl. Ma.*, 187. 301, gives a word *fissenülle, visenülle* 'weibliche Scham.' The second part of this word is a regular feminine derivative of MHG. *nol* m. 'mons veneris,' cf. in modern dialects *nollen, nüllen* 'futuere,' *nülle* 'penis.' The region from which this word is given makes it probable, however,

[1] H. Schröder in his *Streckformen* explains these two verbs, with many other forms, as due to the use of unaccented infixes, e.g., *fisimicken, fisinicken* from *fisíken* (accent probably wrong), by infixes *-im-* and *-in-*. Instead of studying all German words with abnormal accentuation, Schröder first eliminated those which he knew were loan-words; when this wholly extraneous criterion had been applied, the mock loan-words were left high and dry, and only a mechanical explanation was possible.

that its prefixal *fisi-* is due to a different group of mock loan-words, which shall find mention below.

11. There remains a consideration which will bring us closer to the speech-feeling of those who produced and of those who adopted and spread the witticism of mocking learned pifflers with the title *Physigunkus:* namely, the fact that *fisi-* seemed in earlier times and seems still in various parts of Germany a funny sound-group.

One has not to seek far for the reason. *Fiseln* is in German dialects one of the chief words for piddling, foolish activity, somewhat as *to fiddle* is in English. It is the denominative of *Fisel,* whose chief meanings are 'a slender branch, withy; penis (Wolfram, *Parz.* 112, 25); a fibre or fringe.' In Swiss, Alsatian, and Swabian *Fisel* has, variously, besides these meanings, the following: 'a carter's whip, a fiddlestick; any small and weak creature, human or animal; a boy, a fellow, a naughty child; an old woman'; *Pechfisel* is in Fischart and in modern Swabian 'the shoemaker,' who works with pitch, the *Beches* of modern Alsatian; Fischart's *Hundsfisel* is 'a coward or weakling,' own brother, no doubt, of the better-known *Hundsfott.* As far away as East Prussia *Fisel,* neuter, is (Frischbier) 'Kleinigkeit, Unbedeutendes,' masculine and feminine 'leicht beweglich hin und her fahrende, alberne Person.' The verb *fisele* is in Swiss: 'mit einem dünnen länglichen Körper, zum Beispiel mit einer Gerte, schnell hin und her fahren, mit einer Rute leicht berühren; zu sehr mit kleinlichen Sachen umgehen, z.B. mit einer Nadel zu feine Zieraten machen; fein und unordentlich schreiben, kritzeln; fein, leicht regnen,' *fisle,* a parallel form, is 'mit einem beweglichen, dünnen, länglichen (auch spitzigen) Körper, besonders mit einer Rute oder Peitsche (*Fisle*) hin und her fahren, spielend oder schlagend (*an eim ume fisle,* of a doctor using a needle on his patient); sich (selbst) schnell hin und her bewegen, unstät und untätig, z.B. ums Haus herum—bei Weibspersonen sich einschmeichelnd; andern Personen durch lästige Nähe hinderlich sein; schnell, eifrig arbeiten—aber auch ohne Erfolg; unter dem Schein von Geschäftigkeit nichts tun; kurze, schnelle Schritte machen; mit zu groszer Genauigkeit an etwas arbeiten, zu viel Ziereien machen; zu fein, undeutlich schreiben, kritzeln; auf einem Saiteninstrument stümperhaft spielen; Fasern zupfen; mit der Rute züchtigen, schlagen und

jagen; fein (staubig) regnen; flüstern; Nüsse enthülsen und aufknacken; brunzen (von Hühnern); futuere'; the agent is *Fiseler*, the adjective *fiselig*. In Alsatian only one of the specialized meanings survives: *fisle* is 'to play at cards in a piddling, overcalculating manner, afraid of the slightest loss.' In Swabian *fisele* is 'fein und unleserlich schreiben; genau durchsehen; fein regnen; sich begatten; Liebkosungen machen; mit dem *Fisel* schlagen,' and the agent, *Fiseler*, is also 'wer gerne im Hause nach Leckereien sucht, wer den Weibern nachläuft,' *der Fisele* is explained as 'allzu pünktlicher Mensch.' For Bavarian Schmeller analyzes the meanings as follows: 'to make small movements (1) with one's fingers, (2) with mouth or teeth, (3) in general,' and quotes various examples.

Swiss has also *Fisi* m. 'naseweiser Herr, der sich in die geringsten Weibergeschäfte mengt; wunderlicher Mensch,' f. 'Lärm, Aufsehen, Wesen, Treiben,' *Fisifäusi* 'Geck, verzärtelter Knabe,' an iterative whose second member is *Fäusi* 'Schönherrchen, petit-maître, Schwänzler, Jungfernjäger.' Staub-Tobler advance the view that *Fisi* is merely abstracted from *Fisifäusi;* this seems probable, and *Fisiggug*, etc., also may have figured in the abstraction. In any case, *Fisi* is younger and far less widespread than the forms with *l*-suffix.[1]

It is the *Fisel* and the *Fisler* and the verb *fiseln* which have given a ridiculous connotation to the group *fisi-* in older and southwestern German. The earliest example of this connotation is perhaps the use of *visament* as 'silly frippery' (instead of 'heraldic blazonry') which has been quoted (sec. 3); the spelling is there with *f* instead of the Latin-French *v*.

Visasche and *Visier* are in Swabian used for 'face,' but in mockery and contemptuously.

In the same way *Fisel* and *fiselen* may have distorted the value of the verb *visieren* (from L. *visare*, Fr. *viser*), which was once a technical term for testing wine with a rod, 'Wein abeichen.' For it is possibly to the meaning of the like-sounding German words that we owe the use of *visieren* in the following passage of the Fastnachtspiel

[1] It is a mistake, therefore, of Staub-Tobler when, in another passage (1, 1079), they suggest that our old and widespsead *Fisigunki* is merely a German compound whose first member is this *Fisi-* quite aside from the impossibility of thus accounting for the accentuation.

Des Baurn Flaischgaden Vasnacht (*Bibl. d. Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart*, XXIX, 712):

> Der eim seim weib geet nach hofiern
> Und meint, er wol sie pas visieren,
> Den er sie selber hat geeicht,
> Das sie mit freuntschaft von im weicht,
> Den schol man beschemen vor allen frauen
> Und schol im sein visierruten ab hauen.

Similarly, the adjective *visierlich*, current since the sixteenth century in the sense of 'delicate, neat, elegant,' has in modern Swiss also the meaning 'drollig, von Menschen, welche sonderbare Ideen im Kopfe haben.'

Among the loan-words of the group *physi-*, *Physiker* has suffered plainly from the suggestion of *Fiseler:* in the more original sense of 'Stadtarzt' it is obsolete in Switzerland, but it still means 'eingebildeter Schlaukopf, Pfiffikus, der besondere Ideen im Kopfe hat; der andere durch List übervorteilen zu können meint, während er selbst von ihnen verspottet wird.' Staub-Tobler suggest that this meaning represents a different word from the old *Physiker*, namely, the word *Fisi* with *-iker* from family names (which in turn are derived from place names in *-ikon*). They modify this statement, however, by the second and better thought: 'Immerhin müssen Fremdwörter wie *Hektiker*, *Physiker* in weiteren Kreisen irgendwie bekannt, wenn auch nur halb verstanden gewesen sein, um jene Umdeutungen zu veranlassen.'

Physikus is in Swiss 'naturforscher, Grübler,' in Alsatian 'pfiffiger Mensch.'

In Alsatian *Fisik* is not only 'Zauberei, Schwarzkunst'—it was through magic and fortune-telling that many a Latin word became familiar to the people—but also 'Grimassen, Dummheiten, Unsinn, Späsze; Turnen': 'Loss a loife, r macht nix as Fisik; Mach mr ke Fisik.' *Der Fisik* was the nickname of a Strassburg wit around 1850; *fisike* is 'eilfertig und nachlassig arbeiten, eigentlich hexen': *Dis hes du awer gfisikt!*

So it comes that in Switzerland people named *Isidor* must stand being called also *Fisidor*. The *Fidibus* with which one lights one's pipe is in Zürich also a *Fisibus*. The *Fiselier* or *Füselier* (*fusileer*)

'soldier of the line,' a term now obsolescent, was in mockery called also *Füsler*.

12. There is even more direct evidence that the *Fisigunkes* was not only a *Physikus* but also a *Fiseler:* he is sometimes called *Fiselgunkes*. Grimm (*Wb.*) quotes a seventeenth-century song, where some nonsensical proposals conclude with the refrain-like line:

Sein wir nit fiselgunges?

and Schmeller (*Bayer. Wb.*², I, 768. 1679) quotes a Bavarian song—apparently the last refuge in this dialect of our word:

Fislgunkes, fislgunkes, wird d Hochzet bal wern?

This form brings us to a number of instances in which the initial syllables of *Physigunkus* are distorted or replaced.

13. As a variant of the foregoing song Schmeller quotes (I, 924):

Filigunkes, filigunkes, wird Houzet bal werdn?

It is usually fruitless to delve too far into the sources of such sporadic and occasional formations, which may be due to any one or more of an almost endless series of possible analogies; in this instance, however, the Swiss usage, for which *Filigux* is defined as 'kleiner Knirps, z.B. von einem Täufling' makes it almost certain that the *fili-* which here takes the place of *fisi-* is a reminiscence of Latin *filius* and its case-forms and derivatives (e.g. *filiólus*), familiar enough to the common people, especially in Catholic districts. It is to be noted that the accent of the Latin words need not here conform to that of the German product, for *Filigunkes* may rest in this respect entirely on its prototype *Fisigunkes*.

14. Swiss has also *Fidigūgger* 'dummer, ungeschickter, zugleich zudringlicher Mensch,' *fidigūxe* 'ausspähen.' Whether we have here a form of L. *fides*, or the influence of MHG. and Swiss *fideren* 'to exaggerate, fib, lie,' or of MHG. *videlen*, G. *fiedeln* (in Swiss pronunciation the vowel is not lengthened) 'to play on the fiddle' and 'to fiddle around,' or if, perhaps, more than one of these influences has come into play, would be hard to determine.

It was surely the *fiddle* and the analogy of Latin words which underlay the creation of such nonsense refrains as the following from Swabia (Fischer):

Fideritz und fideratz
Und kei Fink ist kei Spatz,

or:

Und der Kesslerpeter
Heb de Buckelheter,
Fidiridum fidiridum dö fidirö,
Und der Sattler App
Springt de Hasetrapp,
Fidiridum fidirö.

Similar nonsense refrains from Switzerland (Staub-Tobler, I, 681) are *Fidirix und Fidirax* and *Fiderunggunggänseli*. *Fidigunkunk* is given by Fischer as 'liedereinleitung; Clarinette'; Stieler (*Sprachschatz*, 490) has, *da gings Fidelumpump* 'ibi sonabant pandurae,' and Grimm (*Wb.* III, 1626) finds the word so used in a 'fliegendes Blatt' of 1620.

15. We come now to two formations which are descendants of *Fisigunkes*, though perhaps a few generations removed. In Bavarian *Britschigunkal* n. equals *Britschen* f.; G. *Britze* 'feminal'; there is also a verb *britschigågaln* 'beschlafen.'

16. In Swabian *Spirigunkes*, *Spirigukes* is given by v. Schmid as 'naseweiser, spitzfindiger Mensch'; *spirig* is 'unruhig, eigensinnig, mutwillig' (v. Schmid, Schmeller).

Similarly in Bavarian *Spirifankel* (accent ?) is 'mutwilliger Junge' and also, like the simple *Fankel*, a jesting name for 'the Devil'; a formation which was no doubt suggested by the normal German compound *Spadifankel*, *Sparifankel* 'jack of spades; bad boy.'

17. We have completed our examination of *Physigunkus* and its followers, and may say a few words about another set of German words, at home in the north of Germany, which also begin with unaccented *fisi-*.

The dictionaries quote from a number of sixteenth-century sources, mostly northern and central, a word *Visepatent*, *Visepatenten*. Waldis, *Aesopus* (227 *b* 27=4, 3, 76 Kurz) has:

Der Luther sagt und sein Scribenten,
Die Geistlichkeit sey Visipatenten,
Sey gar unnütz und nichtes werd
Vergebens Gott damit wirdt geehrt.

The word here seems to mean 'nonsense, flimflam.'

Kirchhof, *Wendunmut* (48*a* Österley), speaking of common soldiers who spend all their money on fine clothes, says:

Auch hochmůt on gewisse rennt
Ist ein lauter fisipotent
Und nimpt, ehs mancher meint, ein end.

In the shrovetide play *Claus Bur* the word is said to occur twice in a similar use: 'So is min pastorie visepetent, unde mach pipen sniden gan' and 'ere tüchnisse sint nene visepetent' (quoted by J. Grimm, *GGA*, 1850, 763).

Schiller-Lübben give two passages from the Soest *Daniel* of 1534:

> ich komme to ju, herr Simon van Gent,
> wente ghy synt der predicanten vispetent.

In the second passage the word is used in the same way, but is spelled *vysepetent.*

J. Grimm (*GGA*, 1850, 764) saw in *Visepetent* a popular contraction of *Vicesuperintendent*, an explanation which his successors have not adopted; nor does even Grimm's advocacy suffice to make it probable. Schiller-Lübben confine themselves to the suggestion that a misunderstood, or, as is often the case, a corrupted foreign word probably underlies the term. The word appears repeatedly in the sixteenth century and then suddenly disappears, apparently within a hundred years, in favor of a more modern form, *Fisimatenten.* This suggests that we have to do with a passing colloquialism, perhaps the individual creation of some witty fellow, evanescent because not sufficiently adapted to the analogies of the language, and inconsistently used because not fully understood.

Visepetenten is probably nothing more or less than a take-off on the Latin phrase *visae patentes* 'official papers duly inspected.' As DuCange, and, for that matter, the modern English *patent* and German *Patent* show, the term *litterae patentes* was in official language often abbreviated to *patentes* or to barbarous forms such as *patentae; visus* was the technical term for 'inspected, passed'—as the general European habit is still to speak of a passport being *visé-ed* (*visiert*).[1] *Visepetenten*, therefore, originally represented in the mind of the common man the quirks and quiddities of official jargon and the inspector of patents, the bureaucrat, and then came to be used in such senses as 'piffle, frippery, nonsense.'

[1] Quite by chance I find in a recent article by my colleague, Dr. Nordmeyer, on the Saxon press censorship in the early nineteenth century (*JEGP*, XV, 243) the following sentence: 'Es geschah dies *per patentum*, ein Schriftstück, dem noch immer sämmtliche Leipziger Kommissionäre . . . . ihr Visum zu geben hatten.' Dr. Nordmeyer informs me that these were the regular technical terms.

18. The widespread modern form of the word is *Fisematenten*. Woeste, *Wb.*, 300, quotes from a chronicle (dated 1499, according to the same author in *Korrespbl. f. ndd. Sprf.*, I, 46): 'it is ein viserunge und ein visimetent,' and this oldest occurrence suggests the cause of the substitution of *m* for *p* (*Fisimatent* for *Fisipatent*): namely, the word *visament, fisiment* 'ornament'—an influence which Hildebrand recognized, when he explained *Fisimatenten* in the preface to Albrecht's *Die Leipziger Mundart* as 'a jesting and mocking distortion of the Latin form' of the heraldic term *fisiment*. The added syllable, however, and the shifted accent can be understood only under our supposition that *Fisipatent* served as model for the distortion.

To be sure, the form with *m* once, in Woeste's chronicle, occurs earlier than the form with *p;* it was, however (as the later history shows), so natural a modification that we may well expect the two forms to appear in our documents almost simultaneously, or, as seems to be the case, with the younger form a few years ahead of the more original. For a century the *p*-form keeps its supremacy, then the *m*-form overcomes it.[1]

As to the use of *Fisimatenten* or *Fisimatentchen*, it has in all parts of Germany the meaning of 'Unsinn, Flausen, Künsteleien, Ausflüchte'; 'Mach mir keine Fisimatenten (vor).' Fischer quotes from H. Kurz the spelling *Physimathenten* and the definition: 'Dies ist eine ländlich-sittliche Redensart, die man anwendet, wenn sich jemand ziert, etwas zu genieszen, was ihm nun doch einmal vorgesetzt ist.'

19. Of couse there are a number of by-forms. Swabian has *Fisimatenke; -nk-* for *-nt-* is, however, a regular phonetic development in some districts in Swabia.

20. The Swabian *Genke* (for which Fischer gives *Günke* as transcription into standard German), meaning 'faule Weibsperson, liederliche Weibsperson, faule Dirne,' has produced *Fisimagenke* in the same sense as *Fisimatente.*

21. Swiss has *Fisifatente* 'Flitter, Firlefanz an weiblichen Kleidern,' where Staub-Tobler explain the second *f* as reduplicative; that

[1] Woeste, *Korrespbl.*, I, 46, and with him Kleinpaul, *Das Fremdwort im Deutschen*, p. 47, think that also the obsolete Italian *fisima* 'capriccio, ghiribizzo' has helped to produce *Fisimatenten;* they give no instances of the use of the Italian word in German and do not account for the accent.

is, our form is an approach to the iterative type *Fise-fase*, which occurs variously in German, though not given for modern Swiss.

22. The first part of *Fisimatenten* has been distorted through the influence of *fiseln* in the Swabian *Fislematantes*, with meaning unchanged.

23. Similarly *Fizematenterle* in Swabian owes its initial form to the word *fitze* 'mit der Spitze einer Peitsche einen leichten Schlag geben; "Seitenhiebe" austeilen; reizen; betrügen; stolzieren, hoffärtig tun, Staat machen'; *Fitzer* 'vain person, dude.'

If the form *Fittematentchen*, which Albrecht gives as Low German, is genuine, it contains an otherwise unknown LG. (or more probably hyper-LG.) form of this word.

24. Swiss *Fisperementli* is correctly explained by Staub-Tobler as due to the influence of *fispere* 'to wriggle, to move about hastily and aimlessly.'

25. It is not surprising when, after all this, we find German words with an almost meaningless, vaguely depreciatory *fise-* prefixed. This is probably the character of the Westfalian *fisenülle* already mentioned (sec. 10). It appears also in a few of the many Swiss popular-etymologic forms of the name of the violet, which are due, as Staub-Tobler suggest, to a conception of the word *Vióle*, *Viŏle* as a kind of compound; so, *Visenöndli* and *Viserenöndli* 'Viola odorata' and *Visenönli* 'Viola canina.'

26. Our explanation, then, of *Fisigunkes* and *Fisimatenten* and their followers is that they are distortions—that is, adaptations—of foreign words which preserve a foreign accentuation. Some, like *Fisipatent*, are scarcely more than loan-words facetiously misused, others, such as *Fisigunk*, have been half Germanized, and still others, finally, like *Britschigunkel*, have been completely metamorphosed and retain no trace of foreign origin except the un-German accent. A very probable, though, as it happens, undocumented **Fiselgunk* (for *Fiselgunkes*, sec. 12) differs from a normal German compound, such as *Faselhans*, only in accent.

It is plain that this opens the way for analogic spread in German compounds of foreign accentuation conveying a mocking, pseudo-learned tone—or even of foreign accentuation merely suggested by the form of a no longer clearly understood native formation. So

Swiss *Gal-löri, Galöri* 'silly fool' is spoken also with accent on the second syllable. Here belongs also, I think, *Schlaraffe,* with accent on the second syllable, for older *slūr-affe;* the land of Cockaigne, *Schlaraffenland,* is a distant country and foreign.

Not only in compounds, but quite generally, the parallel occurrence of loan-words with foreign and with assimilative German accentuation may lead to the creation of variants with foreign accentuation from purely native words. Such doublets as *Kaffée*: *Kaffee, Musík*:*Musik, Doktór* (so accented, e.g., by Murner *Narrenbeschwörung,* III, 75 Spanier): *Doktor, Latérne*:*Lattere, *Badó* (Fr. *badaud*):*Badi, Badde* cause pronunciations like *Abórt* (for *Ab-ort*). Such accentuation is favored if the word has an unusual or foreign-sounding structure: *Holunder, Wacholder, Forelle, Hermelin, Hornisse;* these are discussed by Wilmanns, *D. Gr.*, I², 395, and H. Schröder, *PBB,* XXXII, 120 ff., the latter author giving tentative lists of foreign models (e.g., *Kapelle, Sardelle,* etc., for *Forelle*) which may have brought about the irregular accentuation—but these models could be identified with certainty only if we had knowledge of the progress of such loan-words in German.[1]

The types, then, of German words with foreign accentuation exhibit great diversity; even if we had a complete treatment of the foreign element in German, their full discussion would demand a large volume. A very few examples will, however, illustrate the different tendencies.

27. One group has been fully recognized: German words with accented foreign suffixes. Paul, *Prinzipien*⁴, 399 f., mentions *Bäckerei, Gerberei, Druckerei,* etc., with the suffix of *Abtei; hofieren, buchstabieren,* etc., with that of *korrigieren.* In these the emotional tone is indifferent; most of the following retain the flavor of incongruity: *Takelage, Kledage, Bommelage,* with the suffix of *Bagage* (Paul, *loc. cit.*); *Lappalien* (Wilmanns, *loc. cit.*), *Schmieralien* (Wood, *MP,* IX, 177), with that of *Materialien; Faselant,* with that of *Musikant.* German words with accented *-ūse* are imitations of Romance words with L. *-ōsa* (Fr. *-euse*), such as in MHG. (Kassewitz, *Die fr. Wörter im Mhd.* [Strassburg, 1890], 28) *Orgeluse* (Wolfram) and

[1] In the case of *lebendig* such forms as *verständig* (Schröder, *loc. cit.*) may for once have exerted influence beyond their usually circumscribed domain.

vintuse (also modern Swiss, from Fr. *ventouse*, dialectal in origin). Such imitations are: MLG. *in de rabuse geven* 'to throw something to be scrambled for,' NHG. *Rapuse* (Luther), from G. d. *rappen* 'hastig nach etwas greifen, raffen, zwacken, rauben' (cf. Norw. d. *rabba*). The words *Ruse* 'Geräusch, Zank,' *Rusebuse*, *Rusemuse* 'grosze Verwirrung' (Schröder, *Streckformen*, 70) may have favored the formation, but its accent is due to the foreign suffix. So Swiss *Flangguse*:*Flangg* 'slatternly woman,' *Flangguse*:*Flangge* 'Ohrfeige,' *Flantuse*:*Flänte* 'id.' Latin *-ōne(m)* (e.g., MHG. *barūn*, *garzūn*, Kassewitz, 27) appears in Swiss *Flagune* 'unstäte Frau,' from the group of *flackern*, and in *Joggeluner* 'Spott- und Scheltname, im Allg. gleichbedeutend mit *Joggel* ["awkward, silly, foolish person"]. Scherzname für Jmd., der im Irrtum befangen ist; gemeiner, roher, auffahrender, zorniger, launenhafter, leichtfertiger Mensch; Spitzname auf Sektierer, dann auf Kopfhänger, politische Reaktionäre überhaupt.' To this definition Staub-Tobler add the note: 'Vielleicht als Analogiebildung nach *Draguner;* viell. aber mochte die rom. vergröbernde End. *-one* unsern Söldnern in italienischen Diensten so geläufig werden, dass sie sie auch an einheimische Wurzeln anhängten und dabei nach den Nom. ag. auf *-er* erweiterten.'

As occasional jests such formations are frequent. Brandt's *Narrenschiff* is bound *Gen Narragonien* (Zarncke, 1); Murner, *Narrenbeschwörung*, VI, 166 (Spanier), gives the formula:

> So mach dir selber ein latinum:
> Mistelinum gebelinum!

So, with Polish suffixes, East Prussian (Frischbier) *Dwatschkowski* 'Dummkopf': *dwatschen* 'schwatzen, quatschen,' *Kodderinski* 'zerlumpter Mensch'; *Kodder* 'Lumpen, zerrissenes Kleid,' *Schissmagratzki* (contains also Pol. *mokry* 'wet'). Heine has two Poles *Krapülinski* (Fr. *crapule*) and *Waaschlappski*.[1]

As linguistic students have always been familiar with the use of suffixes, these formations have never caused much difficulty.

28. In other cases a foreign word appears with some slight distortion which leaves it recognizable as a blend, the foreign accent being retained. Of the large collection of *Iteratives, Blends, and*

[1] Here belong, of course, with normalized accent, such E. formations as *eatable, drinkable*, and the facetious *bumptious, scrumptious*.

'*Streckformen*' made by Professor Wood (*MP*, IX, 157 ff.) the following have in this way come to show foreign accent: E. *canoodle* (*canoe*), *cussnation* (*damnation*), *discombobbelate*, *discomfuffle*, *discomfuddle* (*discompse*), *drummure* (*demure*), *dumbfound* (*confound*), *needcessity* (*necessity*), *plumpendicular* (*perpendicular*), *pupmatic* (*dogmatic*), *rambust* (*robust*), *roaratorio* (*oratorio*), *screwmatics* (*rheumatics*), *yellocution* (*elocution*), *coronotions* (*coronation*), *refereaders* (*referee*), G. *Karfunkel* (*Karbunkel*).

A wit in the Munich *Jugend* (No. 7, 1912) has a plebeian talk about *Bazidrizier* (instead of *Badrizier*, *Patrizier*): *Bazi* is dialectal for 'fool.'

So *Laterne* is distorted into *Latüchte* (*Lüchte*), *Latäusche* (*Läusche*), *Latattere* (*Lattere*), as explained by Hoffmann-Krayer, *AfdA*, XXXII, 2; Wood, *op. cit.*, 183.

29. In other cases the foreign element is not so obvious, but can often be found even with our incomplete data.[1]

Swiss *Badautle* 'dumme Person,' Als. *Badaudel* 'Halbnarr' (Wood, 179) are sporadic words correctly referred by Staub-Tobler to Fr. *badaud* 'Maulaffe' (It. Rhaeto-Rom. *baderla* 'einfältiges Ding, Schwätzerin'; Rhaeto-Rom. *baderlunza* 'plaudertasche'; It. *badalona* 'plumpes, einfältiges Weib'). The currency of *badaud* in Alemannic territory is attested by the Germanized forms Swiss *Badi*, Als. *Badel*, *Badli*, Swab. *Badde*. It is clearly to *badaud* that the German forms owe their accentuation. The adaptation of *Badó* to *Badaúdel* is intelligible when we find that the German dialects in question have in similar meaning such words as *Daudel*, *Baudel*, *Gaudel*, *Laudel:* Swiss *Baudi* 'Tölpel'; *Braudli* 'Schwätzer, Plauderer'; Als. *Daudel*, *Däudel* 'geistig beschränkter Mensch'; Swiss *Flaute*, *Fläuti* 'putzsüchtiges Weib,' *Flaudere* 'herumschweifendes, leichtfertiges Weib'; *Fläuderi* 'leichtfertiges Mädchen'; *Gaudeli*, Als. *Gaudel* 'Spaszmacher, kindisch lustiger Mensch'; Swiss *Gäuteri* from *gäutere* 'sich müszig herumtreiben'; Als. *Gaüt*, *Gaüti* 'dumme Weibsperson, einfältiges Mädschen'; Swiss *Haudle* 'stürmisch einherfahrende, nachlässig gekleidete Weibsperson';

[1] Professor Wood (*op. cit.*, 178) explains the accent of these as a native one peculiar to certain iteratives and resultant blends; Schröder, *Streckformen*, as due to the insertion of unaccented infixes; some have spoken of unaccented prefixes (e.g., Woeste, *s.v. Kabacke*), and others of accented suffixes (e.g., Hoffmann-Krayer, *AfdA*, XXXII, 2).

Laudele 'Schwätzerin'; *Maude* 'gleichgültiges, unordentliches Weib'; *Maudeli* 'kurzes, dickes unordentliches Mädchen'; *Mauder, Maudi* 'fette, dicke Person'; Als. *Schaute, Schautel, Schautele* 'Verrückter, Narr, Possenreiszer'; *Schwäuderi* 'lustiger Schwätzer'; Swiss *Tschaudi* 'Einfaltspinsel'; *Tschäudeli, Tschaute* 'gute, einfältige Weibsperson' (Stalder); Als. *Tschäudel* 'Tölpel, dummer, unbeholfener Mensch.'

On *Badó* rests also Als. (Strassburg) *Badutscherle, Küchebadutscherle* 'einfältige Person.' It is due to the following Als. words: *Dutscherle* 'einfältiges Frauenzimmer'; *Butscher* 'Draufschläger, Schimpfname für einen ungeschickten'; *Brutsch* 'dickes Kind'; *Futsch* 'unordentliches Mädchen, Weib'; *Hutscherle* 'weibliche, schlecht entwickelte, im Wachstum zurückgebliebene Person'; *klutschig* 'unbeholfen'; *Knutscher* 'Bäcker' from *knutsche* 'drücken'; *lutsche* 'faul herumgehen'; *Mutschele* 'unbeholfenes, unordentliches Frauenzimmer'; *Pfutscher* 'Spottname für Fischer' from *pfutsche* 'spritzen, im Wasser hantieren'; *Rutschebutschel* 'Kosewort für ein junges Mädchen'; *Trutschele* 'dummes, unbeholfenes Frauenzimmer'; *Wutschel* 'ein älteres Mädchen, das auffallend klein geblieben ist; ältere Person.' Similarly Als. *Anebadätscherle* as a scoffing name for Anabaptists.

To the same group belongs Swiss *Baduntle* 'plumpe fette Weibsperson,' due to: *Guntle* 'Adelgunde'; *Chlunt, Chlunte, Chlüntli* 'liederliches Mädchen'; *Buntle, Puntle* 'kleine dicke Weibsperson'; *Tuntle* 'id.' (Staub-Tobler, 4, 1400), *Duntel, Duntle, Dunti* 'alberne ungeschickte Weibsperson; ein wegen Fette schwerfälliges Weibsbild' (Stalder).

Another adaptation of *Bado* is Swiss *Badölich* 'dummer Kerl,' modeled after: *Boli, Böli* 'Mensch, der alles rauh ergreift, polternd macht, unsanft herabsetzt; Polterer, glotzender, dummer Kerl'; *bolig* 'dumm'; *Göli* 'lärmender Narr'; *Löli* 'stiller Narr'; *Noli* 'kurzer, dicker, dummer Mensch'; *Butze-nöli* 'Schreckgespenst.'

Further, Als. *Badederle* 'Person, die nichts ausrichtet'; *Mederle* 'Koseform des männl. Vornamens Medardus'; *Peterle auf allen Suppen* 'ein Mensch, der sich überall einmischt.'

The distortion of foreign words by means of endings that are themselves foreign is not uncommon. It appears in Swiss *Badute*

'plumpe, fette Weibsperson' (the Als. *Badute*, pl., 'Frauen, die alle acht Tage zur Beichte gehen' may be a different word): this is *Badó*, amplified by means of a suffix which is itself foreign, if I am not mistaken in identifying it with the *-ude* used in deriving the feminine of family names in some Swiss-French dialects, e.g., *Metsu* 'Michaud,' f. *Metsude* (Fankhauser, *Das Patois von Val D'Illiez* [Halle, 1911], 104).

Leaving the *Badó-group*, we may look at the similar one of Fr. *bagage*, which in Swiss (*Bagaschi*) means not only 'luggage, pack,' but also 'rabble' (cf. E. *baggage* as scornful epithet for girls and women). It is distorted to *Bagauschi* 'stupid worthless person' on the model of *Bauschi* 'worthless girl or woman'; *gauschele* 'to juggle, to dally.' Similarly *Bagäuggel* 'cut-up' is adapted to *Gäuggel* 'cut-up, silly person.' *Bagabauschi* is probably due to the interference of *Bagatelle*.

Given the pairs *Badaudel*: *Daudel*, *Badutscherle*: *Dutscherle*, *Baduntle*: *Duntle*, *Bagäuggel*: *Gäuggel*, it is not surprising that the sound-group of initial unaccented *ba-* has acquired some slight morphologic vitality, conveying a jestingly depreciatory meaning. Thus have arisen forms like Swiss *Balali*, *Balari*, *Baläutschi*, *Balöli*, *Palöri* 'Tölpel, Dummkopf,' from *Lali*, *Lari*, *Läutschi*, *Löli*, *Löri* in the same meaning.[1]

30. Not very different is the history of unaccented *fa-* in Swiss. The Latin word *vagieren* 'wander about, stroll, loaf' (cf. also *Vagabund*) is generally used in German. As Staub-Tobler suggest, Swiss *vagöle* in the same sense is an adaptation due to Swiss *göle* 'cut up, wander about, stand gaping' (cf. also *löle* 'play the fool').

Another source of unaccented *fa-* may possibly be older Swiss *Fakiner* 'Lastträger,' from It. *facchino*.

Plainly mock loan-words are: *Fagäuggel* 'Possenreiszer, einfältiger Mensch,' beside *Gäuggel* and *Bagäuggel* above; *Fagäugge*, *Fagügge*, *Fagose*, *Fagune*, pl. 'komische Gaberden, Possen'; the first of these goes with *Gäuggel*, the second with *Güggi* 'Schreihals,' the other two exhibit Romance suffixes; *Fagüngger* 'erbärmlicher

[1] As the shorter words all begin with *l*, one may suspect that the impetus for the *ba-*forms was given by some foreign word beginning with *bal-*, unaccented, but I have not succeeded in finding such a loan-word.

Mensch,' beside *Güngger, Günggel* in the same sense (as pointed out by Staub-Tobler).

Beside *fortūne mache* 'sein Glück versuchen (z.B. bei einem Wahrsager),' there exists also the same expression in the sense of 'Grimassen machen'; Staub-Tobler explain this meaning as derived from the other, the middle term being the antics of the fortune-teller; perhaps, however, the second meaning is due rather to the influence of *Fagäugge*, etc.: for beside *fortune mache* we find also *fatune* and *fadune mache* 'Grimassen schneiden.'

31. A large and very interesting group of the same kind is that with initial unaccented *ka-, kar-, ker-, kam-, kom-*, etc. (cf. Wood, 189 ff.). It is assuredly the offspring of Romance loan-words: *ca-, car-, con-, com-, cor-*, etc., are favorite Romance word-initials. As to loan-words in German, only a historical study (and a similar investigation into the mock loan-words based upon them) would give satisfactory information. A suggestion of the state of affairs may be gained from the present standard speech, in which such words, for instance, as the following with *kar-* are numerous and of commonest employment: *Karaffe, Charakter, Karat, Karbol, Karbonade, Karbunkel, Kardinal, karessieren, karieren, Kariole, Karmin, Karneval* (also with accent on first syllable), *Karosse, Karotte, Kartell, Karton, Karussell*, not to mention *Kartoffel*, whose accent at least is still foreign.

As an illustration of the history of these words we may take the subgroup of *Kabine*.

Whatever the ultimate origin of this word, it is in German plainly a loan from French: it occurs in the forms *Kabine* and *Kabane* since the seventeenth century, while in English *cabin, caban* goes back to Langland and in Romance territory *capanna* occurs in the sense of 'little hut' among Isidor of Seville's etymologies.

The rather similar *Kajüte* is less clear. It appears in Low German as early as 1407, with the meaning 'ship's cabin.' In French it occurs as *chahute* 'little hut' in a MS of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, in 1391 as *quahute* (Godefroy). These dates, the meanings (general in French, specialized and maritime in German), and the accentuation, all favor the view taken by Meyer-Lübke and by Falk and Torp, that the word is French in origin; the latter

authors suggest, I think rightly, that the French form is a blend of *cabane* and the loan-word (from Germanic) *hütte* 'hut.' Theodor Braune, *Zs. f. r. Phil.*, XVIII, 521, thinks that the word is Germanic, a compound of *kaje* 'quay' and *hütte:* this does not explain the accent, though it might be that a Germanic **káj-hütte* went into French and was then borrowed back as *kajûte.*

Kabuse appears since the fourteenth century as 'hut, sty, ship's cabin, sleeping-cubby.' In the first occurrence (see Schiller-Lübben) it is read *kabhusen:* it is possible, indeed, that we have here an adaptation due to *hus* 'house' (so Fowler, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'caboose'). It seems more probable, however, that the *-use* is the Romance suffix: the change of suffix may have been made by Romance speakers, or in polyglot intercourse on shipboard, or even in purely Germanic territory.

Kabacke 'tumble-down shanty, bad inn' occurs in Northern Germany since the seventeenth century. Hirt-Weigand see in it a loan from Russian *kabák*, attested in 1710, but Berneker more correctly sees in the (morphologically isolated) Russian word a loan from the German. Hildebrand in Grimm's *Dictionary* rightly connects it with *Kabane*, *Kabuse* and compares Fr. *cabaret* for the meaning, but he does not explain the form. It is due to *Baracke* (since 1665, from French). Both *Baracke* and *Kabacke* are mementos of the Thirty Years' War.

Kabutte, *Kabuttge*, LG. 'Rumpelkammer, Gefängnis' is due primarily to *Butte* 'barrel, vat, box, basket for carrying,' secondarily, perhaps, to some form of *Küttchen* 'Gefängnis,' *kutten* 'Arrest haben' (from which latter group H. Schröder derives our word by infixation).

Kabuffe 'kammer, schlechtes Zimmer, elendes Haus' is widespread in Low German and Dutch. It is a distortion of *Kabine* under the influence of *Kuffe* 'kleines, schlechtes Haus'; Schiller-Lübben quote for MLG. *brandeweins kuffen*, *hurenkuffen:* in the latter meaning *Puff* (perhaps, however, only an abstraction from *Kabuff*) is current in Leipzig (Albrecht). Secondary meanings are *Kabuff(e)* 'old, worn-out horse' and *Kabüff* 'old hat'; cf. MLG. *kuff(e)*, *küff(e)* also 'old hat.'

Kamuff, in North German for 'elende Wohnung, elende Hütte' is probably a further distortion of the preceding word, due to *Muff*

'modriger, dumpfiger, nicht ausgesprochen fauliger Geruch; Moder, Schimmel,' adj. *muffig*. The more usual and widespread meaning of *Kamuff, Kamuffel* is 'dummer Kerl,' and is due to *Kamel* and *Muff* 'verdrossener, mürrischer Mensch' (Wood, 181).

A smaller group very close to that of *Kabine* is that of the Latin *cavaedium*, which gave German *Cavate Kaffata, Kaffete* (since the thirteenth century) 'stone archway round the choir of a cathedral' (so in Mayence and Erfurt); *Kaffete, Cavete* (1723) 'cell or cabinet off a larger room,' *Kaffeta* (Thuringia) 'arbor or loggia covered with foliage' (*D. Wb.*, V, 21, 372). LG. *Kafitke* is a diminutive of this; *Kaficke* 'schlechte Hütte, elendes Zimmer' is an attempt at interpretation, for *Ficke* means 'pocket.' *Kaweiche* 'Stubchen, Häuschen'; *Keiche* 'schlechtes, finsteres Gemach, Loch' (Schröder, *Streckf.*, 41, as example of infixation).

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AUERBACH AND NIETZSCHE

I

It would seem at first that the life and works of Berthold Auerbach would offer nothing but contrasts and dissimilarities to those of Friedrich Nietzsche. The former, as nearly devoid of pride and envy as it is possible for a human being to be, in love with mankind and always surrounded by friends,[1] constantly associating with people of substantial renown, decorated with various orders which he held in light esteem,[2] influenced in his early days by Spinoza, Jean Paul, and Walter Scott, is known today primarily as the portrayer of loquacious German villagers. The latter, a stoic[3] after the fashion of Heraclitus, arrogantly proclaiming himself the greatest of modern writers and envious of anyone who also gained distinction, avoided by the spiritual grandees of his day, including Wagner after a while, the recipient of no coveted badges of honor, influenced in his early days by the Greeks, Schopenhauer, and Wagner, is known today as the author of many letters, a few poems, some essays and lectures, and several thousand aphorisms that refute current opinion, set men to thinking, and arouse about as much antagonism as admiration.

Auerbach was always pedagogical, had unlimited faith in America, lived remote from the Romance peoples, greatly admired Germany and the Germans, was patient with Prussia, though he disliked Bismarck, took an interest in many things, and always wanted to learn. Nietzsche loathed pedagogy and the books written on it, despised

[1] Some of Auerbach's best-known friends were Du Bois-Reymond, George Bancroft, Theodor Mommsen, Spielhagen, D. Fr. Strauss, Uhland, Rückert, Otto Ludwig, Ernst Rietschel, Jakob Grimm, and Mörike. To judge indeed from his letters, he was at least personally acquainted with all of the prominent men of his day. Nietzsche's best friends were Erwin Rohde, Peter Gast, Heinrich Stein, and Carl Fuchs; and only these. And who were these men? We are obliged to turn to an encyclopedia to answer the question. Overbeck's friendship for Nietzsche has often been questioned.

[2] Cf. Georg Brandes, *Berthold Auerbach* (München, 1902), p. 108; and in Auerbach's *Briefe an Jakob Auerbach*, January 7, 1862, Auerbach tells how the order he had just received from the Duke of Coburg-Gotha embarrassed him.

[3] For one of Nietzsche's significant remarks concerning stoicism, see *Morgenröthe*, IV, 143, of the Naumann edition (Leipzig). This edition is always referred to in this paper.

America as few Europeans have, felt himself at one with the Romance peoples, spoke even more harshly of German than did his prototype Hölderlin, could not endure Prussia, though he reservedly admired Bismarck as the type of a strong German, confined his interests after all within a narrow circle, and abounded in self-sufficiency of opinion.

Auerbach was gentle and restful, sympathetic and trustful; Nietzsche distrusted nearly everything, especially modern education and German civilization, and preached the doctrine of force and pitilessness. The one made journeys to the Black Forest so that he might return to his work refreshed, the other to the Engadine so as to be out of the sight of men. True, they both admired Goethe and hated Gutzkow, suffered from a common lack of humor, studied first theology and then philosophy, longed for disciples, defended the Jews, and found an ardent advocate in Georg Brandes. But these are minor matters.

As a writer, Auerbach, despite his localized *Dorfgeschichten*, moved by choice in accustomed grooves; Nietzsche aspired to be the transvaluator of all values. This is one reason why the former has been studied too little, the latter too much. And now, after extensive reading in both, it seems to the writer that there are at least five phases of Auerbach's works the exhaustive treatment of which would be productive of lasting results: (1) his style with especial reference to his vocabulary; (2) his conception of America as colored by his interest in emigrating Germans; (3) his pedagogical ideas as a student of Rousseau; (4) his indebtedness to Spinoza; (5) his influence on Nietzsche. Let us consider this last topic in its more general aspects and with especial reference to *Auf der Höhe* and *Also sprach Zarathustra.*

Auerbach was born in 1812, and died twenty days before reaching his seventieth birthday in 1882, the year of the completion of Nietzsche's *Fröhliche Wissenschaft*, and only seven years before his mental collapse. Nietzsche was then but little known in Europe. It was, indeed, not until 1886 that Georg Brandes delivered his series of lectures on him at the University of Copenhagen, an act of appreciation for which Nietzsche was devoutly grateful. It was the first attempt to make propaganda for him outside of the Romance countries, and very little had then been made even there. Auerbach

seems never to have read him. There is not a single reference to Nietzsche in any accessible material on or by Auerbach.[1] This means nothing, however, for Nietzsche was hardly known at all in Germany in 1882. Richard M. Meyer claims[2] to have been one of the first to lecture on him—in 1902.

And Nietzsche referred to Auerbach but three times. The first of these was in a letter[3] to his mother, written in February, 1862, while he was a student at Pforta. Nietzsche was then seventeen years old. It is a delightful note concerning his sister Elisabeth, who was then in a pension in Dresden, and his own affairs at Pforta, with an occasional sententious observation prophetic of the future Nietzsche. And then, after finishing the letter, he appended the following: "Zum Lesen, wofür Du nun viel Zeit haben wirst, schlage ich Dir Auerbach's *Barfüssele* vor, was mich hoch entzückt hat."

That Nietzsche liked this story is at once surprising and natural. In it we are told of the barefooted Amrei and her somewhat stupid brother Dami. They are orphans. The brother comes to America and then returns to Germany. Unpromising at first, he makes good partly through the assistance of his sister. Amrei marries Johannes and all ends well. It is a charming story for an imaginative boy. We can easily see how the romantic descriptions of nature, the interpolated fairy tales, and the riddles might have pleased the juvenile Nietzsche, whom his schoolmates had not even then ceased calling "der kleine Pastor," though it sounds but little like the ferocious Nietzsche of about 1880.

But Auerbach struck three notes in this story which accord beautifully with what might be called Nietzsche's three major tones: the stupidity of the herd, the virtue of being alone, and the vice of conventionality. These are, to be sure, worn themes, but there is a directness about Auerbach's commitments that sounds Nietzschean. Of the herd Auerbach says (IX, 50): "Die Tiere, die in Herden leben, sind alle Jedes für sich allein dumm." He very frequently

[1] Cf. *Berthold Auerbach. Briefe an seinen Freund Jakob Auerbach*, edited by Fr. Spielhagen, Frankfurt a.M., 1884. There are two large volumes covering the period from 1830 to Auerbach's death.

[2] Cf. Richard M. Meyer, *Nietzsche. Sein Leben und seine Werke* (München, 1913), p. 4.

[3] Cf. *Friedrich Nietzsches gesammelte Briefe*, edited by Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche (Leipzig, 1909), V, 21.

compared men with animals and occasionally to the advantage of the animals. Nietzsche did the same. As to being alone, also an exceedingly common topic with Auerbach, he says (IX, 76): "Allein, o wie gut ist Allein. Jeder kann sich Alles selber machen . . . . aber nur unter einem Beding: er muss allein bleiben. Allein. Allein. Sonst hilft's nichts." There is no one theme upon which Auerbach wrote more than on this one, and Nietzsche likewise.

The most striking parallel to Nietzsche, however, is found in Auerbach's remarks concerning convention and morality. The passage reads as follows (IX, 264): "Nicht die Sittlichkeit regiert die Welt, sondern eine verhärtete Form derselben: die Sitte. Wie die Welt nun einmal geworden ist, verzeiht sie eher eine Verletzung der Sittlichkeit als eine Verletzung der Sitte. Wohl den Zeiten und den Völkern, in denen Sitte und Sittlichkeit noch Eins ist. Aller Kampf, der sich im Grossen wie im Kleinen, im Allgemeinen wie im Einzelnen abspielt, dreht sich darum, den Widerspruch dieser Beiden wieder aufzuheben, und die erstarrte Form der Sitte wieder für die innere Sittlichkeit flüssig zu machen, das Geprägte nach seinem innern Wertgehalte neu zu bestimmen." In other words, Auerbach says that morality (*Sittlichkeit*) is much more important than custom (*Sitte*), that the world, however, will pardon a breach of morality more quickly than it will pardon a breach of custom, and that it is necessary to give a new meaning to that which has become fixed by usage—to transvaluate old values.[1]

It is not necessary to list all of the passages in which Nietzsche discussed *Sitte* and *Sittlichkeit*. The most striking ones are found in *Morgenröthe* (V, 15–28), *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* (II, 97–99), *Zur Genealogie der Moral* (VII, 345, 422). His idea was precisely the same as Auerbach's: to be conventional is to be *sittlich;* to be original is to be *unsittlich*. He said (IV, 18) that to the valiant old Roman, Christ was *böse* because he looked after his own salvation. In the same connection Nietzsche said: "Unter der Herrschaft der Sittlichkeit der Sitte hat die Originalität jeder Art

[1] The entire situation here is truly Nietzschean. Johannes' conduct was considered by the *Pfarrer* to be moral, but "aus der Ordnung; es hatte seinen besonderen Weg von der Landstrasse ab." Auerbach is gentler than Nietzsche but like him when he says: "Wenn heutigen Tages ein Prophet aufstünde, müsste er vorher sein Staatsexamen machen, ob's auch in der alten Ordnung ist, was er will." See p. 265. (All of the references are to the Cotta edition of Auerbach's works.)

ein böses Gewissen bekommen." And "Die Sittlichkeit wirkt der Entstehung neuer und besserer Sitten entgegen: sie verdummt." What worried both Auerbach and Nietzsche, though neither ever said so in so many words, was the fact that, etymologically speaking, *moral* comes from an oblique case of Latin *mos*. And when Nietzsche proclaimed himself the firm immoralist he meant only that his conscience would not allow him to pay homage to petrified conventionality. The idea was first expressed, however, in a book by Auerbach which Nietzsche read and enjoyed. And Auerbach too, returned to the same idea many times. Like Nietzsche, he was a great repeater.

The next reference to Auerbach was made ten years later, in 1872, in the second lecture "Über die Zukunft unserer Bildungs-Anstalten" (IX, 262). It is here that Nietzsche raised the question "ob Auerbach und Gutzkow wirklich Dichter sind: man kann sie einfach vor Ekel nicht mehr lesen, damit ist die Frage entschieden." The German *Gymnasium* has rarely received a more trenchant criticism than Nietzsche gave it in this lecture. A plea is made for a more rational study of German, for a better style. Auerbach was at the height of his fame at the time of its delivery. *Auf der Höhe* had appeared in 1865, *Das Landhaus am Rhein* in 1868, *Wieder Unser* in 1871, *Zur guten Stunde* in 1872.

The third and last reference to Auerbach was made in 1873, in that part of the *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen* (I, 253) which deals with D. Fr. Strauss. It is again a question of Auerbach's style. Nietzsche says: "Ich erinnere mich, einen Aufruf von Berthold Auerbach 'an das deutsche Volk' gelesen zu haben, in dem jede Wendung undeutsch verschroben und erlogen war, und der als Ganzes einem seelenlosen Wörtermosaik mit internationaler Syntax glich." The work in question was unobtainable.

II

It is not the purpose of this paper to defend Auerbach's style in the face of Nietzsche's attacks, though great critics have defended the former's method of writing. Eugen Zabel praised Auerbach's style and emphasized its "gesunde, plastische Kraft."[1] Rudolf von

[1] Cf. *Berthold Auerbach. Ein Gedenkblatt* (Berlin, 1882), p. 91.

Gottschall, though he condemned the style of *Waldfried* (1874), said of Auerbach's works in general: "Sein Stil ist frei von jeder Überschwenglichkeit, gemessen und gediegen . . . . von plastischer Rundung und gesunder Tüchtigkeit, klar und mühelos."[1] It is our purpose at this point to compare the style of Auerbach with that of Nietzsche from the point of view of unusual words and alliterative and assonantal couplets.

Auerbach used a great number of uncommon expressions. He liked to coin words. Richard M. Meyer says (*Ges. d. deut. Lit. im 19. Jahr.*, p. 250) that he would coin a happy term and then say to his friends: "Ich schenke es Ihnen." Some of his more striking expressions are: "Die Söhnerin" (*Schwiegertochter*), "zuderhändig," "verkindelt," "gesprächsam," "Weltbeglückereien," "Die Niederbediensteten," "lächerig," "Lordsgott," "Mitfreude" (which Auerbach used in his translation of Spinoza and which Nietzsche used so frequently), "Erbweisheit," "Nebenauskind," "Die Weisung," "Katzenhimmelmäuselesangst," "Helfsucht" (which Auerbach hated as much as Nietzsche hated altruism), "bedenksam," "Bäderwitwe" (in the sense of a "college widow"), "Schlafmörder," "Preussenspeichler," "vorgeboren," "wunderig," "Hochpunkt," "Gedankenaar," "glanzig," "leidmüthig," "Die Meisterlichsten" (for *Die Besten*), "Goethereif" (coined by Auerbach), "Tabled'hotenkopf, "anfechtig," "Kleinresidenzlinge," "besitzstolz," and so on. Compounds of *über*[2] occur in great numbers: "übergenug," "überirdisch," "überweltlich," "Überwelt," "Übersinn," "überzwerch," "überhirnt," and "übernächtig" (a common term with Nietzsche). And then such expressions as "feuergefährliche Gedanken," "krankenwärterisches Nachgehen," "blickloser Blick," "einem in die Duznähe rücken" (cf. Nietzsche's "Pathos der Distanz"), "jenseits der Menschheit," "Spielmarken-Phrasen," "Sprach-Rabatt," "Sprachgarderobe."

As to *Übermensch*, Auerbach seems never to have used the term, though he was fond of its converse, *untermenschlich*. In *Rudolph*

[1] Cf. *Deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 250.

[2] Cf. R. M. Meyer (p. 453): "Insofern denn ist der 'Übermensch' nur eine Fortsetzung anderer, bei Nietzsche (und teilweise schon vor ihm) nachzuweisender 'Überbildungen': 'überhistorisch,' 'überpersönlich,' 'das Übertier,' 'überhell,' 'das Übernationale,' 'überdeutsch,' 'überklimatisch.'" Meyer does not, of course, mean that these are all of the compounds found in Nietzsche; our point is that Auerbach's list is very long.

und Elisabetha (XIX, 67–68) he wrote: "Dieses Bettinisiren, wie ich es nennen möchte, ist nicht, wie Sie es bezeichnen, übermenschlich, sondern—wenn man so sagen kann—untermenschlich." He was, in short, interested in words. Of *naturwüchsig* he said (III, 147): "Ein schönes Wort; warum sagst du nicht naturwuchsig oder naturwachsig." In his essay on the Goethe-Schiller monument in Weimar he comments on the beauty and fitness of *selbander*. In his criticism of *Emilia Galotti* he refers to the fact that the vocalization of Marinelli and Machiavelli are the same. In *Auf der Höhe* he blesses the German language because it contains the word *Mutterseelenallein*. In *Waldfried* he emphasizes the importance of the fact that "Bismarck" is pronounced alike in all languages. And in the same work he wrote: "Annette begriff jetzt, wie man in solcher Einsamkeit sich getreu und fest im geistigen Leben erhalten und weiter bilden konnte und war glücklich, wenn sie für eine neue Anschauung ein Wort gefunden hatte. Sie sagte mir: 'Wie es Einsiedler der Religion giebt, so kann es auch Einsiedler der Bildung geben, die sich zum Höchsten bringen.'" We are reminded at once, in an indirect way, of Nietzsche's *Bildungsphilister*.

But one of the most striking similarities between the two is seen in their use of the word *Kinderland* in contradistinction to *Vaterland*. In *Schatzkästlein des Gevattersmanns* (p. 57) Auerbach wrote: "Deutschland unser Vaterland, Amerika unser Kinderland. Die da aufgewachsen sind in Deutschland finden selten ihr wahres und volles Gedeihen in der neuen Welt; es sind Wurzeln der Erinnerung ausgerissen und abgehackt, an denen man alle Zeit krankt, die Kinder aber gedeihen in der neuen Heimat, sie finden eine solche in ihr. Fahr wohl, o Vaterland, nimm uns auf, o Kinderland!" The meaning of the passage is clear and though seemingly different it yet bears a close resemblance to Nietzsche's use of the term in *Zarathustra*. Nietzsche wrote (VI, 177, 297, 311): "So liebe ich allein noch meiner Kinder Land, das unentdeckte, im fernsten Meere." And: "Eurer Kinder Land sollt ihr lieben: diese Liebe sei euer neuer Adel." Nietzsche's meaning is likewise clear. He uses the genitive, not the nominative, case of the possessive pronoun. He had in mind the Germany of the future, the Germany of the children of the present generation, the Germany that might some time

come to pass if the aristocracy of the present were alert, if there were a sufficient number of men striving to be supermen. Auerbach and Nietzsche both liked to coin words. Richard M. Meyer said (p. 692): "Ein Wörterbuch zu Nietzsche hoffe ich in nicht zu langer Zeit zu veröffentlichen."

But Auerbach and Nietzsche were most alike in their use of assonantal and alliterative couplets. Auerbach's writings teem with such pairs as: Heerkuh-Herzkuh, zaudern-zögern, glitzert-glimmert, ziehen-zerren, Ergründer-Verkünder, Gehalt-Gestalt, Weltschmerz-Weltscherz, alt-kalt, schwimmen-schweben, Reu-Treu, grau-grauenhaft, vorderhand-nachderhand, einsam-arbeitsam, Einsamkeit-Gemeinsamkeit, auflösen-erlösen, Unabhängigkeit-Unanhänglichkeit. In *Zarathustra* we find such couplets as Einsiedler-Zweisiedler, umlernen-umlehren, achten-verachten, Schwärze-Schwere, Höhe-Helle, Wohltat-Wehtat, glimmt-glüht, Nächstenliebe-Fernstenliebe, verwinden-überwinden, lösen-erlösen, Neidbolde-Leidholde. There is, to be sure, a fundamental difference between the two. Nietzsche's[1] are bolder, more paradoxical, more original. But it is only a short step from the one type to the other.

III

The main purpose of this paper, however, is to point out some similarities between Auerbach's *Auf der Höhe* (1865) and Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1885) by way of attempting to prove that the latter contains echoes of the former. Let us list first a number of expressions common to both, taking those from Auerbach in the order in which they occur, and placing those from Nietzsche immediately after. The passages from Auerbach are all found in Irma's diary, Book VII, except the first one.

Auerbach: Ein Gedanke, ein Blitz, ein sinnverwirrender, zuckte durch ihre Seele: Das ist der Kuss der Ewigkeit! Flammende Lohe und Eisesstarren drängen sich zusammen. Das ist der Kuss der Ewigkeit![2]

Nietzsche: Doch alle Lust will Ewigkeit.

[1] Richard M. Meyer contends (p. 417) that Nietzsche did not coin as many words in *Zarathustra* as in some of his other works, though he gives Nietzsche credit for *gleichwüchsig* and *totschweigsam*. We have already commented on Auerbach's remark on the affix *wüchs*, and words ending in *sam* are of frequent occurrence in his works. He uses, for example, *mitteilsam* in many places.

[2] Cf. Book V, chap. viii. "Das ist der Kuss der Ewigkeit" is the psychological turning-point of Auerbach's novel. It would not be so striking were it not written in the same meter, and were it not repeated so often, just as in Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* in the last two chapters of the third book.

Auerbach: Am Ufer geschleudert—was soll ich nun? Blos leben, weil ich nicht tot bin? Tagelang, Nächtelang hielt mich diese Rätselfrage wie in der Schwebe zwischen Himmel und Erde, wie in jener grauenhaften Minute, da ich vom Felsen niederglitt.[1]

Nietzsche: Das aber glauben alle Dichter: dass wer im Grase oder an einsamen Gehängen liegend die Ohren spitze, etwas von den Dingen erfahre, die zwischen Himmel und Erde sind.

Auerbach: Ich habe keinen Spiegel in meinem Zimmer, ich habe mir vorgesetzt, mich selbst nicht mehr zu sehen.[2]

Nietzsche: Aber als ich in den Spiegel schaute, da schrie ich auf, und mein Herz war erschüttert, denn nicht mich sahe ich darin, sondern eines Teufels Fratze und Hohnlachen.

Auerbach: Ich muss noch täglich die Morgenschwere überwinden. Am Abend bin ich ruhig—ich bin müde.

Nietzsche: Zehn Mal musst du des Tages dich selber überwinden: das macht eine gute Müdigkeit und ist Mohn der Seele.

Auerbach: Einsam und arbeitsam, das ist mein Alles.

Nietzsche: Trachte ich denn nach Glücke? Ich trachte nach meinem Werke.

Auerbach: Die Wolkenbildungen und ihre Farben, die ich sonst nur hoch am Himmel sah, sehe ich jetzt auf der Erde und unter mir.

Nietzsche: Ich empfinde nicht mehr mit euch: diese Wolke, die ich unter mir sehe, diese Schwärze und Schwere, über die ich lache—gerade das ist eure Gewitterwolke. Ihr seht nach oben, wenn ihr nach Erhebung verlangt. Und ich sehe hinab, weil ich erhoben bin.

Auerbach: Ich habe zum erstenmal in meinem Leben ein Adlerpaar in den Lüften gesehen. Welch ein Leben, solch ein Adlerpaar! Sie schwebten im Kreise, hoch oben. Um was schwebten sie? Dann schwangen sie sich höher und verschwanden tief in den Lüften. . . . . Der Adler hat niemand über sich, keinen Feind, der ihm beikommen kann.

Nietzsche: Und siehe! Ein Adler zog im weiten Kreise durch die Luft, und an ihm hing eine Schlange, nicht einer Beute gleich, sondern einer Freundin: denn sie hielt sich um seinen Hals geringelt.

Auerbach: Nichts Böses mehr tun—das ist noch nicht Gutes tun. Ich möchte eine grosse Tat vollziehen. Wo ist sie? In mir allein.

Nietzsche: Das Böseste ist nötig zu des Übermenschen Bestem.

[1] These passages are quoted because of the frequent occurrence in both works of the expression "zwischen Himmel und Erde."

[2] The frequent references by both Auerbach and Nietzsche to the mirror give these parallels their significance.

Auerbach: Der Ring ist geschlossen. Es kommt von aussen nichts Neues mehr, ich kenne alles, was da ist und kommen kann.

Nietzsche: Alles scheidet, Alles grüsst sich wieder; ewig bleibt sich treu der Ring des Seins.

Auerbach: Nimm du mich und trage mich, ich kann nicht weiter! ruft meine Seele. Aber dann raffe ich mich wieder auf, fasse Bündel und Wanderstab und wandere, wandere einsam und allein mit mir, und im Wandern gewinne ich wieder Kraft.

Nietzsche: Ich bin ein Wanderer und ein Bergsteiger, sagte er zu seinem Herzen, ich liebe die Ebenen nicht und es scheint, ich kann nicht lange still sitzen.

Auerbach: Der schöne Mensch ist der, der müssig geht, sich hegt und pflegt, sich entwickelt—so leben die Götter, und der Mensch ist der Gott der Schöpfung. Da ist meine Ketzerei. Ich habe sie gebeichtet.

Nietzsche: Aber dass ich euch ganz mein Herz offenbare, ihr Freunde: wenn es Götter gäbe, wie hielte ich's aus, kein Gott zu sein! Also gibt es keine Götter. Wohl zog ich den Schluss; nun aber zieht er mich.

Auerbach: Warum sagt man nur: Geh zum Kuckuck? Ich hab's gefunden: der Kuckuck hat kein eigen Nest, keine Heimat, er muss, nach der Volkssage, jede Nacht auf einem andern Baum schlafen. Geh zum Kuckuck! heisst also: Geh unstät und flüchtig, sei nirgends daheim.

Nietzsche: Aber Heimat fand ich nirgends: unstät bin ich in allen Städten und ein Aufbruch an allen Toren.

Auerbach: Es gibt Tage, wo ich den Wald nicht ertrage. Ich will keinen Schatten. Ich will Sonne haben, nichts als Sonne, Licht.

Nietzsche: "Wer bist du? fragte Zarathustra heftig, was treibst du hier? Und weshalb heissest du dich meinen Schatten? Du gefällst mir nicht."

Auerbach: Nun wird die Menschheit in Wahrheit zum Dichter, sie verdichtet unfassbare Kräfte, spricht zum Dampf, zum Licht, zum elektrischen Funken: komm, diene mir!

Nietzsche: Es ist mir nicht genug, dass der Blitz nicht mehr schadet. Nicht ableiten will ich ihn: er soll lernen für mich arbeiten.

Auerbach: Das Alleinsein macht oft dumpf, halbschlafend.

Nietzsche: Aber einst wird dich die Einsamkeit müde machen, einst wird dein Stolz sich krümmen und dein Muth knirschen. Schreien wirst du einst "ich bin allein."

Auerbach: Von allen Blumen finde ich auf der Rose den reichsten Morgentau. Macht das der reichste Duft? Ist der Duft taubildend? Kein grünes Blatt hat so viel Tau auf sich, als ein Blumenblatt.

Nietzsche: Was haben wir gemein mit der Rosenknospe, welche zittert, weil ihr ein Tropfen Tau auf dem Leibe leigt?

Auerbach: Ich meine, durch den Willen müsste sich der Tod besiegen lassen.

Nietzsche: Ja, noch bist du mir aller Gräber Zertrümmerer: Heil dir, mein Wille.

Auerbach: Fliegen—wir sehen eine ganz andere Lebenssphäre vor uns und können sie nicht fassen. Und wir glauben, wir verstehen die Welt? Was fest ist, fassen wir, und nur was fest davon ist—weiter hinein beginnt der grosse Gedankenstrich.

Nietzsche: Wer die Menschen einst fliegen lehrt, der hat alle Grenzsteine verrückt; alle Grenzsteine selber werden ihm in die Luft fliegen, die Erde wird er neu taufen—als "die Leichte."

Auerbach: Die Religion macht alle Menschen gleich, die Bildung ungleich. Es muss aber eine Bildung geben, die die Menschen gleich macht.

Nietzsche: Mit diesen Predigern der Gleichheit will ich nicht vermischt und verwechselt werden. Denn so redet mir die Gerechtigkeit: "Die Menschen sind nicht gleich."

Auerbach: Ich bin nun im dritten Jahre hier. Ich habe einen schweren Entschluss gefasst. Ich ziehe noch einmal in die Welt hinaus.

Nietzsche: Hier genoss er seines Geistes und seiner Einsamkeit und wurde dessen zehn Jahre nicht müde. Endlich aber verwandelte sich sein Herz. . . . . Dazu muss ich in die Tiefe steigen.

Auerbach: Je höher der Wipfel steigt, umsomehr stirbt das Gezweige unten ab, es erstickt.

Nietzsche: Je mehr er hinauf in die Höfe und Helle will, um so stärker streben seine Wurzeln erdwärts, abwärts, ins Dunkle, Tiefe—ins Böse.

It will be noticed at once that some of these "parallels" are similar in thought, others similar in words though dissimilar in thought—the last one, for example. This difference, however, would not of itself disprove Auerbach's influence. A number of Nietzsche's best-known sayings and words grew out of his skeptical reading. We have but to think of the common word *Nächstenliebe* and Nietzsche's uncommon *Fernstenliebe*. That it is possible to stimulate

by friction is known to everyone. Nietzsche called Schiller "Der Moral-Trompeter von Säckingen." Auerbach said[1] of Schiller: "Wenn es eine Chemie des deutschen Geistes geben könnte, man würde bei einer exakten Analyse einen grossen Bestandteil finden, der Schiller heisst." In view of Nietzsche's opinion of "deutscher Geist," these two judgments may be antipodal, and then they may not.

And it is not simply in Irma's diary that we find ideas parallel to those in *Zarathustra*, but all through the novel. Irma says (Book II, 112): "Ich habe nur den Mut, immer zu sagen, was ich denke, und das kommt dann originell heraus." Aside from Nietzsche's genius, that is the explanation of his popularity; he said what he thought, and he was a great thinker. The König refers (II, 128), to the Leibarzt as "der ewig starre, seine Würde Wahrende." Irma cries out (II, 151): "Einsam und stark und ich selbst in mir." Auerbach himself says (II, 157): "Du grosser Weltbüttel, der du uns einspundest, dein Name ist Gewohnheit." The König says (III, 19): "Allen und Jedem misstrauen—das war die grosse Lehre." And it was Nietzsche's.

We have also the ecstatic style, the punctuation, the illustrations, based on the eagle, the cow, the mirror, the deep well, the rainbow, the child, the exhortation (VI, 150) to be "hart gegen sich und andere," the development of individuality, and the longing for the top of the mountain (VIII, 131) "die kein Menschenfuss betreten, nur die Wolken kommen dorthin und nur das Auge des Adlers ruht darauf."

IV

Parallels of this sort are, however, not sufficient to prove that Auerbach influenced Nietzsche. And Nietzsche never referred to *Auf der Höhe* in his writing. Is there any other sort of evidence in this connection?

Nietzsche began work on *Zarathustra*[2] in the winter of 1882, the year of Auerbach's death. With all of Nietzsche's detestation of newspapers, he could not have escaped notice of the event, for Auerbach was given a funeral second in pomp only to that accorded Klop-

[1] Cf. Anton Bettelheim, *Tell-Studien von Berthold Auerbach* (Berlin, 1905), p. 125.

[2] The genesis of *Zarathustra* is set forth by Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche in *Nietzsche's Werke*, VI, 479–85.

stock. The region most intimately associated with the composition of *Zarathustra* is the Engadine. On the summit of one of the *bellevues* of this region there is a bench with the inscription: "Auerbachs Höhe."[1] Not far then from the spot where Zarathustra first *überfiel* Nietzsche, we have a constant reminder of the author of *Auf der Höhe*. Auerbach was a frequent visitor in this region. It is entirely possible that he met Nietzsche there in person; but we have no record of such a meeting.

And now as to the motivation. Why did Irma write her diary? The plot up to the beginning of its composition is briefly as follows: The King is the type of *eine heroische Natur*. He is an archindividualist. He stands on the heights, above his people, and for this very reason comes in conflict with his people. They want a constitution, but the King will not grant it; that would interfere with his individuality. He feels himself entirely beyond both the political and the moral law. He admires the Queen though he does not love her. She is taken from Jean Paul's novels. He falls in love with Irma, lady-in-waiting to the Queen. Irma and the King take one false step. It becomes noised abroad, public opinion scorns her, her father dies from grief, and life at the court becomes impossible for her. She leaves the court and goes to the mountains where she leads a life of loneliness, and where she writes her diary. She is penitent, but only so far as she feels responsible for the death of her father and the sadness of the Queen over the abuse of her trust and friendship; otherwise she is beyond the stupid, because, she says, conventional, laws of the world. She remains in the mountains until her death. The *Pechmännlein* who aids her in her wood-carving is the one individual whom she sees with anything like frequency. *Pech* also plays a rôle in *Zarathustra*, though this point could easily be pushed too far.

Why did Auerbach, surrounded as he was by friends, write this work? He never committed any great wrong that would force him to flee from men. It is indubitably an indirect tribute to Baruch Spinoza (Auerbach's real name was Moyses Baruch). Auerbach was a profound student of Spinoza. His novel *Spinoza* appeared

[1] Cf. Franz Dingelstedt, *Literarisches Bilderbuch* (Berlin, 1878), pp. 213–57, which deal with Auerbach under the rubric "Auerbachs Höhe."

in 1837, his translation of Spinoza's works in 1841. And just as the excommunicated Spinoza retired unto himself and wrote his *Ethics* (1665), so does the ostracized Irma retire unto herself and write her ethical diary (1865). Irma's diary sounds in places almost like a translation of Spinoza's *Ethics*. The last words of Auerbach's novel on Spinoza are as follows (XI, 232): "Spinoza zog hin nach Rhynsburg und von da nach Voorburg und dem Haag und schrieb den theologisch-politischen *Traktat* und die *Ethik*. Einsam und abgeschieden verbrachte er fortan sein Dasein. . . . . Es erstand kein Dichter wieder wie Spinoza, der so im Ewigen gelebt." Those words motivated Auerbach's novel.

Possibly, then, Nietzsche borrowed from Spinoza and not from Auerbach at all, for, though he does not mention Spinoza in his letters, and though there are no references to Spinoza in Nietzsche's life by his sister, there are forty-odd references[1] to Spinoza in Nietzsche's works. That some of these are unfavorable is of no consequence. As to the favorable ones, Nietzsche looked upon Spinoza as the wisest of sages, the great idealist, the great individualist who destroyed his emotions, the despiser of pity, the impossible husband, and as one of the four predecessors of Zarathustra, Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Goethe being the other three. In short, Nietzsche mentioned Spinoza more frequently than he did Auerbach. But there are a number of things that militate against the idea that Spinoza influenced[2] to any marked degree the composition of *Zarathustra*.

In the first place, we have to consider the motivation of *Zarathustra*. The idea had been in Nietzsche's mind for some time, but in 1882 it had to be written. Nietzsche, forsaken by the world at large, disappointed by his immediate friends, and out of harmony with things in general, concluded that new values must be set up,

[1] Cf. G. A. Dernoschek, *Das Problem des egoistischen Perfektionismus in der Ethik Spinozas und Nietzsches* (Annaberg, 1905), p. 11. Dernoschek cites the places in Nietzsche's works where reference is made to Spinoza. The index of the English edition (Macmillan) is unreliable here.

[2] It must be conceded that Spinoza's *Ethics* does sound much like *Zarathustra*. Spinoza defines *gut* and *schlecht*, for example, as follows: "Unter 'gut' verstehe ich das, von dem wir gewiss wissen, dass es uns nützlich ist. Unter 'schlecht' aber verstehe ich das, von dem wir gewiss wissen, dass es uns hindert, ein Gutes zu erlangen." That sounds remarkably like the code of both Irma and Zarathustra. See *Die Ethik von B. Spinoza*, translated by J. Stern (Leipzig, 1887), p. 253.

new doctrines preached, a new type of man proclaimed. His work was inspired largely by his own life, while Auerbach's novel came more nearly from a study of Spinoza. The inspiration of the former was direct, that of the latter indirect. It is somewhat as it was with *Wilhelm Meister* and the imitative works that followed: Goethe wrote his novel out of his own life, while Tieck, Eichendorff, and others wrote their *Reise- und Bildungsromane* partly in imitation of Goethe.

And then we have to view the matter also from the point of view of convenience and expediency. There is now a voluminous Spinoza literature in German, but the great bulk of it postdates the original conception, indeed the final composition, of *Zarathustra.* Auerbach's translation of Spinoza's works, and his novel on, and other commitments concerning, Spinoza would have been Nietzsche's most accessible sources in 1882 and earlier. Dernoschek suggests (p. 12) that Nietzsche possibly knew Kuno Fischer's treatise on Spinoza when he wrote his *Zur Genealogie der Moral* (1887). Be this true or not, let us remember what Nietzsche said in 1872: "Ich kann Auerbach nicht mehr lesen." While this proves that he was reading him at the time, it does not prove that he did not read him later.

V

In his *Nietzsche,* Richard M. Meyer makes, for this paper, two significant remarks (346): "'Noch einen Tropfen aus dem Gedankenmeer!' rief wohl in seiner naiven Freude an gedanklicken Funden und Fündlein Berthold Auerbach. Mit grösserem Rechte möchte man das ausrufen, wenn aus dem Meere der Gedanken Nietzsches das Wesentliche herausgeholt werden soll." But Meyer never said in so many words that Auerbach may have influenced Nietzsche, nor has anyone else. And again (p. 562): "Man wird erstaunen, wie oft die originellsten Gedanken der grossen Einsamen schon in der Luft lagen." The truth of this statement cannot be too highly valued. As soon as thinking men begin to discuss the relation of men to the world, their ideas must cross, their thoughts must be at times the same. All men of the type of either Auerbach or Nietzsche have their spiritual ancestors. Meyer lists (pp. 79–97) the following as constituting the most important predecessors of

Nietzsche—as his "verwandte Naturen": Carlyle, G. F. Daumer, Eugen Dühring, Emerson, Gustave Flaubert, Goethe, Heinse, Karl Hillebrand, Hölderlin, Ibsen, Wilhelm Jordan, Paul de Lagarde, Siegfried Lipiner, Ernest Renan, Ruskin, George Sand, and Max Stirner. That is a formidable galaxy and in view of Meyer's enormous *Belesenheit* it would be hazardous to gainsay it. But if we may depend upon the complete index to Nietzsche's works, as compiled in the eighteenth volume of the Macmillan edition, Nietzsche never mentioned the following: Heinse, Ruskin, G. F. Daumer, Max Stirner, Wilhelm Jordan, Paul de Lagarde, and Lipiner.[1] And the same principle applies to *Zarathustra.* Many works[2] have been cited on which Nietzsche is supposed to have drawn for its composition, despite the fact that his sister says (VI, 479) that it is his "persönlichstes Werk . . . . die Geschichte seiner innersten Erlebnisse." But Auerbach has never been mentioned in this connection, though there is much in his works that sounds Nietzschean.

If, for example, Nietzsche never read Auerbach's *Tausend Gedanken,*[3] we have to do here with a most unusual case of parallelism. Auerbach's comment (p. 52) on "Vorhemdchens-Bildung, die eben nur so viel hat, als zum Gesehenwerden nötig ist," is Nietzschean on general principles, and closely akin to Nietzsche's frequent references to *Vordergrund* and its attending evils. His explanation of the Jews' ability to endure suffering is precisely the same as that given by Nietzsche in his *Morgenröthe.* His notes (pp. 172 and 226) on the origins of the concepts *gut* and *böse* could not be more Nietzschean. But space forbids detailed quotation.

[1] Daumer, Lagarde, and Lipiner are, however, mentioned in Nietzsche's letters, and the index to the English edition of Nietzsche's works is incomplete.

[2] According to the introduction to the English edition, by Alexander Tille, and Hans Weichelt in *Also sprach Zarathustra, erklärt und gewurdigt* (Leipzig, 1910), the following are some of the more important works that may have influenced Nietzsche in the composition of *Zarathustra:* The Avesta, the writings of Plato and Heraclitus, the Bible, St. Augustine's *Confessions* and *City,* Erasmus' *Lob der Torheit,* Hölderlin's *Hyperion,* Jordan's *Nibelungen,* Carl Spitteler's *Prometheus und Epimetheus,* Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress, Piers the Ploughman,* Rüchert's *Weisheit des Brahmanen,* Goethe's *Divan,* Dahn's *Odhins Trost,* F. T. Vischer's *Auch Einer,* and a number of works by Gutzkow, whom Nietzsche especially disliked.

[3] The complete title of the book is *Tausend Gedanken des Collaborators.* The "collaborator" is Auerbach himself. The book contains about 1,000 aphorisms. It was published at Berlin in 1875. The copy in the New York Public Library was presented by Auerbach to George Bancroft, and contains a personal note by the author.

Both Auerbach and Nietzsche were much given to repetition; there are certain themes and conceits to which they were constantly returning. Of these the four most important are: *die Einsamkeit, die Sittlichkeit, die Ewigkeit,* and *der Wille.* If the two had never used the same concrete figures, their common use of these abstract ones alone would be sufficient to make one suspect that the one influenced the other; but then there come, aside from those already mentioned, a number of tangible similarities such as their common references to *die scheckige Kuh, die Glocke, der Verbrecher, Prometheus,* and so on, and suspicion is turned into belief.

Nietzsche was not an omnivorous reader, but a very rapid one. We come across the remark every now and then in his letters that on a certain day he read a certain book, sometimes a very large one, Malvida von Meysenbug's *Memoiren,* for example. Auerbach, Freytag, and a few others were the favorite writers of the scholarly reading public in Germany from about 1870 to 1880. Nietzsche knew the works of these men, for it was the Germany of those years in which he was particularly interested and with which he was particularly dissatisfied. The fact that he disliked the literature that was then being written is of negligible importance. The point is this: Nietzsche stands out in gigantic relief between his predecessors and his successors. A great deal of effective work has been done by way of attempting to show his influence on those who came after him. It was Nietzsche's peculiar type of greatness that inspired this method of approach. A reversal of the procedure by way of attempting to show what he owed to those who went before him might also be productive of illuminating results.[1]

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[1] Cf. Arthur Drews, *Nietzsche's Philosophie* (Heidelberg, 1904), p. 112. Drews comments on Auerbach's popularity among the *Gebildete* of Nietzsche's time without intimating that the former may have influenced the latter.

DIE INDOGERMANISCHE *MEDIA ASPIRATA*

VORBEMERKUNG.—Durch Collitz' Entdeckung des indischen Palatalgesetzes (1878–79) hat die Sprachwissenschaft in der Erkenntnis des indogermanischen Lautstandes einen gewaltigen Schritt vorwärts getan. Nicht der arische Einheitsvokal *a*, sondern die europäische Vokaldreiheit *e*, *o*, *a* gilt uns seitdem als das Ursprüngliche.

Der indogermanische Konsonantenstand dagegen sieht nach dem heutigen Stande der Erschliessung noch recht "uneuropäisch" aus. Am weitaus meisten nähert er sich dem altindischen. Wie dieses kennt er fünf Artikulationsstellen, wenn auch in etwas andrer Verteilung, und wir schreiben ihm auch die vier Artikulationsarten der indischen Verschlusslaute zu, z.B. *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh;* in gewissem Sinne mag man auch den fast gänzlichen Mangel an Spiranten auffällig finden. Was die Vielheit der Artikulationsstellen betrifft, so werden wir vielleicht einmal dazu kommen, Bezzenbergers drei Gutturalreihen als verschiedene Erscheinungsformen des velaren Verschlusslautes aufzufassen (in demselben Sinne, wie die *ich*- und *ach*-Laute des Deutschen lediglich verschiedene Erscheinungsformen des velaren Spiranten sind). Einen Ansatz dazu finden wir bei Hirt, *BB*, XXIV, 218. Der Mangel an Spiranten braucht uns weiter nicht zu stören, herrschte ja beispielsweise im Griechischen viele Jahrhunderte lang derselbe Zustand. Dagegen ist die Annahme der altindischen vier Artikulationsarten für das Indogermanische schon mehrfach auf Zweifel gestossen, indem einerseits die stimmlosen Aspiraten als einzelsprachliche Neuerung betrachtet werden, andrerseits gegen die stimmhaften Aspiraten phonetische Bedenken auftauchen. Wenn ich indessen im Folgenden die Frage der stimmhaften Aspiraten eingehend bespreche, so möchte ich im Vorhinein bemerken, dass ich zu diesem Versuche nicht durch einen Zweifel an der lautlichen Wahrscheinlichkeit unsrer indogermanischen Konsonantentabellen, sondern durch unvermeidliche Folgerungen aus meinen mehrfach ausgesprochenen Anschauungen über die Entwicklung des germanischen Konsonantenstandes bestimmt wurde.

I. DIE GESCHICHTE DER THEORIE

1. CURTIUS.—Die Ansicht, dass wir in den indischen stimmhaften Aspiraten eine indogermanische Aussprachеweise zu erblicken haben, reicht in die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts zurück. Bopps *Vergleichende Grammatik* stellt ihrer ganzen Anlage gemäss keine Theorie darüber auf, sondern führt nur die einzelsprachlichen Tatsachen an. Schleichers *Formenlehre der kirchenslavischen Sprache* (1852) enthält diese Äusserung (S. 93):

Wie zum Beispiel bei der gutturalen Tenuis das Latein der einzige treue Bewahrer des Ursprünglichen ist, so wäre es dann das Slavische bei den Aspiraten. Wie freilich solche gleichmässige Lautänderungen in den verschiedenen Sprachen an demselben Worte haftend (also nicht rein physiologischer Natur) zu erklären seien, das ist eine andre Frage. Wir finden demnach in dem System der slavischen Stummlaute etwas *Ursprüngliches, da es die Aspiraten nicht kennt.*

Gleichzeitig erklärte sich Förstemann (*KZ*, I, 169) für die grössere Ursprünglichkeit der lateinischen Konsonanten, doch mit so unzureichenden Gründen, dass er keinen Anklang fand.

Schon im folgenden Jahre legte Curtius (*KZ*, II, 321) den Grund zu der noch heute geltenden Ansicht; er kennzeichnet die damalige Auffassung wie folgt:

Die vergleichende Grammatik lehrt, dass im allgemeinen der sanskritischen media aspirata oder dem weichen Hauchlaut die Aspiraten der verwandten Sprachen entsprechen, ohne dass sie bisher ausdrücklich den Schluss gezogen hätte, jene weichen Hauchlaute *bh, dh, gh* seien die ältesten und ursprünglich einzigen Hauchlaute, und was in den verwandten Sprachen ihnen entspräche, sei aus ihnen hervorgegangen. Die Frage der Priorität wurde hier wie in vielen andern Fällen—und das war für den Anfang natürlich—unentschieden gelassen.

Nach Widerlegung von Schleichers Annahme eines ursprachlichen *b, d, g,* dem die Spaltung im Griechischen, Germanischen und Lateinischen widerspreche, schreibt er den wichtigen Satz:

Geben wir nun jene Hypothese von dem späteren Ursprung der Aspiraten auf und nehmen einfach an, dass vor der Sprachentrennung mediae aspiratae vorhanden waren, so scheint plötzlich alles licht und einfach zu werden: vier Sprachfamilien würden dann von dem Doppellaute *gh, dh, bh* den einen minder bezeichnenden aufgeben, das Griechische würde die media aspirata zur tenuis erhoben haben, die italischen Sprachen stünden gleichsam zwischen beiden in der Mitte.

Diese vorläufig ohne Begründung aufgestellte Hypothese wendet er dann auf die einzelnen Sprachgruppen an, wobei er nach damaligem

Brauch in dem Zusammenfall von Lauten einen entschiedenen Mangel der betreffenden Sprache erblickt ("so ist der Zustand dieser Sprachen in Bezug auf die Aspiraten der unvollkommenste"; die Verwandlung von *gh, dh, bh,* zu *g, d, b* "ist und bleibt eine Schwächung, indem ja der eine Teil des Lautes weggefallen ist"). In der griechischen Entwicklung dagegen sieht er selbstverständlich eine Stärkung, die er mit der germanischen Lautverschiebung auf eine Stufe stellt; ganz im Sinne Grimms erklärt er über diese: "Es ist die Art tatkräftiger Volksstämme, ihre Kraft auch an der Sprache zu versuchen, und solche jugendliche Rüstigkeit, solch keckerer Unterscheidungstrieb tritt nach unserer Auffassung der Sache in der Lautverschiebung aufs deutlichste zutage." Seine Erklärung der lateinischen Verhältnisse lässt am meisten zu wünschen übrig; wir lesen: "Die bis zu einem nachweisbaren Zeitpunkte [?] anhaltende Existenz der mediae aspiratae in den italischen Sprachen muss übrigens als eine grosse Altertümlichkeit gelten, und es stimmt dies mit dem allgemeinen Charakter der italischen Sprachen überein, welche auch andre Laute mit besondrer Treue bis in die historische Zeit hinein bewahrt haben. Übrigens hat diese lange Erhaltung der mediae aspiratae sich mannigfaltig gerächt."

2. Grassmann.—Natürlich können Curtius' Ausführungen nicht als Nachweis indogermanischer stimmhafter Aspiraten gelten. Doch ist ihm das Verdienst zuzuschreiben, dass er in ihrem Zusammenfalle mit reinen Medien in Sprachen wie Slavisch und Keltisch einen sichern Beleg gegen die Ursprünglichkeit der Einheitslaute *b, d, g* erkannt hat. Seine Ansicht fand sofort fast allgemeine Zustimmung. Bopp übernahm sie ohne Bemerkung in die zweite und dritte Auflage seiner Grammatik ([3] S. 125: "Die lettischen und slavischen Sprachen stimmen mit den germanischen in Bezug auf die Konsonantenverschiebung nur darin überein, dass sie die sanskritischen aspirierten Medien in reine mediae *umgewandelt* haben"). Schleicher stellte sie 1861 im *Compendium* als etwas Selbstverständliches hin, zog sich aber damit Kuhns Tadel zu, der (*KZ*, XI, 300) in einer Besprechung des Compendiums nicht *bh, dh, gh,* sondern (wie auch Grimm und Raumer) *ph, th, kh* als die ursprünglichen Laute betrachtet; seine Begründung fällt heute nicht mehr ins Gewicht, doch scheint seine Auffassung zu jener Zeit ziemliche Verbreitung gefunden zu haben.

So beschäftigt sich denn Grassmann, *KZ*, XII, 81 (1864—in dem berühmten Aufsatz, der sein Gesetz von der indischen und griechischen Hauchdissimilation aufstellt), eingehend mit der Streitfrage, "ob die harten oder die weichen Aspiraten die ursprünglichen seien":

Ich beschränke mich hier auf den Zustand der indogermanischen Ursprache, wie er unmittelbar der ersten Trennung der uns bekannten Glieder derselben vorausging, und stelle daher die Frage bestimmter so: Gab es unmittelbar vor der ersten Spaltung der indogermanischen Ursprache nur harte Aspiraten oder nur weiche, oder gar keine von beiden, oder beide? Da nur im Sanskrit beide Gattungen deutlich gesondert nebeneinander stehen, so werden wir von ihm auszugehen und zu untersuchen haben, wie beide in den übrigen Sprachen vertreten werden.

Er schreibt dem Griechischen die Tendenz zu, die Zahl der Laute zu verringern, und schliesst daraus:

Es führte die vier Reihen der starren Laute jedes Organs auf drei Reihen, die Aspirata, Media und Tenuis, zurück. Indem es so die zwei Reihen der Aspiraten in eine zu schmelzen suchte, blieb nur der Weg übrig, sie entweder alle weich oder alle hart werden zu lassen; nach dem σ mussten sie wegen des harten Charakters, den dasselbe, wenigstens wenn es nicht zwischen zwei Vokalen oder zwischen einem Vokal und einem andern weichen Laute steht, behauptet, notwendig hart bleiben; und wir werden in der zweiten Abhandlung zeigen, dass in Analogie damit die weichen Aspiraten zunächst im Anlaut verhärteten, in Inlaut jedoch noch lange weich blieben, bis sie endlich auch hier der Verhärtung anheim fielen.

Sein Ergebnis ist dies:

Es hat sich uns in der vorhergehenden Untersuchung das unzweifelhafte Resultat ergeben, dass die weichen Aspiraten des Sanskrit auch schon in der Zeit vor der ersten Sprachentrennung als weiche Aspiraten vorhanden waren, und dass neben ihnen mindestens schon vor der Ausscheidung des griechischen Sprachzweiges aus dem gemeinschaftlichen Stamme auch die Reihe der harten Aspiraten bestand.

Eine lautphysiologische Begründung seiner Ansicht, die doch gerade bei dem Zweck seiner Abhandlung, die Hauchdissimilation zu erklären, so nahe lag, vermisst man fast ganz; aber man darf nicht vergessen, dass im Jahre 1864 lautphysiologische Erörterungen unmöglich den heutigen Anforderungen entsprechen konnten. Vom methodischen Standpunkt haben Grassmann und Curtius der Sprachwissenschaft den wichtigen Dienst geleistet, dass sie zeigten, dass wenigstens der Zahl der Artikulationsarten nach die indische Vierheit der Verschlusslaute ursprünglich sein müsse. Hatte Curtius gegen Schleicher die Spaltung von *b* in *b* und *bh* widerlegt, so erreichte

Grassmann dasselbe gegen Kuhns Annahme der Priorität der griechischen Einheitslaute ϕ, θ, χ=*bh-ph*, *dh-th*, *gh-kh*.

ANM.—Welchen Fortschritt Grassmanns Artikel damals bedeutet, sieht man am allerbesten aus der gewaltigen Μῆνις, mit der einer der tüchtigsten Vertreter des Alten, Pott (*KZ*, XIX, 16), gegen ihn zu Felde zieht; er spricht von dem "geheimen Schauder, welcher meine Adern durchrieselt beim Anblick so gespenstischer Gestalten (aus der 'Ursprache,' beteuert man uns) wie *bandh* aus **bhandh*, gr. πενθ für **φενθ*. . . . . Dunstgebilde solcher Art, wenn schon gleichwie mit Ordenssternen behangen, nötigen darum vielleicht den Seelen andrer, sicherlich aber nicht der meinigen Respekt ab, trotz deren, in sprachwissenschaftlichen Werken neueren Datums ihren spukhaften Umgang haltenden Brüderschar." "Verkehrteste und allerabgeschmackteste Ausgeburten der Phantasie," "wüste Abenteuerlichkeiten," "wie Falstaffs weltberühmte lüderliche Garde: Schimmelig, Bullenkalb, Schwächlich und Schatte" sind ihm die neuerschlossenen Formen. Er verwahrt sich gegen die "grelle Widerwärtigkeit der Zumutung," sich mit "urweltlichem, späterhin umgekommenem Geschmeiss wie **bhandh* bis **φνθ*" zu befassen, konnte aber darum doch den Fortschritt der Wissenschaft nicht aufhalten. Das geht am klarsten aus Ascolis Worten (*KZ*, XVII, 241) hervor: "Die von Curtius, Grassmann usw., insbesondere aus esoterisch sprachvergleichenden Gründen, behauptete Indogermanenschaft von skr. *gh*, *dh*, *bh* kommt mir vielmehr so evident vor, dass ich jeden Einwurf dagegen (so entschieden wie er es III, 321, tat,[1] lässt gewiss Kuhn selbst nicht mehr media aspirata als tenuis aspirata gelten) als einen wirklich *verzweifelten Versuch* ansehen muss" (1868).

3. ASCOLI.—Mit den lateinischen Entsprechungen für die stimmhaften Aspiraten war nun freilich nicht viel anzufangen. Diesem Mangel half Ascoli ab. In dem eben erwähnten Artikel und noch entschiedener *KZ*, XVIII, 417 (in Verteidigung gegen Corssen, *Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache*, S. 802 f.), stellt er die heute allgemein anerkannte Ansicht auf, dass idg. *bh*, *dh*, *gh* urgriechisch und uritalisch zu *ph*, *th*, *kh* wurden und diese sich im Italischen weiter zu stimmlosen Spiranten entwickelten. Corssen tritt ihm zwar *KZ*, XIX, 190, noch einmal mit Gründen der Epigraphik entgegen, die Ursprünglichkeit der lateinischen Spiranten vom Standpunkte italischer Schreibungen vertretend, aber die Methode der modernen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, zu deren frühesten Vertretern man Ascoli rechnen muss, hatte den Sieg davon getragen; seine eingehendere Darstellung in der *Vergleichenden Lautlehre* (S. 126 f.) stellt die Grundlage des Beweises für idg. *bh*,

[1] Und noch *KZ*, XI, 130 ff.

dh, *gh* in so klarer und vollständiger Weise dar, dass es unerlässlich ist, das Wesentlichste daraus hier anzuführen:

Hat die aspirierte media, wie sie heute und wie sie in Indien seit langer Zeit herrscht, in früheren Zeiten ein einfacher *tönender Dauerlaut* (Spirans) oder eine *aspirierte tenuis* sein können? Die Antwort darauf wird stets verneinend ausfallen müssen. Denn erstens ist zu bedenken, dass beide Hypothesen die Tatsache des indo-iranischen *ẑ* gegen sich haben, welches als *tönender Dauerlaut* und indem es neben *gh* vorkommt, von dem es gewöhnlich herstammt, bezeugt, dass *gh* ein Konsonant ist, der sich vom *Dauerlaut* unterscheidet und zugleich im indo-iranischen Zeitalter *tönend* war. Ebenso wenig lassen die ferneren Vergleichungen an eine der beiden Voraussetzungen glauben. Nehmen wir zum Beispiel sanskritisch *bh*, so wird es urgriechischem *ɸ* und uritalischem *f*, iranischem *b*, keltischem *b*, litu-slavischem *b*, germanischem *b* begegnen. Nun wird ein vorindischer *tönender Dauerlaut* durch keinen von diesen Reflexen bestätigt, und ihrerseits stösst die Voraussetzung der vorindischen *aspirierten tenuis* auf das sehr schwere Hindernis der iransichen, litu-slavischen und keltischen media, wogegen sich die italogriechische Abweichung, die wir an der betreffenden Stelle sehen, auf durchaus natürliche Weise erklärt. Die ganz willkürliche Annahme, dass die indische apirierte media von einer früheren Spirans herkomme, würde besonders auf die Schwierigkeit stossen, dass, wenn einerseits der lautliche Prozess, durch welchen ein *Dauerlaut* sich in aspirierte media verwandeln soll (*v* beispielshalber in *bh*), etwas ganz Ungeheuerliches und Unerhörtes ist, andrerseits für Indien hinzukommt, dass die einheimischen Sprachen, welche gegen die über sie lagernde arische Schicht reagierten, weit entfernt, in ihrer besonderen Eigentümlichkeit irgendwelche Legitimation dieses sonderbaren Prozesses zu bieten, vielmehr den aspiratae sich ganz abhold zeigen, da derartige Laute ihrem ursprünglichen Grundstock ganz fremd sind. Endlich wird die Hypothese, es sei die indische aspirierte media ursprünglich eine tenuis gewesen, noch durch andere besondere und sehr gewichtige Einwendungen aus dem Felde geschlagen. Die Umwandlung von *kh* in *gh* usw. müsste nämlich mindestens auf das indo-iranische Zeitalter zurückgehen, da in demselben, wie die zendo-sanskritischen Concordanzen zeigen, die Reihe der aspirierten tenues (*kh*, *th*, *ph*), welche sich immer gleich geblieben sind, sich scheidet von der Reihe derjenigen Laute, welche sich durch die sanskritischen mediae aspiratae und die zendischen mediae fortsetzt. . . . . Somit wirkt alles zusammen, um uns zu zeigen, dass die Laute, welche sich durch die aspirierten mediae des Sanskrit fortsetzen und schon von den Ursprüngen an von den reinen mediae verschieden waren, wie es unter anderm der gotische Reflex beweist, bereits in der einheitlichen Periode tönende Explosivae gewesen seien, auf welche eine mehr oder minder dicke Aspiration folgte, und dass also das sanskritische Lautsystem dem ursprünglichen in dieser Beziehung nicht minder treu sei als in der Fortsetzung der reinen tenuis und der reinen media.

4. Bruecke, Sievers.—Die von Ascoli bekämpfte Vermutung, dass es sich nicht um Aspiraten, sondern um Spiranten handle, war aus dem Lager einer Schwesterwissenschaft, der Lautphysiologie,

hervorgegangen. Vier Jahre nach Curtius' Ansatz von ursprachlichen *bh, dh, gh* hatte Bruecke die physiologische Möglichkeit solcher Laute in Zweifel gezogen (*Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie* = *ZföG*, 1856, S. 595):

Aus dem bisher Gesagten wird es wohl jedem Leser klar sein, dass sich die media nicht in dem Sinne wie die tenuis aspirieren, d.h. unmittelbar mit einem *h* verbinden lässt. Da bei der media die Stimmritze bei der Explosion zum Tönen verengt ist, so muss ihr immer erst ein Vokal angehängt werden, ehe das *h* folgen kann, bei dem die Stimmritze weit offen ist. Wenn eine Silbe mit einer media schliesst und die nachfolgende mit *h* anfängt, so berühren sich hier zwar beide Laute einander unmittelbar, aber dies ist keine Aspiration zu nennen, denn es wird nur durch Silbentrennung möglich. Ich muss, nachdem ich den Verschluss der media gebildet habe, den Explosivlaut vermeiden und das Anhalten des Atems bei der Silbentrennung dazu benutzen, zugleich die Stimmritze und den Verschluss im Mundkanal geräuschlos zu öffnen und dann das *h* hervorzustossen. . . . .

Und auf S. 616:

Sollte nun die Devanagari, die zwei auf einander folgende Konsonanten, selbst wenn sie einander unmittelbar berühren, nie durch ein einfaches Zeichen, sondern immer durch ein zusammengesetztes ausdrückt, sollte die Devanagari fünf Buchstaben haben, deren Lautwert eine media mit nachfolgendem Vokal und nachfolgendem *h* war? Das Unwahrscheinliche dieser Vorstellung von der Natur der media aspirata tritt noch stärker ins Licht, wenn man sieht, wie sie sich mit tönenden Konsonanten, die Resonanten nicht ausgenommen, verbindet.

So kommt er zu dem Schluss, dass die "mediae aspiratae" stimmhafte Spiranten waren, gibt aber eigentlich nur den negativen Grund seines Zweifels an der Sprechbarkeit stimmhafter Aspiraten dafür an. Zwei Jahr später nimmt er (ebenso wie Scherer, *ZGdS*, 1868) stimmhafte Affrikaten an (*ZföG*, 1858, S. 698), und Ebel meint (*KZ*, XIII [1862], 268) wohl etwas Ähnliches, wenn er von einer Art Zwischenstufe spricht, einem *bh* zum Beispiel, "welches eine dem *v* sehr nahe kommende muta war," und immer noch bezweifelt, "dass derartige Verbindungen wie *ghn* ohne eine Art *schwa* gesprochen werden können."

In der zweiten Auflage seiner *Grundzüge* (1872) kann Bruecke, angesichts der unbestreitbaren Tatsache, dass solche Laute in vielen indischen Dialekten nun einmal existieren, allerdings seinen Widerspruch nicht im vollen Umfange aufrecht erhalten; vielmehr bemüht er sich auf Seite 115, drei physiologische Möglichkeiten der Aussprache stimmhafter Aspiraten aufzustellen. Doch bleiben ihm immer noch starke subjektive Bedenken. Ähnlich wie Ebel kann er

sich eine Lautverbindung wie *ghna* nur dreisilbig vorstellen: *gĕhĕna* (S. 84).[1]

Natürlich ist die Schwierigkeit der Aussprache von *bh*, *dh*, *gh* nur eine vermeintliche; wer halbwegs phonetische Muskelempfindung besitzt, dem *müssen* diese Laute leicht sein. Übrigens ist es von Interesse, dass ihre angebliche Schwierigkeit von Paul (*PBB*, I, 154), scharfsinnig als Argument *für* ihre ursprachliche Existenz benützt wird, das bei richtiger Prämisse ziemlich überzeugend wirken könnte:

Es ist bekannt, wie sich unser bedeutendster Lautphysiolog, Bruecke, gegen die Anerkennung der Sprechbarkeit der Medialaspiraten gesträubt hat. Wenn nun auch durch die Bemerkungen von Arend in den Beiträgen zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung [Kuhns und Schleichers Beiträge sind gemeint—der Artikel hat nur auf das Indische Bezug], II, 283 f., die Existenz derselben ausser Zweifel gesetzt ist, so sind sie doch immer sehr schwierige Lautverbindungen, deren sich deshalb die meisten Sprachen entledigt haben, und es ist gar nicht denkbar, dass sie aus der gar keine Schwierigkeiten bietenden Verbindung tenuis+*h* sollten entstanden sein. Die Verwandlung von tenuis affricata zu media affricata ist mindestens unwahrscheinlich. Nirgends findet sich ein Analogon dazu, wie denn überhaupt die Medien-Affrikaten nirgends in einer Sprache nachgewiesen, sondern nur erschlossen sind. . . . . Übrigens würde die Erweichung derselben [der tenuis aspirata] eine Erweichung der tenuis in sich schliessen, die sonst auf germanischem Boden, vom Neunordischen abgesehen, unerhört ist.

Das Ergebnis der damaligen Forschung fasst Paul (a. a. O., S. 195) in folgenden Worten zusammen:

Hierüber sind nun drei verschiedene Ansichten aufgestellt. Die eine behauptet wirkliche Aspiraten, die zweite Affrikaten, die dritte einfache Spiranten. Die letztere ist jetzt wohl allgemein aufgegeben. Der Streit dreht sich noch um die erste, überwiegend anerkannte, und die zweite, von R. von Raumer und Scherer vertretene. Ich halte dafür, dass der Beweis für die Ursprünglichkeit der Aspiraten im Sanskrit und Griechischen geliefert ist durch Curtius, *Grundzüge*,[1] S. 383 ff. [dem oben angeführten Artikel im Wesentlichen gleich] und Ascoli, *Vergleichende Lautlehre* 149 ff., wenn ich auch einige der von ihnen vorgebrachten Argumente nicht gelten lassen kann.

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[To be continued]

[1] Das von mir benützte Exemplar seines Buches, jetzt Eigentum der Universität Chicago, hatte F. Techmer gehört und enthält eine Menge interessanter, zum Teil wertvoller Bemerkungen von Techmers Hand; zu Brueckes Besprechung der Aspiraten bemerkt Techmer, S. 117: "Verfasser hat seine Ansicht über die sanskr. Asp. nicht klar genug, noch weniger überzeugend dargestellt."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Commentary, Critical and Explanatory, on the Norwegian Text of Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt, Its Language, Literary Associations, and Folklore. By H. Logeman. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917. 9 Gld.

Dr. Logeman was professor of English philology at the Belgian University of Ghent, and is now undergoing temporary exile, as the place of publication of the work above indicates. For several years he has been devoting especial attention to the study of Ibsen's masterpiece, a study that has already borne fruit in several articles in philological periodicals.

In the present work the fundamental part, which illogically follows the other,[1] is the textual criticism (pp. 365–464), an accomplishment of scholarship which the reviewer, despite the odium of comparisons and a consciousness of the American proneness to superlatives, would not hesitate to call the best in the history of Ibsen study. Some of its most striking results had already been published separately in 1914 in the Norwegian periodical *Edda* (II, 136 ff.) with effects, particularly upon the Gyldendal publishing house, on which the author is now able to comment. For the work he has had at his disposal all the material, consisting of two manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Library in Copenhagen: U, the original *Udkast*,[2] some readings from which had been printed in the *Efterladte Skrifter*,[3] and R, the *Renskrift* prepared by Ibsen for the printer, but, as Logeman shows, never printed with scrupulous exactness; further the sixteen separate editions of *Peer Gynt* published from 1867 to 1915, and the *Peer Gynt* volume of the three editions of Isben's collected works: the *Folkeudgave* (III, 1898), *Mindeudgave* (II, 1906[4]), and *Jubilæumsudgave* (III, 1913[5]). To these is added as manuscript I,

[1] The author strangely calls it a supplement of the commentary (p. 372).

[2] Logeman calls it in the new Norwegian orthography *Utkast* in spite of the usage of Ibsen and the *Efterladte Skrifter*.

[3] Published by Koht and Elias in three volumes, 1909.

[4] Wrongly dated by Logeman 1908. His copy represents a second variety showing some corrected mistakes, and it is not inconceivable that the date given may stand in relation to this revision, though no record of it is found in the book-trade. The facts about this edition should have been further cleared up.

[5] Dated by Logeman 1914. It is of course the centennial year 1914 that the edition was intended to celebrate, but according to the *Dansk Bogfortegnelse for Aarene*, 1909–14, p. 152 (published in 1916) the first three volumes of the *Jubilæumsudgave* actually came out in 1913.

the copy of edition 2 (1867) corrected by Ibsen for the printing of the third edition (1874), which manuscript is now in the possession of the Christiania University Library. From the various editions Logeman is able, without making his list exhaustive, to show 391 readings of R that have been altered, the number as a rule naturally increasing from edition to edition. One of the most surprising results is the demonstration that Professor Johan Storm of Christiania, who was entrusted with the revision of the text for the *Mindeudgave* and who is a philologist of unquestioned distinction, proceeded in this matter less as a philologist than as an Academy of Letters, and while recognizing many errors, failed through philologically faulty method to detect a number of others, and even introduced arbitrary changes. Of course many of the alterations occurring in the different editions are minor ones of spelling or punctuation which do not affect the sense; there are however a surprisingly large number in which the original meaning of Ibsen is in greater or less degree modified.

The commentary forms the major part of the book, pages 1–363 with addenda, pages 465–68. The passages chosen for comment are numbered in accordance with the lines of an edition once planned by the author, but with references at the bottom of each page to the pagination of various editions. The passage is usually given in the Norwegian reading of the first edition, followed by the English of the Archer translation.[1] The commentator finds the Archer translation fairly accurate, but criticizes it justly at points. He also comments upon other translations in various languages, showing on his own part a fine appreciation of the Norwegian original, without which no one other than a Norwegian could be justified in attempting a commentary. It should be added that he has drawn freely upon Norwegian scholars for opinions upon uncertain points. The English of the commentary, though fluent, would have profited by a revision, and the proofreading was not all that could be desired, a fact covered by an apology of the author.

As to the matter of the commentary itself, the choice of passages for comment and the direction that the comment takes is of course to some degree governed by subjective considerations, and the two commentaries now being prepared by Norwegians will, as the author suggests, probably not be rendered entirely superfluous by his work. Nevertheless the comments contain a wealth of valuable material with very little dross. The few following points were noted which seem to contain errors or justify questions:

Pp. 16 f., l. 227. *saltstrød.* The commentator shows here a tendency not infrequently observable nowadays of overworking the folklore explanation. However as he gives in a footnote the natural explanation offered by a correspondent and leaves the reader liberty of choice, no serious offence can be taken.

[1] Sometimes, as for example in the case of lines 4360–61 (p. 331), the translation is omitted.

P. 17, in footnote; the Norwegian *tiur* is wrongly translated by "woodcock"; it should be "capercailzie" or "cock of the wood," a very different bird.

P. 25, *Capetown* is a slip for *Charlestown* (i.e., Charleston).

P. 32, l. 437, *Signe Reisen.* Why the commentator would make *signe* an infinitive is not clear. It is surely a subjunctive, and the complete expression would be: *Gud signe Rejsen!* "(May) God bless your journey!" "A happy journey to you!" Compare the common use of *velsigne.*

Pp. 47 f. Woerner's incorrect etymology of *Solvejg* is noted, but there is no Old Norse *vejg* meaning "woman."[1] The matter had already been discussed by the reviewer.[2]

Pp. 59 f., l. 702, *Kommer drivende.* With all recognition of the interesting remarks on *piskende Død* (l. 535) one finds it difficult to see their application to the present case and is not entirely persuaded that *drivende* should not be called a present participle.

P. 61, l. 715, *spytter i Hænderne.* That spitting on the hands is a folkloristic survival is perhaps not impossible, but such possibility certainly has no bearing upon its occurrence in the poem itself.

P. 84, l. 962, *Aldrig skal jeg dig i Haaret trække.* The translation should have been corrected, as the expression does not mean "to drag one about by the hair," but simply "to pull one's hair." In the same way in line 1527 (p. 86) *Jeg skal slaa dig i Skallen* does not mean "I'll split your skull open," but only "I'll hit you on the head." Compare line 3028.

P. 89, l. 974. Peer's reference in his mother's ability to ride through the rapidest river is of course to his carrying her across the river in the first act.

Pp. 212 f., l. 2452, *ab esse ad posse.* The comment upon Peer's faultless Latin is doubtless correct enough, so far as words and grammar are concerned, but the commentator has failed to note that Peer has twisted his quotation, as in other cases. Not only is *a posse ad esse* the familiar form, but it alone gives the sense required, if the other indeed gives any sense at all. The reviewer notes the use of this Latin expression in a philosophical article of Heiberg,[3] and is reminded that Logeman in his commentary has failed to indicate sufficiently Ibsen's reaction to the philosophy of his day. Even Begriffenfeldt he does not connect with Hegelianism specifically or German philosophy more generally, in which he may be right, but the German in general has already been personified in von Eberkopf.

P. 213, l. 2461. In alluding to the influence of Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin* the commentator omits reference to the literature upon the subject.[4]

[1] Cf. F. Jónsson in revised edition of Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum*, 602, 1916.

[2] *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XVI, 67, 1917.

[3] *Prosaiske Skrifter*, II, 56: *a posse ad esse valet consequentia* (published 1857).

[4] Cf. *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XV, 51 ff., 1916 and the literature there cited.

P. 217, l. 2567, *Saa kanst du faa.* The translation "Then of course you must get one" should be corrected to "Then you can get one," i.e., "I am ready to furnish you one," as is clear from the following lines.

P. 218, l. 2579, *Profeten er god.* The statement that the nominative is here used as a vocative is perhaps not the best way of putting it. It is used entirely as a nominative, in that the expression is in the third person, not the second.

P. 250, l. 3034. "This play, otherwise too much imbused with stiff Dano-Norwegian" is a point upon which there may be two opinions. Probably the statement is stronger than the commentator intended. One is irresistibly reminded of von Eberkopf's comment on the French language: *Ej wass! Det Sprog er og saa stivt.*"

P. 345, l. 4496, *De flestes Seen ins Blaue slutter i Støbeskeen.* It is not fully clear why comment is denied this passage.

Finally, casual test of the Index (pp. 477–84) shows that it is not as complete as desirable and that references to lines here and in other parts of the book have not been checked up to absolute correspondence.

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THE FIRST TWO READERS OF PETRARCH'S TALE OF GRISELDA

The letter which Petrarch wrote to Boccaccio on June 8,[1] 1374,[2] only a few weeks before his own death, describes the effect produced by the reading of the tale of Griselda upon two friends of Petrarch's, one a Paduan and the other a Veronese. As translated by Professor Robinson,[3] this part of the letter (*Opera*, 1581, p. 546) runs:

In the first place, I gave it to one of our mutual friends in Padua to read, a man of excellent parts and wide attainments. When scarcely halfway through the composition, he was suddenly arrested by a burst of tears. When again, after a short pause, he made a manful attempt to continue, he was again interrupted by a sob. He then realized that he could go no farther himself, and handed the story to one of his companions, a man of education, to finish. How others may view the occurrence I cannot, of course, say; for myself, I put a most favorable construction upon it, believing that I recognize the indications of a most compassionate disposition; a more kindly nature, indeed, I never remember to have met. As I saw him weep as he read, the words of the Satirist came back to me:

> Nature, who gave us tears, by that alone
> Proclaims she made the feeling heart our own;
> And 't is our noblest sense.
> —Juvenal xv. 131 (Gifford's translation)

[1] VI Idus Junius. Mather renders as June 10.

[2] Cf. Mather, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XII (1897), 1 ff. For confirmation of this date, see De Sade, *Mémoires*, III, 797; Blanc, in Ersch und Gruber, *Allg. Encyc.*, III, 19, 242; Baldelli, *Del Petrarca* (1797), p. 320; Bromly, in *Athenæum*, Nov. 19, 1898; Fracassetti, in *Lettere . . . . delle Cose Familiari*, III, 21. Robinson and Rolfe inadvertently assign the whole letter to 1373.

[3] Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, pp. 195–96.

Some time after, another friend of ours, from Verona (for all is common between us, even our friends), having heard of the effect produced by the story in the first instance, wished to read it for himself. I readily complied, as he was not only a good friend, but a man of ability. He read the narrative from beginning to end, without stopping once. Neither his face nor his voice betrayed the least emotion, not a tear or a sob escaped him. "I too," he said at the end, "would have wept, for the subject certainly excites pity, and the style is well adapted to call forth tears, and I am not hard-hearted; but I believed, and still believe, that this is all an invention."

Who were these two men, upon whom the tale produced such very different effects? This question, so far as I am aware, has never been mooted.

The Paduan was, it appears: (1) an intimate of Petrarch's; (2) a friend also of Boccaccio's; (3) a man of sensibility; (4) of rank such as to be attended by a suite.[1]

With what Paduan of high rank, brilliant parts, extensive knowledge, and compassionate disposition, a friend, too, of Boccaccio's, was Petrarch intimately enough acquainted to furnish the occasion for this incident?

Only one man, I believe, fulfils all these conditions, and that is Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, known in later times as Francesco il Vecchio, because his son, also named Francesco (Novello, or Junior), was Lord of Padua from June to November, 1388, upon his father's abdication.

1. That Francesco da Carrara was an intimate of Petrarch's is shown by the following facts:

a) His father, Giacomo da Carrara (Lord of Padua 1345–50) was much attached to Petrarch,[2] who repaid him with the utmost gratitude and esteem, and composed his epitaph[3] after his assassination on December 21, 1350.

b) Francesco frequently visited Petrarch at Arquà.[4]

[1] This I infer from the Latin: "Eam uni suorum comitum, docto satis viro, legendam tradidit." Here the word *comes*, especially as used in the plural, suggests, in contrast with, say, *sodalis*, a member of a retinue. Then, whatever the precise sense that one attributes to *satis*, it is evident that Petrarch, in his "docto satis viro," intimates a degree of inferiority to the "vir altissimi ingenii, multiplicisque notitiae" (cf. "vir ingentis sapientiae," below, p. 131, note 5).

[2] Cf. *Fam.* xi. 2, 3; *Letter to Posterity* (cf. Robinson and Rolfe, pp. 74–75); *Sen.* x. 2, for which see Fracassetti, *op. cit.*, II, 86.

[3] See Fracassetti, III, 33.

[4] *Var.* 31; Fracassetti, V, 320; cf. III, 26; Verci, *Storia della Marca Trivigiana*, XIV, 148; Cittadella, *Storia della Dominazione Carrarese*, I, 284–85.

c) On Petrarch's return from Pavia in July, 1368, Francesco came to the gate of the city to meet him, sent his servants to Petrarch's home with gifts, and went himself in the evening with his suite to visit him, stayed to supper, and afterward conversed with Petrarch till bedtime (*Sen.* xi. 2: *Opera*, 1581, p. 883).[1]

d) Petrarch's last public act was to accompany Francesco Novello to Venice, and there speak (October 3, 1373) before the senate, when the heir to the dominion of Padua proffered his father's apologies at the conclusion of the war between the two states. This was at the particular request of Francesco, the father.[2]

e) In his will, dated April 4, 1370, Petrarch bequeathed to Francesco a picture of the Virgin by Giotto, saying he possessed nothing worthy of him.

f) Petrarch addressed to Francesco his treatise, *De republica optime administranda*,[3] which begins with praises of the prince.

g) Petrarch dedicated to Francesco his *De viris illustribus*.[4]

h) Francesco, according to Petrarch, loved him as a son,[5] just as Francesco's father had loved him as a brother.[6]

[1] "Cum paucis ad me veniens, ac coenanti adsidens, et post coenam illic inter libros in noctem usque concubiam comitatus confabulationibus colloquiisque gratissimis."

[2] *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XIX, 751; Verci, XIV, 231–32; Cittadella, I, 337; Fulin, in *Petrarca e Venezia* (Venice, 1874), pp. 310–27; Körting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, p. 444; Fracassetti, *Lettere . . . . delle Cose Familiarii*, I, 180; III, 26.

[3] *Opera*, 1581, pp. 372–86.

[4] Edited by Razzolini (Bologna, 1874–79). For the dedication, see Körting, *op. cit.*, p. 594, and compare Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 2d ed., p. 4: "Les bienfaits qu'il reçut de François de Carrare, vers la fin de sa vie, le décidèrent. Le seigneur de Padoue était digne de cet honneur par l'intérêt sincère qu'il portait aux lettres et à l'Antiquité, ce qui recommande sa mémoire comme celle d'un des premiers princes de la Renaissance."

[5] *Sen.* xv. 5 (*Opera*, 1581, p. 938), written in 1373: "Locorum dominus, vir ingentis sapientiae, non me ut dominus, sed ut filius diligit atque honorat, et per seipsum sic affectus, et magnanimi patris memor, qui me dilexit ut fratrem."

[6] The relative ages of Petrarch and the two Carraras can only be approximately ascertained. According to Litta (*Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, II, Milan, 1825), Giacomo, the father, was married twice, in 1318 and 1341, and Francesco in 1345, Francesco Novello being born May 19, 1359 (Brown, *Studies in the History of Venice*, I, 128, says 1352). Since Petrarch was born in 1304, Giacomo must have been somewhat older, for, although marriages were then often contracted at an early age (Novello was married at twenty to a bride of fourteen, see p. 137), yet we can hardly suppose Giacomo to have been married at fourteen (he was accounted old before his death in 1393; see *R.I.S.*, XVII, 814). Francesco cannot have been born before 1319, and was of an age to marry in 1345. If we suppose him to have been born in 1325, he would have been old enough to marry in 1345, and young enough for Petrarch to regard him as a son, since there would have been twenty-one years between their ages.

i) Francesco was something of a poet himself, and may have been indebted to Petrarch in the composition or polishing of his verses,[1] though his *capitoli* on the loss and recovery of Padua, the only specimens of his poetry preserved to us, were written in November, 1389, more than fifteen years after Petrarch's death.[2]

j) Francesco attended the funeral of Petrarch[3] at Arquà (a dozen miles from Padua), where every honor was shown to the dead poet.[4]

[1] Cf. Fracassetti, III, 26; Lami, *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, XIV, xii; Cittadella, I, 469–70.

[2] The following account of a journey by Francesco Novello from Piedmont over the Mont Cenis to the abbey of St. Antoine, seven and one-half miles northwest of St. Marcellin, near the Isère, between Grenoble and Valence, affords a fair specimen of his father's poetic merits. The description of the journey and of Savoy may be compared with *The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XXI, 42). It will be noticed that line 15 contains an allusion (*l'ultima sera*) to Dante, *Purg.*, Bk. 1, 58. The extract is from Lami, *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, XVI, xvii–xix of this part:

Prese comiato, uscì fuor della porta,
Per uscir fuor del Piamonte paese,
Ver Mon Caler prese la via più corta.
Camminando arrivò nel Savogiese,
E quì ne licenziò la scorta fida,
E'n verso suso montò in Mon Senese.
O beati color, che in Dio si fida,
E che gli son divoti e riverenti,
E che'l disidran per lor scorta e guida.
Salendo il monte sentiva gran venti,
Ma tanto andò, che giunse alla Ferrera,
Ove per freddo gli batteva i denti.
E io, el ver dirò, così m'avera.
Che io v' ebbi sì gran freddo d'Agosto,
Ch' io mi pensai sentir l'ultima sera.
E quella ritornando al suo proposto
Disse, Quì si conviene aver brigata
Per poter trapassar l'Alpe più tosto.
Che gli era tanto il ghiaccio e la gelata,
Che non si cognoscea vie nè sentiere,
Siccome tu vedesti altra fiata.
Passando Mon Senese, poi mestiere
Fu di pigliar la via verso quel Santo,
Ch' è presso a tre giornate [a quel quartiere?]
Ma quì mi piacque riposare alquanto,
E lassar gir zoso [giuso] volse l'Acquabella,
Che'l terreno è sicuro in ogni canto.
Del Savoin paese si novella,
Aver la gente sua tanto piacevole,
Che pochi luoghi trovo par di quella.
E la contrada è tanto dilettevole,
E ubertosa di campi e di broli,
E d'ulivi e di vigne ben fruttevole.
Quivi è ogni diletto, che tu vuoli,
Come di pesci, uccelli, o di cacciare,
E orsi, e cervi, e daini, e cavriuoli.
Per que', che io mi possa ricordare,
Tanta iustizia trovai in quel paese,
Ch' ognun sicuramente vi può andare.

[3] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 213–14; Cittadella, I, 351; cf. my article in *Romanic Review*, VIII, 222–24.

[4] A large part of Petrarch's books passed, after his death, into the possession of Francesco (Nolhac, I, 99, who says this was due to his love of antiquity and his respect for the poet). On the friendship of Petrarch and Francesco, see, in general, Cittadella, I, 284–86; Körting, pp. 433–34; Calthrop, *Petrarch*, p. 292. Lami, *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, XIV, prints a poem by Zenone da Pistoia on the death of Petrarch, written the same year, 1374; this contains various references to the friendship between Petrarch and Francesco da Carrara, for which see pp. x–xii.

2. It cannot be proved that Boccaccio was a friend of Francesco da Carrara, but that he had had the opportunity to meet him is rendered very probable by the fact that he was in Padua with Petrarch on two different occasions, in 1351 and 1368—the first time when Francesco, with his uncle Giacomino (Jacopino), had but recently (December 22, 1350) succeeded to his father; the second, less than six years before Petrarch wrote to him in 1374. The first of these visits was to bring the letter from the Florentine government inviting Petrarch to return as professor to that city. Boccaccio appears to have arrived early in April, 1351, and to have spent several days with Petrarch,[1] in occupations which Boccaccio described in a letter of July 18, 1353.[2] Concerning the visit of 1368, we learn from a letter of Petrarch's (*Sen.* x. 5), written on October 3, that Boccaccio had left Padua, and, from another to the same friend shortly before (*Sen.* x. 4), that Boccaccio was then with him. As Petrarch had not returned to Padua from Pavia till July 19,[3] it is evident that Boccaccio must have arrived after this date. We thus know that Francesco was in Padua on July 19, and that he was there on October 28,[4] and we have no reason to think he was absent between those dates; hence on this occasion, too, Boccaccio may well have met him.

3. Francesco's sensibility is authenticated by Petrarch in his treatise, *On the Best Method of Administering a State*, addressed, as we have seen, to that ruler. Discoursing on the means by which a prince may gain the affection of his subjects, after laying down certain general principles, he adds:[5] "But there are other means of winning love, slighter, indeed, but effectual; I grant that they are hard for arrogant rulers, but they are easy and pleasant for a soul inclined to humanity. They are these—to pity, to console, to visit, to encourage. In these arts no one is your superior. Employ them whenever

[1] Fracassetti, III, 40, 43.

[2] Corazzini, *Lettere* (Florence, 1877), pp. 391–94; Körting, *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, p. 192.

[3] See my paper, *The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XXI, p. 84).

[4] Verci, XIV, *Documenti*, pp. 30–31.

[5] *Opera*, 1581, pp. 379–80: "Sunt et alia leviora ad captandum amorem, tamen efficacia; superbis fateor dura principibus, sed, ubi se ad humanitatem animus inclinavit, et facilia et jucunda. Ea vero sunt huiusmodi—compati, consolari, visitare, alloqui. . . . . Et harum quoque artium nullus abundantior est quam tu. Illis utere; naturamque tuam sequere; sic optato provenient universa."

possible. By thus following your own nature, you will find everything give way to your desires."

It is true that Francesco imprisoned his uncle Giacomino in 1355, and kept him in captivity till his death in 1372; but it was after he had compassed Francesco's death by poison, as was clearly proved by the confession of his accomplice and agent, and the discovery of the poison.[1]

It is true that, on August 28, 1373, a certain Zaccaria da Modena was judicially condemned to be drawn by his feet at the tail of an ass round the public square of Padua, and thence to the cemetery, where he was to be beheaded; and this was so done.[2] On January 23, 1374, by order of the court, Alvise and Filippo Forzate, Francesco's uncles, were publicly beheaded.[3] But Zaccaria was proved to be an agent of Francesco's brother, Marsilio, who was taking measures, with the aid of the Venetian government, to dispossess Francesco of his sovereignty; and the two latter were conspirators for the assassination of Francesco.[4] Cittadella (p. 343) blames him for his clemency on this latter occasion, since he only sentenced to imprisonment for life, instead of to death, his own brother, Niccolò, and his illegitimate half-brother, Bonifacio, Abbot of Praglia, "non volendo il Signore bruttarsi le mani nel sangue suo."[5]

As to the affection and confidence displayed toward Francesco in the height of his war with Venice (1372), we are told (Cittadella, I, 317): "Neither did the asperities of the war turn the hearts of the

[1] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 41–44. Cittadella's reflections are (I, 234–35, cf. I, 467): "More to be wondered at is the moderation of Francesco, who, naturally ambitious, accustomed to the sudden violence of war, and threatened in his rule and in his life, was able to conquer his own natural propensities, ... and content himself with a judicial punishment, without resorting to private vengeance. He is the more commendable because he was surrounded with examples of bloody reprisals—a warrior truly magnanimous, who was willing to stain the field of battle with the blood of his enemies, but not the scaffold with that of a citizen and a relative." A modern writer on Italy has said (Heywood, *Palio and Ponte*, London [1904], p. 153): "The *vendetta* was as much a duty as in the days when Dante was ashamed to look upon the face of Geri del Bello, feeling himself a sharer in his shame. Even at their mothers' knees, children were taught the sacred obligations of revenge."

[2] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 189.

[3] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 207.

[4] See Cittadella, I, 331–33, 340–34.

[5] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 206. His own brother, Marsilio, was to receive 15,000 golden ducats a year from Venice if the conspiracy had succeeded (see the written promise by the Doge Andrea Contarini in Cittadella, I, 472–73). For Petrarch's reflections upon the conspiracy, see *Sen.* xiv. 1 (*Opera*, 1581, pp. 931–92).

citizens against Carrara; rather was he so loved that all classes spontaneously offered their money to provide for his needs, and the physicians, with the same hand which they stretched out for the relief of the sick, lavished their gold to restore the strength of the harassed city. . . . . Blessings on the prince whose rule represents, in the eyes of his subjects, the public weal."

Concerning the Veronese we may reasonably infer: (1) that he was of station not inferior to Petrarch, and probably of similar rank to the Paduan; (2) that he sometimes visited Padua; (3) that Boccaccio was not personally acquainted with him; (4) that he was harder-hearted, or perhaps harder-headed, than the Paduan.

1. Petrarch, except rarely and for special reasons, mentions in his letters only persons of his own condition—poets, scholars, clericals—or men of distinctly higher rank—princes, cardinals, and the like. Since he speaks of the Veronese as a friend, he presumably belonged to one of these classes. The Veronese friends whose names occur in Petrarch's pages are Guglielmo di Pastrengo, Rinaldo da Villafranca, of the first class, and Mastino II della Scala and Azzo di Correggio, of the second. Of all these, we know that Azzo had died in 1362, Mastino in 1351, Pastrengo before 1370 (probably), while the date of Rinaldo da Villafranca's death is uncertain, though not earlier, it is believed, than 1358.[1] We have no need, then, I shall assume, to reckon with any of these; and Petrarch is scarcely likely to have acquired new friends of his own station in more recent years. It is therefore natural to consider whom he might have known of higher rank. The man who at that time ruled Verona was Can Signorio della Scala (ruled 1359–75). Our reasons for considering it likely that he is the Veronese in question are these:

a) Petrarch had known his father, Mastino, to whom he had addressed a Latin poetical epistle,[2] and who had perhaps urged him to make a considerable visit in Verona in May, 1351[3]—apparently the last time he was in that city.

b) In 1352 a canonry was bestowed upon Petrarch's son, Giovanni, probably by Can Signorio's brother, Can Grande II

[1] Cf. Fracassetti, II, 443; III, 8, 47, 204; V, 344.

[2] *Opera*, 1581, III, 86.

[3] Fracassetti, III, 8, 47.

(d. December 13, 1359). This having been forfeited in 1354, at which time Petrarch himself seems to have fallen into disgrace with Can Grande,[1] was restored by Can Signorio in 1361, and Petrarch was taken back to favor.[2] Petrarch could therefore from this time on consider Can Signorio as a friend.

c) The interest felt by Can Signorio in the arts is shown by his erection of the Clock Tower on the Piazza del Mercato (now Piazza delle Erbe?); of a tower in the Adige near the stone Ponte delle Navi, destroyed by a freshet in 1757; of the wall formerly surrounding the precinct of the Palazzo del Capitano; of the Gardello tower (according to Verci, in the Piazza dei Signori; perhaps confounded by Baedeker with the Clock Tower), but especially by his tomb,[3] the most conspicuous[4] among those of the Scaligers, constructed by Bonino da Campione during Can Signorio's lifetime. His interest in literature can only be conjectured.

2. Whether Can Signorio was likely to have visited Padua in 1373 or 1374 would depend largely upon his relations with Francesco da Carrara, since the distance between Verona and Padua by the indirect railway route is not fifty miles, and from Vicenza, another of Can Signorio's possessions, to Padua, is less than twenty miles. From 1365 to 1369 Can Signorio had been more or less actively in league with Francesco's enemies.[5] Even in March, 1372, he received a

[1] Fracassetti, II, 258, 441.

[2] Fracassetti, V, 344; II, 442; cf. *Opera*, 1581, p. 1023.

[3] Cf. Verci, VII, 112. Elsewhere (XIV, 143–44) Verci tells of the great bell that he caused to be placed on the Clock Tower; of the retaining wall built along the Adigetto from the Portoni della Brà, in the heart of the city, to the Adige, with the cellars along it, to serve at need as granaries; and of how, by his own efforts and their influence upon others, he transformed and beautified his city of Vicenza.

[4] See Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, III, chap. ii: "The stateliest and most sumptuous of the three; it first arrests the eye of the stranger, and long detains it—a many-pinnacled pile surrounded by niches with statues of the warrior saints. It is beautiful, for it still belongs to the noble time, the latter part of the fourteenth century; but . . . . its pride may well prepare us to learn that it was built for himself, in his own lifetime, by the man whose statue crowns it, Can Signorio della Scala. . . . . Can Signorio was twice a fratricide, the last time when he lay upon his death-bed; his tomb bears upon its gables the images of six virtues—Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, and (I believe) Justice and Fortitude."

[5] Verci, XIV, 76, 81, 84, 86, 95, 98, 99, 104, 111, 113, 118, 127; Cittadella, I, 277, 281, 283. Much earlier, in December, 1359, he had taken refuge in Padua (Verci, VII, 110) after his assassination of Can Grande II (see below, p. 138). He was own nephew to Francesco da Carrara, since his father had married Francesco's sister, Taddea, in 1328 (Verci VII, 91).

large sum from Venice, then preparing war against Padua, on condition that the Republic might raise troops in his territories.[1] But by May, 1372, Can Signorio had seen a new light. To an embassy from Francesco, inquiring as to his intentions, he declared that he would not take sides, but nevertheless would be friendly to Francesco.[2] This was at the end of May, and about the same time he sent ambassadors to Louis, King of Hungary, Francesco's ally, to put all his means and power at the disposal of the king.[3] Early in June the Veronese applied to Venice for salt, but were refused, whereupon Francesco offered to let them have all they wanted for five years;[4] this evidently conciliated Can Signorio, for in July he replied to a Hungarian embassy that he would always be obedient to Louis, and serviceable to Francesco.[5] It is significant that the dukes of Bavaria and Austria, having made impossible demands of Can Signorio as a pretext for attacking him, were met with an unqualified refusal from Francesco in October, 1372, when they sought permission from him to conduct their invading troops through the pass of Valsugana, since, as he declared, there was good and firm friendship between Can Signorio and himself.[6] Can Signorio, it is true, took no active part in the war[7]—he loved building rather than fighting[8]—and we are told that Zaccaria da Modena[9] endeavored to have him transmit a letter of his to the Venetian government;[10] but there is no proof that the Lord of Verona was privy to its contents.

The relations between Can Signorio and Francesco must have grown increasingly intimate during these latter years, for on August 20, 1375,[11] a contract of marriage was drawn up in the former's palace at Verona between Francesco Novello and Taddea, daughter of Niccolò II, Marquis of Este, Ferrara, and Modena (1361–88).

[1] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 70, 72; Verci, XIV, 159; Cittadella, I, 310.
[2] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 73–74.
[3] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 87–88; Verci, XIV, 172; Cittadella, I, 309.
[4] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 89–90; Verci, XIV, 172; Cittadella, I, 309.
[5] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 93, 96.
[6] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 108.
[7] Verci, XIV, 208.
[8] Cf. p. 136, and note 3.
[9] See p. 134.
[10] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 188; Verci, XIV, 223.
[11] The marriage itself did not take place till May 31, 1379.

Niccolò had married Can Signorio's sister Verde on May 19, 1362,[1] and Taddea (b. 1365) was the fruit of this union. In relation to the contract, Can Signorio not only acted as the maternal uncle of the bride, but also as the representative of her father.[2] There can be no question, then, that the projected marriage was entirely agreeable to the former, and this argues great friendliness at this time between himself and Francesco da Carrara.

That Can Signorio, his junior by perhaps fifteen years, might have visited Francesco at some time between the spring of 1373 and that of 1374, will, then, surprise no one.

3. Seeing that Boccaccio did not meet Petrarch till October, 1350, that he visited the latter at Padua in the spring of 1351, and that Petrarch was probably not in Verona after June, 1351,[3] he could not have visited Petrarch there; nor have we reason to suppose that he had any opportunity of meeting Can Signorio through any other agency than that of Petrarch.

We are now in a position to understand better Petrarch's polite phraseology, when he refers to Can Signorio as a "friend of ours" (*amicus noster*), and then immediately adds, "for all is common between us, even our friends" (*sunt enim nobis, ut reliqua, sic amici etiam communes*). The explanation sufficiently shows that Can Signorio was not the "common friend" that we have reason to suppose Francesco da Carrara to have been.

4. That Can Signorio was harder-hearted than Francesco da Carrara may be inferred from his slaying of his elder brother, Can

[1] Verci, XIV, 25; VII, 106.

[2] See *Miscellanea di Storia Veneta* (ed. R. Dep. Veneta di Storia Patria), II, 9 (1903), 158–61. It is worth noting that Francesco, Niccolò, and Can Signorio had been leagued together as early as 1362 (Verci, XIV, 27; Cittadella, I, 260). On February 9, 1371, Francesco orders the Podestà of Belluno to collect as many live kids as possible, and send them to Padua for a gift to Niccolò, who, on his journey back with Francesco and Petrarch from the funeral of Urban V in Bologna on January 3 (if we may trust Verci, XIV, 150; *Documenti*, pp. 70–71), had expressed a wish for them.

There was cordial friendship between Niccolò and Petrarch. In April, 1370, Petrarch set out from Padua for Rome, but, on arriving at Ferrara, fell into a swoon, and was actually regarded as dead, but finally recovered. On this occasion he experienced great kindness from Niccolò (*Sen.* xiii. 17; *Opera*, 1581, p. 896). We have two letters from the poet to him, one dissuading him from taking part in tournaments (*Sen.* xi. 13), and another of consolation (*Sen.* xiii. 1).

[3] Fracassetti, I, 179; V, 539. Boccaccio may possibly have passed through Verona in December, 1351, on his way to the Tyrol, or in February, 1352, on his return journey (Körting, *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, pp. 193–95, 275); but Petrarch had left there in June, 1351, never to return (*Fam.* xi. 6, 7; Fracassetti, III, 8).

Grande II, in 1359,[1] from his imprisonment of another brother, Paolo Alboino, joint ruler with himself, in 1365, and his murdering of the latter in 1375.[2] The chronicler, Andrea Gataro, tells us that, feeling himself sick unto death, Can Signorio wrote to Francesco da Carrara, asking him whether he would advise that the lordship of Verona be left to the legitimate heir, Paolo Alboino, or to his own bastard sons, Bartolomeo and Antonio. Francesco replied that by leaving Verona to his brother, he would acquire great honor in this world, and glory in the next, and that, by way of compensation, he could leave Vicenza, and others of his possessions, to his sons. Thereupon Can Signorio instantly summoned four trusty henchmen, and thus commanded them: "Go at once to Peschiera, where you will find my brother, Paolo Alboino, and slay him; do this, and I will make you all rich, seeing that my object is to leave my sons lords." On their return, the murderers reported that they had obeyed his orders. "Then," said he, "I shall die content," proceeded to make his will, and three days later, to die, October 19, 1375, at the age of thirty-five.[3]

If the foregoing identifications are accepted, they will serve at once to throw a little additional light upon two famous Italian rulers of the later fourteenth century, and at the same time to illustrate how their respective reactions, upon the reading of the story, corresponded to their historical characters—Francesco yielding to the sweetness of Griselda's nature, and Can Signorio refusing to believe that such a nature was possible.

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[1] Verci, VII, 108. [2] Verci, VII, 113.

[3] *R.I.S.*, XVII, 216. Verci (VII, 110, 111) calls him malevolent, treacherous, abominable (*cattivo, traditore, scellerato*). Suspecting a conspiracy against himself in 1365, he had many people of consequence slain, and shortly after imposed new and oppressive taxes, and seized for his own use the revenues of various ecclesiastical benefices in Verona and Vicenza (Verci, VII, 111). He had caused his sons to be proclaimed as his successors on October 15, 1375 (Verci, VII, 114), the day before he sent assassins to Paolo Alboino. They came to no good ends: Bartolomeo (b. 1360) was assassinated by his brother's orders on July 12, 1381, and Antonio (b. 1362) was expelled from his dominions by Gian Galeazzo Visconti on October 18, 1387, dying in exile September 3, 1388, perhaps of poison (Verci, VII, 114–16). With him ended the rule of the Scaligers, his son, Can Francesco, being poisoned at Ravenna a few years later by order of Gian Galeazzo (Verci, VII, 116).

LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS OF GUY DE MAUPASSANT

Balzac remarks disparagingly of his native city, Tours, where the best French is spoken, that it was one of the least literary cities in France.[1] In like manner Guy de Maupassant, acclaimed as the master of a perfect French prose style, was to an astonishing degree unversed in literature. "No mind was less bookish," observes M. Faguet. "When he published at the beginning of *Pierre et Jean*, perhaps in order to enlarge the volume, a brief critical study, he proved nothing except that he had read nothing."[2] Amid the Sunday afternoon discussions at the house of Flaubert, and at the famous "jeudis" of Zola, Maupassant was taciturn, and made the impression of a brawny athlete with little interest in writing. More than one person who met this "taureau triste"[3]—as Taine called him familiarly—before his reputation was established, was astonished to learn later of his ability as a writer. "Il n'aimait point à parler littérature," was his excuse.[4]

In this way that *vision directe*, unobscured by the medium of books, which the Goncourt brothers had heralded, Guy de Maupassant actually possessed.[5] Such a perfect realist did he thus become that, to quote M. Faguet again, "le lecteur ne sait pas, et c'est ce qu'il faut, quand il lit Maupassant, si c'est de l'art de Maupassant, ou seulement de la vérité, qu'il a le goût."[6]

We may confidently expect, therefore, that any important literary influence upon Maupassant will be exerted by means of oral

[1] *Le Curé de Tours*, in *Œuvres de Balzac* (Calmann Lévy ed. [1892]), p. 193. In his correspondence Balzac usually speaks of Touraine in terms of deepest affection.

[2] Émile Faguet, in *Revue Bleue*, LII (July 15, 1893).

[3] Victor Giraud, *Essai sur Taine* (5e ed.; Paris, 1912), p. 106, n. 3.

[4] Letter of Édouard Rod to Monsieur le baron A. Lumbroso, October 6, 1904 (A. Lumbroso, *Souvenirs sur Maupassant* [1905], p. 374). René Doumic, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, CXX (1893), 194, says: "Tout ce qui est d'ordre intellectuel, œuvre ou conquête de l'esprit, lui échappe. Et comme il arrive, ce qu'il ne comprend pas, il le nie. . . . Et quand Rodolphe de Salins continue exposant ses théories sur la destinée humaine, à savoir que la pensée est dans la création un accident à jamais regrettable, et que la terre a été faite pour les animaux non pour les hommes, décidément par sa bouche c'est Maupassant qui parle."

[5] E. Maynial, "La Composition dans les romans de Maupassant," in *Revue Bleue* LXXII (October 31, 1903), 563. See *Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, Préfaces et manifestes littéraires* (Paris, 1880), p. 13.

[6] E. Faguet, *loc. cit.*

transmission, so familiar in the history of the primitive ballad and folk-tale. To Alfred de Musset he is indebted hardly more than for the inspiration of juvenile madrigals and sonnets composed at the *lycée* of Rouen.[1] Possibly also traces of that quality, which Professor Irving Babbitt calls "the Romantic art of impassioned recollection," which was so prominent a characteristic of Musset, may be discovered in the works of both Flaubert and his pupil, Maupassant. At the conclusion of the *Éducation sentimentale*, Frédéric remarks: "C'est là ce que nous avons eu de meilleur!" Deslaurier replies, in similar reminiscent vein, "Oui, peut-être bien? C'est là ce que nous avons eu de meilleur!" In *L'Épave*, Maupassant concludes with a sob as the memory of the former beauty of the heroine comes back to him: "Ah! celle d'autrefois . . . celle de l'épave . . . quelle créature . . . divine!"[2] In *Regret*, Monsieur Saval weeps as he thinks of the happiness which was once in his reach and which he had failed to grasp.[3]

Despite these resemblances, it is safe to assert that Maupassant's indebtedness to Musset was not excessive. His imitation of Edgar Allan Poe was slighter still and has been overestimated by a few writers. Notwithstanding the protestations of Mme de Maupassant, most critics are disposed to accept as conclusive the argument that stories like *Le Horla*, so far from having any foreign origin, are merely the faithful journal of an author whose reason was tottering.[4] Where Maupassant's imitation of Poe seems perfectly clear is in an unedited story called *Le Tic*. Instead of describing the father and daughter, about whom the narrative revolves, Maupassant says simply: "Ils me firent l'effet, tout de suite, de personnages d'Edgar Poé. . . ." Then follows a tale of the daughter's rescue from the grave, quite in the manner of the *Premature Burial* and the *Fall of the House of Usher*.[5]

[1] E. Maynial, *La Vie et l'œuvre de Guy de Maupassant* (Paris, 1907), p. 82.

[2] *L'Épave*, in *La Petite Roque*, p. 92. The Louis Conard edition (1908–1910) has been used for references to Maupassant's works.

[3] *Regret*, in *Miss Harriet*, pp. 259 ff.

[4] E. Maynial, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–251. See Henry James in *Fortnightly Review*, XLIX (1888), 376: ". . . . These last things range from *Le Horla* (which is not a specimen of the author's best vein—the only occasion on which he has the weakness of imitation is when he strikes us as emulating Edgar Poe). . . . ." To parody the language of the late Mr. James, this very inaccurate statement is certainly not a specimen of the critic's best vein.

[5] *Le Tic*, *Œuvres Posthumes*, I, 227–234.

This story affords apparently the one instance where Maupassant mentions Poe. A more significant influence upon Maupassant, exerted of course through the medium of books, is that of Balzac. As Maupassant remarks, speaking for his realistic brethren, it is "Balzac que nous citons tous, quelles que soient nos tendances, parce que son esprit est aussi varié qu'étendu. . . ."[1]

Despite the usual opinion of critics that the direct influence of Balzac upon Maupassant was slight, the two authors clearly had much in common. If we have M. Faguet's authority that Maupassant read nothing at all, we also have his authority that Balzac read no other author than Walter Scott. It is not surprising, then, that Maupassant had Balzac's passion for observing life at first hand, for recording his impressions in carefully taken notes, for a realism which was the farthest possible remove from the classical copying of Virgil and other "perfect" models. On the other hand, if Balzac was classical in his exclusive study of man, and all that pertains to mankind, Maupassant flaunted the classical motto of Terence: "Je tâche que rien de ce qui touche les hommes ne me soit étranger."[2] Furthermore, if Taine finds the *Comédie humaine* a vast study of humanity from the zoölogical point of view, the works of Maupassant lay no less emphasis upon the animalism of man. There is even in the *Contes* and in the *Nouvelles* far more of the lingering Romanticism of Balzac than is commonly supposed.

Occasionally it is not difficult to discover resemblances of detail between the writers. *Bel-Ami* has been recognized as a modernized *Lucien de Rubempré*. It seems to me also that Balzac's story entitled *Adieu*[3] may well have furnished Maupassant with a suggestion for his *conte* entitled *Berthe*.[4] *Adieu* concerns a girl named Stéphanie, reduced to insanity, who finds as a companion Geneviève, an idiotic peasant girl. Geneviève had been loved by a mason named Dallot, who married her for her dowry. For a time she was extremely happy, for love had awakened in her heart a great response. Then Dallot deserted her for another girl who possessed two quarters of

[1] *Réponse à M. Albert Wolff*, in *Mlle Fifi*, p. 284.

[2] *Réponse à M. Wolff*, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[3] *Œuvres Complètes* (Calmann Lévy ed. [1892]), in volume entitled *Louis Lambert*, p. 234.

[4] In volume entitled *Yvette*, pp. 251–269.

land more than she, and Geneviève lost what little intelligence love had developed in her. Maupassant's *Berthe* concerns an idiot girl with a fair dowry who is greatly benefited by marriage and declines immediately after she is deserted by her husband.

Often the influence of Balzac upon Maupassant is exerted through the intermediary of Flaubert, as in the case of the famous doctrine of "impersonality," formulated by Flaubert, adopted by Maupassant, but probably inspired by a reading of Balzac's novels. A curious illustration of this second-hand transmission is found in the imitation of an incident of Balzac's *Honorine*.[1] In the midst of his garden Count Octave has a magnificent basin, swarming with goldfish. When he is in a pensive mood, he goes there to brood over Honorine, who has deserted him. It had been as he stood over the basin with Honorine, then a girl of seventeen, and had thrown bread to the fishes, that he had spoken his first words of love to her. This episode, utilized by Flaubert, reappears in *Bel-Ami* when Georges Du Roy accompanies Suzanne Walter to the basin in the conservatory to throw bread to the fishes and to plan an elopement.[2]

It is not my intention, however, to enter thoroughly into the subject of Balzac's influence here. Even briefer mention will be allowed Maupassant's story entitled *L'Endormeuse*, which appeared in September, 1889,[3] and concerns a suicide club which may have been modeled on that described by Robert Louis Stevenson in the *New Arabian Nights* (1882).

If Maupassant was acquainted with few authors through their books, his obligations to two life-long friends of his mother Laure and his uncle Alfred le Poittevin are well known. Mme de Maupassant declares that one of these friends, Louis Bouilhet, was prevented only by an early death from making her son a poet.[4] The other, Gustave Flaubert, instructed him in the art of the novelist.

In his essay on *Le Roman*, which appeared as a preface to *Pierre et Jean*, Maupassant has described the lessons in the art of composition which he received from his masters. First, Bouilhet taught

[1] *Honorine*, in *Le Colonel Chabert*, pp. 119, 128.

[2] *Bel-Ami*, pp. 510, 511.

[3] In *La Main Gauche*, pp. 241 ff.

[4] E. Maynial, *op. cit.*, p. 44 (citation from A. Albalat, on Mme de Maupassant, in *Le Journal des Débats*, December 12, 1903).

him an appreciation of perfect form in verse, impressing upon him the fact that one short but flawless poem may confer immortality upon its author. After some two years, Bouilhet's mantle fell upon Flaubert, who insisted upon faultless, classic prose, correcting tirelessly Maupassant's compositions.

The influence of Flaubert upon his pupil is a subject treated most thoroughly in the forthcoming University of Chicago thesis of Miss Agnes R. Riddell, so that only one or two observations will be attempted here. The emphasis laid by Flaubert upon details is evident in the following often-quoted passage from Maupassant's essay on *Le Roman:*

> Quand vous passez, me disait-il, devant un épicier assis sur sa porte, devant un concierge qui fume sa pipe, devant une station de fiacres, montrez-moi cet épicier et ce concierge, leur pose, toute leur apparence physique contenant aussi, indiquée par l'adresse de l'image, toute leur nature morale, de façon à ce que je ne les confonde avec aucun autre épicier ou avec aucun autre concierge, et faites-moi voir, par un seul mot, en quoi un cheval de fiacre ne ressemble pas aux cinquante autres qui le suivent et le précèdent.[1]

The extent to which such "leçons d'école" influenced the style of Maupassant has already been indicated to a certain degree by a number of critics, notably Brunetière. It remained for Miss Riddell to demonstrate that Maupassant, not satisfied with learning the literary methods of Flaubert, was inclined to adopt also some of his characters and episodes. One illustration of this practice is mentioned here, in anticipation of Miss Riddell.

The rendezvous of *Bel-Ami* with Mme Walter in the Church of the Trinity suggests strongly that of Léon Dupuis with Emma Bovary in a cathedral. Both Du Roy and Léon arrive ahead of time—Léon discovering that it was nine o'clock by looking at the cuckoo clock of the hairdresser; Du Roy, that it was three o'clock by consulting his watch. To while away the time, Léon walks three city blocks, and decides to return. Du Roy, also, walks slowly along the dock, until he concludes that it would be better to return. Both wait impatiently for the arrival of their lady-loves, Léon being startled by a rustling of silk over the flag-stone; Du Roy, by the noise of a dress. "C'était elle!" announces Flaubert. "C'était elle!" echoes Maupassant. "Léon se leva et courut à sa rencontre."

[1] *Le Roman*, in *Pierre et Jean*, p. xxiv.

As for Du Roy, "Il se leva, s'avance vivement." Emma and Mme Walter seek refuge from temptation in prayer. "Emma prayed, or rather attempted to pray," we are told, "hoping that some sudden resolution would descend to her from heaven." As for Mme Walter, "Then she tried to pray. With a superhuman invocation she attempted to call upon God, and, her body vibrating, her soul distraught, she cried 'Pity!' to the sky." Emma filled her eyes with the splendors of the tabernacle and breathed its incense, in order to fortify herself; but her efforts only increased the tumult of her heart. Mme Walter shut her eyes in order not to see Du Roy, endeavored to drive his image from her mind, but instead of the celestial apparition for which she hoped, she perceived always the curly moustache of the young man.[1]

I shall further venture the statement, upon my own responsibility, that Flaubert's influence manifested itself even upon those feelings which we are accustomed to regard as absolutely instinctive with Maupassant, such as his repugnance for death, for old age, for the gray hair which is the token of the approaching end. Writing more than a decade before Maupassant's *Fini*, *L'Épave*, and *Fort comme la mort*, Flaubert in his *Éducation sentimentale* makes Frédéric Moreau observe with consternation the gray hair of Mme Arnoux in the strong light of a lamp. "It was like a blow full in his chest," Flaubert comments.[2] Equally instinctive with Maupassant seems that feeling of fear, of unreasoning fear, "la peur de la peur," which finally mastered his reason. Nevertheless, we may discover evidences of even this characteristic in the narrative of the duel in the *Éducation sentimentale*. Frédéric Moreau is terribly afraid that he will be afraid. "Une angoisse abominable le saisit à l'idée d'avoir peur sur le terrain," says Flaubert.[3] Maupassant, imitating this passage in *Un Lâche*, makes the Viscount Gontran-Joseph de Signoles find this fear overwhelming: "Et ce doute l'envahit, cette inquiétude, cette épouvante; si une force plus puissante que sa volonté, domina-

[1] *Madame Bovary* (L. Conard ed.), pp. 326–329; *Bel-Ami*, pp. 397–405.

[2] *Éducation sentimentale*, p. 604.

[3] *Éducation sentimentale*, p. 323. Miss Riddell notes the resemblance between the duels in *Éducation sentimentale* and in *Bel-Ami*, pp. 237 ff. The similarity between *Un Lâche* and the pages cited from *Bel-Ami* was observed by E. Maynial, "La Composition dans les romans de Maupassant," in *Revue Bleue*, LXXII (November 7, 1903), 607.

trice, irrésistible, le domptait, qu'arriverait-il? Oui, que pouvait-il arriver?"[1]

Furthermore, emphasis should be laid upon the fact that the influence of Flaubert upon Maupassant, very noticeable in Maupassant's earlier novels, such as *Une Vie* and *Bel-Ami*, afterward diminished considerably. When Lemaître, adopting the opinion of Maupassant's perspicacious publisher, Havard, notes that *Mont-Oriol* (1887) is a transitional novel, because of the emotional and dramatic elements it contains, he is actually noting a decline in the influence of Flaubert.[2] When he remarks that in *Pierre et Jean* (1888) the transformation of the author's manner is complete, for the whole interest centers in the dramatic struggle between the guilty mother and the inquisitorial son, he really signalizes the passing of the influences of Flaubert.[3]

On the whole, Maupassant does not appear to have been influenced greatly by authors of the naturalistic school, aside from Flaubert. For Zola, whose lack of practical sense he ridiculed,[4] whom he called "absolument fou" because of his colossal conceit,[5] and to whose followers he was an object of suspicion for a time because of his supposed lack of devotion to the naturalistic cause,[6] his feelings were perhaps as friendly as for any of the other realists. It was at Zola's suggestion that Maupassant contributed to the *Soirées de Médan*, conforming readily to the Decameron-like framework which was proposed and preserving the volume from obscurity by his *Boule de Suif*.[7]

Suspicious for a time of Alphonse Daudet,[8] Maupassant never appears to have become intimate with him. Nevertheless, early in

[1] *Un Lâche*, in *Contes du Jour et de la Nuit*, p. 113. Cf. *Bel-Ami*, p. 238.

[2] *Revue Bleue*, XLIII, June 29, 1889 (3d series, No. 26).

[3] *Ibid.* Brunetière, adopting a different point of view, concludes that Maupassant, once he has passed the early stage of excessive imitation of his master, surpasses all his contemporaries of the naturalistic school, being more realistic than Flaubert himself (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, LXXXIX [1888, 3d series], 694, 696). Havard's opinion of *Mont-Oriol* is quoted by Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, p. 417: "Vous donnez là, avec une puissance inouïe, une nouvelle note que j'avais devinée en vous depuis longtemps. J'avais pressenti ces accents de tendresse et d'émotion suprême dans *Au Printemps*, *Miss Harriet*, *Yvette*, et ailleurs."

[4] Letter to Flaubert, in *Boule de Suif*, p. cvii (July 5, 1878).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. cxx (April 24, 1879).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. cxix (February 26, 1879).

[7] E. Maynial, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 106.

[8] Cf. n. 3.

his career, Maupassant aligned himself with Daudet and the other realists who depicted the lower strata of life. He thus became for a time one of the most ardent apologists for "bas-fondmanie," which he claimed was only a natural reaction against excessive idealism.[1]

Despite the ardor of the young convert, there were at first two opposite tendencies in Maupassant. We find him, on the one hand, insisting that the novelist must "faire le monde tel qu'il le voit, lever les voiles de grâce et d'honnêteté,"[2] and attacking even more violently "la sentimentalité ronflante des romantiques."[3] On the other hand in *Mlle Fifi*, as well as in *Boule de Suif*, he really adopts the favorite Romantic theme of the courtesan, ennobled by love and other lofty sentiments—the theme of *Marion Delorme*, revived in *La Dame aux camélias*. "Des filles épousées deviennent en peu de temps de remarquables femmes du monde,"[4] pleads Maupassant.

It was Daudet who brought him thoroughly to the true realistic point of view. After reading Daudet's *Les Femmes d'artistes*, which he calls "ce petit livre, si cruel et si beau,"[5] we find Maupassant speaking with a certain disgust of the "fréquentation constante de cette race de dindes qu'on nomme les modèles."[6] In imitation of Daudet, he published, in December, 1883, his story entitled *Le Modèle*, dealing with the frequent marriages between painters and their models. Henceforth we shall find him, like the other naturalists, tending to depict the horrible side of life for its own sake, without veneer or idealization.[7]

Had Jules de Goncourt lived, it is impossible to predict what his relations with Guy de Maupassant would have been. Certainly they had much in common, from their aristocratic birth to the bromides and *douches* to which both were obliged to submit in their respective sanitariums. The surviving brother of Jules de Goncourt,

[1] E. Maynial, *op. cit.* p. 282.

[2] *Réponse à M. Francisque Sarcey*, in *Mlle Fifi*, p. 277.

[3] *Les Soirées de Médan—Comment ce livre a été fait*, in *Boule de Suif*, p. 82.

[4] *Réponse à Sarcey, op. cit.*, p. 279.

[5] *Le Modèle*, in *Le Rosier de Madame Husson*, p. 75.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 76: "Elle a risqué le tout pour le tout. Était-elle sincère? Aimait-elle Jean? Sait-on jamais cela? Qui donc pourra déterminer d'une façon précise ce qu'il y a d'âpreté, et ce qu'il y a de réel dans les actes des femmes? . . . Elles sont emportées, criminelles, dévouées, admirables, et ignobles, pour obéir à d'insaisissables émotions. . . ."

Edmond, delighted in making carping criticisms of Maupassant, and spent much of his time wondering why he was considered a simple gentleman and amateur writer, while Maupassant was taken seriously.[1]

It must be granted that the direct influence of the philosopher Taine upon Maupassant, as far as it existed, was exerted principally through his books. In the latter part of his life, Taine became one of Maupassant's warm admirers and is said to have exclaimed, on finishing *Le Champ d'Oliviers*, "Cela, c'est de l'Eschyle."[2] However, sufficient attention has not yet been paid by critics to the fact that the real intimacy between the two writers began only in 1888, after an introduction at Aix-les-Bains in Savoy, through the intermediary of Dr. Cazalis.[3] Previously to that time it seems that Maupassant had observed Taine only from a distance, as when he described him attending the afternoon receptions of Flaubert, "le regard caché derrière ses lunettes, l'allure timide," but with "son œil perçant de philosophe."[4]

The fact that this acquaintance was slight during the period of Maupassant's greatest activity points strongly to the conclusion that Taine's influence may have been slighter than M. Giraud would estimate.[5] To answer his oft-cited statement, it may suffice to call attention to a few well-established facts. There is evidence that it was Flaubert, rather than Taine, who persuaded Maupassant to abandon verse-writing and become a novelist. It is true that when Maupassant speaks of "ces petits faits insignifiants . . . qui forment le fond même, le trame de l'existence,"[6] he approaches closely the language of the Preface to the *Intelligence*. However, on the whole, Brunetière is correct in tracing Maupassant's attention to what has been called "l'humble vérité" to Flaubert rather than to Taine.[7]

[1] E. Maynial, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 ff.

[2] A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] V. Giraud, *loc. cit.*

[5] V. Giraud, *op. cit.*, p. 189: "À tous ces écrivains, dont quelques-uns ont débuté par des vers et qui, peut-être, auraient pu continuer dans cette voie, il a persuadé que la forme du roman leur fournissait le meilleur et le plus moderne emploi de leur talent; . . . il leur a appris à regarder autour d'eux et même au-dessous d'eux, à ne rien dédaigner de ce que l'un d'eux a appelé 'l'humble vérité.' . . ."

[6] *Mlle Perle*, in *La Petite Roque*, p. 135.

[7] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, LXX (1885, 3d series), 215. Cf. *Mademoiselle Cocotte*, in *Clair de Lune*, pp. 128–129: "Les choses les plus simples, les plus humbles, sont parfois celles qui nous mordent le plus au cœur."

When Maupassant notes that the door of the *Folies-Bergères* is "une porte matelassée à battants garnis de cuir," or that at the theater one sees of the persons seated in the *loges* only "leur tête et leur poitrine," he is, declares Brunetière, following the regular procedure of *Madame Bovary, Éducation sentimentale* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet.* Furthermore, so far as the question of studying the lower strata of humanity was concerned, we find Maupassant and Taine absolutely at variance. In his *Réponse à M. Francisque Sarcey,* Maupassant quotes the following passage from a letter from Taine, "dont je ne partage point l'opinion":

. . . Vous peignez des paysans, des petits bourgeois, des ouvriers, des étudiants et des filles. Vous peindrez sans doute un jour la classe cultivée, la haute bourgeoisie, ingénieurs, médecins, professeurs, grands industriels et commerçants.

A mon sens, la civilisation est une puissance. Un homme né dans l'aisance, héritier de trois ou quatre générations honnêtes, laborieuses et rangées, a plus de chances d'être probe, délicat et instruit. L'honneur et l'esprit sont toujours plus ou moins des plantes de serre.

Cette doctrine est bien aristocratique, mais elle est expérimentale. . . .[1]

Moreover, the affinity between the determinism of Taine and the fatalism[2] of Maupassant may well have been due to indirect influences, if not to a certain similarity of temperament which manifested itself toward the close of the lives of each.[3]

The relationship between Maupassant and Paul Bourget, who was his friend and occasionally his travelling companion, seems important. There is an incontestable connection between the plots of Maupassant's *Fort comme la Mort* and Bourget's *Le Fantôme,* due to oral transmission if we are to accept the story published by Lumbroso.[4] Mme Lecomte du Nouy, it appears, when she deserted Bourget to

[1] *Mlle Fifi,* p. 276.

[2] "Les gens calmes nés sans instincts violents, vivent honnêtes, par nécessité. Le devoir est facile à ceux que ne torturent jamais les désirs enragés. Je vois des petites bourgeoises au sang froid, aux mœurs rigides, d'un esprit moyen et d'un cœur modéré, pousser des cris d'indignation quand elles apprennent les fautes des femmes tombées. . . .

"Mais chez ceux-là que le hasard a fait passionnés, madame, les sens sont invincibles. Pouvez-vous arrêter le vent, pouvez-vous arrêter la mer démontée?" From *L'Enfant,* in the collection entitled *Clair de Lune,* p. 233.

[3] "Peut-être aussi pourrait-on noter que vers la fin Guy de Maupassant—tout comme Hippolyte Taine—s'attendrissait singulièrement; mais dans ce dernier fait, on pourrait voir plutôt l'action des mêmes causes extérieures (le malaise social, l'expérience grandissante de la vie) qu'une influence réciproque." A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.,* p. 282.

[4] A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.,* pp. 332, 333.

become intimate with Maupassant, communicated to him the plot of *Le Fantôme*, which Bourget had outlined to her, but did not utilize until 1900–1901. Bourget's *Un Cœur de Femme* and Maupassant's *Notre Cœur* have also related themes, possibly for the reason suggested in Lumbroso's valuable volume, that both authors have taken for their heroine Mme Lecomte du Nouy.[1] An attempt will now be made to determine, more clearly than has been done heretofore, the obligations of Maupassant to Bourget. In drawing our conclusions it should be borne in mind that while Maupassant borrowed heavily from other writers, mainly Flaubert, Bourget, who possessed the advantage of a wider range of reading, was no less an offender. Hence, while seeking to discover traces of Bourget's influence upon Maupassant, we should be mentally prepared to find the source current flowing from Maupassant to Bourget.

Let us consider first the most important resemblances between *Le Fantôme* and *Fort comme la Mort*. Maupassant's novel relates the love of the painter Olivier Bertin for the Countess de Guilleroy. When Annette, the daughter of the Countess, reaches maturity, she reveals a startling likeness to what her mother had been when Bertin first met her. The painter falls in love with Annette, guilty though he feels in so doing.

This theme finds practically a twofold version in Bourget's *Le Fantôme*. M. d'Andiguier, who had blamelessly loved Antoinette Duvernay for nearly fifteen years,[2] nine years after her death became enamored of the daughter Éveline, who made the deceased lady seem very present to him, "so great was the resemblance in silhouette, in gestures, in physiognomy."[3] It develops later that Malclerc, who marries Éveline, had previously been the paramour of Antoinette.[4] It is the remarkable likeness of daughter to mother which attracts him irresistibly to Éveline.[5]

There is a serious objection to accepting the story published by Lumbroso of Maupassant's indebtedness to Bourget for this theme. As early as January, 1883, a full year before Bourget wrote his first published story in England, *L'Irréparable*, there appeared in *Gil-Blas*

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 334. Cf. E. Maynial, *op. cit.*, p. 203, and n. 3.

[2] Paul Bourget, *Le Fantôme*, in *Œuvres Complètes*, VI (Plon ed. [1906]), 153.

[3] See also *ibid.*, p. 177. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 210. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

Maupassant's *M. Jocaste*, which apparently had no connection with the *Jocaste* of Anatole France (1879). It was the story of Pierre Martel, who had loved a young married woman. Years afterward he met the daughter, and fell in love with her at once because of her resemblance to the dead mother. "It was she! the other! the one who was dead!"[1] Her age was exactly the same as her mother's had been; hers were the same eyes, hair, figure, and voice as her mother had had. Pierre Martel's passion became uncontrollable.

The only important dissimilarity in the two stories is that Bourget's Éveline is not the daughter of Malclerc, whereas in *M. Jocaste* the case is probably different. The title chosen by Maupassant, *M. Jocaste*, is guaranty that the more repulsive—and "realistic"—version of the story goes back to earliest antiquity.

Even more suggestive of the subject of Bourget's *Le Fantôme* is Maupassant's *Fini*, which appeared in *Le Gaulois*, July, 1885. The Count de Lormerin had been in love with Lise. Twenty-five years later he met the daughter, who looked exactly like her mother at the same age, only younger, fresher, more childlike.[2] Similarly, Malclerc finds Éveline younger, with rounder cheeks, and animated by more childlike gaiety than Antoinette.[3] Lormerin is seized with

[1] *M. Jocaste*, in the collection entitled *Mlle Fifi*, p. 263.

There are also cases in Maupassant's earlier works where the man is intimate with the mother, and marries the daughter later, without regard to any resemblance between the two. In *Bel-Ami*, Mme Walter is the mistress of Du Roy, who afterward elopes with her daughter Suzanne. In one of Maupassant's later stories, *Hautot Père et Fils* (*La Main Gauche*, p. 73), the rôles are reversed. "Mam'zelle" Donet, who has been the mistress of Hautot *père*, is about to have the same relation with Hautot *fils*, a situation comparable to that in Zola's *La Curée*.

Incest is a frequent theme with Maupassant. See *L'Ermite*, in *La Petite Roque*, p. 106: "J'avais fait, sans le vouloir, pis que ces êtres ignobles. J'étais entré dans la couche de ma fille." In *Le Port* (*La Main Gauche*, p. 216): "Il la sentait sur lui, enlacée à lui, chaude et terrifiée, sa sœur!"

The preoccupation of Maupassant for the fate of outcasts from society is one of his noteworthy characteristics. Cf. also *Un Fils* (*Contes de la Bécasse*, pp. 195–213).

[2] *Fini*, in *Œuvres Posthumes*, I, 241.

[3] Paul Bourget, *op. cit.*, p. 229. Six years or more before the publication of *Le Fantôme*, there appeared also an expurgated American version of the story, entitled *The Honorable Peter Stirling*, by Paul Leicester Ford (Copyright, Henry Holt & Co., 1894). When a young man, Peter had asked the hand of Miss Pierce after a very brief acquaintance (p. 29), having been especially attracted by her slate-colored eyes (p. 20). Years later he met the daughter Leonore, whom he rescued from a runaway accident. Amid the excitement of the occasion, his most vivid impression was that "the girl had slate-colored eyes!!" (p. 202). As a matter of fact, she resembled her father Watts D'Alloi more than she did her mother. "But to Peter," the author observes, "it was merely the renewal of his dream" (p. 204).

The subject is treated also by Maurice Donnay, in *L'Autre Danger* (Paris, 1906). Cf. A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, p. 333, n. 2. In Act III, scene 11, we learn that Freydières, who

an irresistible desire to embrace the girl and whisper into her ear, "Bonjour, Lison."

It is true that in *Cruelle Énigme* (1885)[1] Bourget speaks of the kind of melancholy inspired by the spectacle of a mother of fifty, to whom her daughter of twenty-five bears such a striking resemblance that "l'une se trouve ainsi présenter le spectre anticipé de la vieillesse de l'autre." Yet the palm for the fully developed story of the man who loves the daughter because of her extraordinary resemblance to the mother, seems clearly to belong more to Maupassant than to Bourget.

The main subject of *Le Fantôme* is not the only thing which Bourget borrows from Maupassant in order to make double use of it. He apparently does as much with Maupassant's favorite episode, the unhappy discovery of old letters and souvenirs. M. d'Andiguier, after the death of Antoinette Duvernay, finds an envelope of white leather, tied with ribbons, on which Mme Duvernay has written: "For my dear M. d'Andiguier, who will destroy the envelope *just as it is*. . . . ."[2] After a moral struggle, he complies with the wishes of the deceased. All is not well, however, for in a short time Éveline Malclerc discovers her husband, after perusing in distracted fashion a bundle of old letters, loading his revolver to commit suicide.[3] She rushes to D'Andiguier for counsel, and matters are patched up for a time, Malclerc delivering his old correspondence with Antoinette into the hands of D'Andiguier. One day, unfortunately, Éveline succeeds in prying into the drawer where D'Andiguier had locked up the letters.[4] In the catastrophe that follows both Malclerc and Éveline would prefer to die, were it not for the premature birth of a son, which gives them something to live for.

Bourget also made use of this episode in an earlier novel, *André Cornélis* (1887), in which the influence of a variety of writers, notably the authors of *David Copperfield* and of *Hamlet*, is apparent. The central problem is intended as a modern parallel to *Hamlet*,[5] with a

later weds Madeleine Jadain, has been the lover of her mother. A strong physical resemblance of Madeleine to her mother is hinted at in Act II, scene 3, but this feature of the plot is not emphasized.

[1] *Œuvres Complètes*, I, 5.
[2] Paul Bourget, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 352–54.
[5] *André Cornélis* (*Œuvres Complètes*, I, 312).

soliloquy of the hero on the question "to be or not to be," his hand on the trigger of a pistol,[1] with a nineteenth-century substitute for the players, who performed before the guilty stepfather,[2] with André as the avenger of his father's foul and most unnatural murder,[3] his faltering resolution being occasionally awakened by some startling event.[4] Borrowing an idea from Maupassant, Bourget makes of the letters of André's father, or rather of the room in which André read them, the ghost which summoned the hero to action. "C'était comme si le fantôme de l'assassiné fut sorti de son tombeau pour me supplier de tenir la promesse de vengeance jurée tant de fois à sa mémoire."[5] Unlike D'Andiguier, he has not obeyed the entreaty of the dying woman who would have him burn the letters, in order to spare him the suspicions which they have engendered in her.[6] The evidence which is thus produced results in André's own unhappiness, if also in the punishment of his father's assassin.

A variation of the episode is found in *Le Disciple*,[7] when Charlotte de Jussat, forcing the lock, goes through the papers of Greslou. She declares: "J'ai été trop punie, puisque j'ai lu dans ces pages ce que j'y ai lu."

Bourget is probably under obligations for this theme to Maupassant, for whom the subject of old letters and souvenirs apparently had a horrible fascination, and who in turn doubtless derived his suggestion from two episodes in *Madame Bovary*. "Oh! ne touchez jamais à ce meuble, à ce cimetière, des correspondances d'autrefois, si vous tenez à la vie!"[8] he exclaims in *Suicides*. In *Une Vie*,[9] the baron Simon-Jacques Le Perthuis des Vauds warns his daughter to burn her own letters, her mother's, his own, all. Nothing is more

[1] *André Cornélis* (*Œuvres complètes*, I, 412).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 400.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 341, 350 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 365. For further examples of the influence of Shakespeare upon Bourget, see the Shakespeare library described in *Le Disciple* (*Œuvres complètes*, III, 78 ff.). In *Un Crime d'Amour* (*Œuvres*, I, 276), there is a quotation from a speech of Lady Macbeth. On the following page there is a reference to the "Hamletisme" of Armand.

[6] *André Cornélis*, pp. 361 ff.

[7] *Le Disciple* (1889), p. 205.

[8] *Suicides*, in *Les Sœurs Rondoli*, p. 235.

[9] For old love letters discovered by Jeanne, see E. Maynial in *Revue Bleue*, LXXII (October 31, 1903), 606.

terrible, he asserts, than to nose into the history of one's youth.[1] Despite this admonition, Jeanne is doomed to discover the love letters of her dead mother and undergo the bitterest dissillusionment.[2]

One other feature of *Le Fantôme*, the physical aversion which Malclerc feels for Éveline during her pregnancy, is suggestive of Maupassant. Paul Bretigny, in *Mont-Oriol*, is also of the race of lovers, and not of fathers.[3]

In the case of the connection between *Un Cœur de Femme* and *Notre Cœur*, apparently Maupassant was under obligations to Bourget. The problem involved in the two novels is essentially the same, and concerns the dual nature of humanity. As Lord Herbert Bohun sums up the situation at the close of Bourget's *Cœur de Femme*, Juliette de Tillières is a woman who has a sensual love for Casal, without ceasing to entertain a certain sentimental feeling for Poyanne.[4]

While conceding the credit for this theme to Bourget, rather than to Maupassant, let us admit at the outset that Bourget himself was in turn doubtless influenced by Laclos, not forgetting that also in *Un Crime d'Amour*, Bourget refers more than once to the Valmont of the *Liaisons*.[5] As Doumic remarks: "L'attrait qui porte Casal

[1] *Une Vie*, p. 228.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 240–243. This motif is combined with that of utter weariness over the monotony of life in *Suicides* (*Les Sœurs Rondoli*, pp. 237–239), where M. X— commits suicide after perusing his old correspondence. He had been led to drag his skeleton out of the closet by reflections on his humdrum existence (p. 232): "Tous les jours, à la même heure depuis trente ans, je me lève; et, dans le même restaurant, depuis trente ans, je mange aux mêmes heures les mêmes plats apportés par des garçons différents."

Monotony of existence is the theme of several other stories by Maupassant. In *Promenade* (*Yvette*, p. 202) appears the case of M. Leras who passes through the same daily routine for forty years. After brooding over the hopelessness of his situation, he hangs himself by the suspenders in the *Bois* (*ibid.*, p. 211). A similarly sad outlook is depicted in *Garçon, un Bock* (*Miss Harriet*, p. 235): "Je me lève à midi. Je viens ici, je déjeune, je bois des bocks, j'attends la nuit, je dîne, je bois des bocks. . . . Depuis dix ans, j'ai bien passé six années sur cette banquette, dans mon coin; et le reste dans mon lit, jamais ailleurs." Miss Agnes R. Riddell, in her unpublished thesis on *Flaubert and Maupassant: A Literary Relationship*, compares this incident with *M. Parent*, pp. 49–52, 62, 72–73. She thinks that the hero of *Garçon, un Bock* is modeled on Regimbart, in Flaubert's *Éducation sentimentale*, pp. 55, 246, 319–320, 564–565. In her opinion, Maupassant's references to old love letters and souvenirs hark back to *Madame Bovary*, where Rodolphe is described as cynically looking over the relics of his love affair with Emma, and remarking: "Quel tas de blagues!" (pp. 278–280). After Emma's death, Charles finds her love letters to Léon and to Rodolphe, with the result that life loses all interest for him. The people surmise that he "s'enfermait pour boire" (*ibid.*, pp. 478–479).

[3] Paul Bourget, *op. cit.*, p. 303. Cf. *Mont-Oriol*, p. 256.

[4] *Un Cœur de Femme* (*Œuvres Complètes*, III, 499, 500).

[5] *Un Crime d'Amour* (*Œuvres*, I, 159, 164).

vers Mme de Tillières, dans *Cœur de Femme*, est le même qui faisait souhaiter au roué des *Liaisons* l'amour d'une dévote."[1] However, after due allowance is made for the influence of the famous picture of eighteenth century morals, the fact remains that in *Cœur de Femme* Bourget is at least on familiar ground. The main problem of the woman cherishing sentimental reveries on the one hand, but yielding to ungovernable appetite for sensations on the other, is also that of Thérèse, in *Cruelle Énigme* (1885).[2] There are numerous other references in Bourget's works to the dual conflict which is the heritage of man, the matter being of paramount importance in the character of Robert Greslou, *Le Disciple.*

The conclusion toward which this discussion points is that the literary obligations existing between Bourget and Maupassant were more important than Maynial, for example, seems prepared to concede. Despite his reserve, however, Maynial admits readily that the authors must without doubt have communicated to each other, in the course of their conversations, the ideas, if not the actual plots, of certain of their works.[3] From the evidence at hand, the general direction of this literary influence appears most often to have been from Maupassant to Bourget.

Before leaving the matter of Maupassant's influence, mention should be made of at least two of his stories which may have furnished suggestions to Rudyard Kipling. *Misti*,[4] a tale which appeared in *Gil-Blas* in January, 1884, concerns a pet cat—called "Mouton"—with almost human attributes, intelligent as a child, and so idolatrous of his mistress that he made more than a fetish of her. Kipling's Bimi, the all too affectionate pet orang-outang of Bertran, French "king of beasts—tamer men,"[5] possessed similar human endowment: "Den I felt at der back of my neck der fingers of Bimi," declares Hans Breitmann. "Mein Gott! I tell you dot he talked through dose fingers. It was der deaf-and-dumb alphabet all gomplete. . . . ." Mouton, more subtly, slept on his mistress' pillow, where she could hear his heart beat.

[1] *Portraits d'Écrivains*, II (1909), 14.

[2] *Cruelle Énigme* (*Œuvres*, I, 82). Cf. p. 113 ff.

[3] E. Maynial, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[4] Collection entitled *Yvette*, pp. 273–283.

[5] *Bertran and Bimi*, in *Life's Handicap* (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1913), X, 336–342.

One day, when a young man made love to Mouton's mistress, and embraced her, as one embraces when one loves, suddenly Mouton uttered a never-to-be-forgetten cry, and tore out the eyes of his rival. Bimi was slower to act. For a time after the marriage of Bertran he merely sulked, till one day, in the absence of his master, he killed the woman of whom he was madly jealous.

The conclusion of *Bertran and Bimi* has certain features in common with Maupassant's *Un Loup*,[1] which appeared in *Le Gaulois* in 1882. The mysterious wolf, which seemed to think like a man, was the cause of the death of Jean d'Arville. Jean's younger brother, François, drove the monster to bay, charging him, cutlass in hand. Then, seizing the beast by the neck, without even making use of his weapon, François strangled him slowly, listening to his dying breath and to the weakening pulsations of his heart. Furious as was François for the death of his brother, he was no more so than Bertran for the loss of his wife. "Now you know der formula of der strength of der orang-outang—it is more as seven to one in relation to man," is the calculation of Hans Breitmann. "But Bertran, he haf killed Bimi mit sooch dings as Gott gif him. Dat was der miracle."

Perhaps the most conspicuous cases of imitation of Maupassant are to be found in the work of Gabriele D'Annunzio.[2] In the *Novelle della Pescara*, for instance, borrowings are made from Maupassant which Lumbroso does not hesitate to brand as plagiarisms. Maynial employs a milder term, although he does not contest the fact of the resemblances in question. And certainly the close imitation of Flaubert by Maupassant—even in such a passage as the rendezvous of *Bel-Ami* at the church of the Trinity, modeled on the cathedral scene in *Madame Bovary*—is slight compared with the imitation of Maupassant by D'Annunzio, in his more reminiscent moods.

However, we should not insist too much upon the influence of Maupassant, despite the enormous sale of his books. As M. Giraud justly observes, his influence was far below that of Taine, for example,

[1] *Clair de Lune*, pp. 39 ff. Incidents of the *Misti* and *Bertran and Bimi* type are occasionally found in real life. A friend vouches for the following occurrence, which happened while he was a student at a German university. A young student, accompanied by his pet collie, went for a walk with his mistress. The details of the difficulty that followed are not perfectly clear, but at any rate the dog—whether through jealousy or not—attacked the woman, and was with difficulty prevented from killing her.

[2] A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, pp. 519–545.

although Taine apparently had not one-tenth as many readers as Maupassant.[1]

Furthermore, if Maupassant's influence upon his contemporaries is easily exaggerated, so was his own indebtedness to other writers not excessive, after all. The limit which he deliberately set upon his field of production was at once a source of strength, as well as of weakness.[2] In fact, after due allowance has been made for all literary influences, including that of Flaubert, it must be owned that his principal source was his own observations. For him, as for the other realists, the most important part of the preparation for his stories was the taking of notes, despite the contention of Paul Bourget to the contrary.[3] It is this matter which will be discussed in an article to be published shortly.

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[1] Victor Giraud, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[2] *Œuvres posthumes*, II, 100 (*Essai sur Flaubert*).

[3] A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, p. 612 (*Souvenirs intimes de M. Ch. Lapierre*).

[CORRECTION.—*Modern Philology*, XIV, 163: for "Villemessant" read: "A protégé of Villemessant."]

LES POÉSIES CHINOISES DE BOUILHET

Des romantiques, Th. Gautier ne fut pas le seul qui emprunta à la littérature chinoise. Un autre poète, Louis Bouilhet, y discerna une veine nouvelle que son souple talent pourrait exploiter. Dans la préface aux œuvres posthumes de son ami et compatriote, *Dernières Chansons*, Gustave Flaubert déclare que ce fut après le coup d'Etat que Bouilhet se tourna vers la Chine. Non content, comme Gautier, des traductions, il se mit "à l'apprentissage du chinois qu'il étudia pendant dix ans de suite, uniquement pour se pénétrer du génie de la race, voulant faire un grand poème sur le Céleste Empire dont le scénario est complètement écrit." N'ayant pas ce scénario sous les yeux, nous n'examinerons que les poésies chinoises des deux recueils: *Festons et Astragales* et *Dernières Chansons* (édition Lemerre). Nous apprendront-elles comment cet esprit si latin interpréta l'Extrême Orient?

Ces pièces sont peu nombreuses. *Festons et Astragales* (1859) en ont trois: *Tou-Tsong, le Barbier de Pékin, le Dieu de la Porcelaine.* Les *Dernières Chansons* (1872) sont moins avares; sur leurs cinquante-cinq pièces, huit se rattachent à la Chine. Ce sont: *Imité du Chinois, la Chanson des Rames, la Paix des Neiges, le Tung-whang-fung, Vers Païlui-chi, l'Héritier de Yang-ti, le Vieillard libre, la Pluie venue du mont Ki-chan.*

Il n'est pas nécessaire de faire un examen minutieux de ces morceaux pour découvrir que sept sur les onze ne s'inspirent pas de pièces chinoises, ils n'ont que *l'air chinois*, et nul besoin d'être au courant des choses de la Chine pour les composer. C'est la Chine conventionnelle, banale des magasins de curiosités, celle des cabinets de laque, des paravents et des bibelots, faite d'une douzaine de traits, prétendus caractéristiques, faux parce qu'ils sont outrés, isolés et limités. Bref, ce n'est que du *toc.*

Dans un article de ce journal (nov. 1915 et mars 1916, Th. Gautier: *le Pavillon sur l'eau*), nous avons signalé un certain nombre de ces lieux communs chinois que l'auteur s'était cru tenu d'introduire, cangue, petits pieds des Chinoises, grande muraille, opium, etc. Bouilhet fait de même: c'est le fleuve Jaune, le soulier à pointe

retroussée, le mandarin à bonnet pointu et son parasol, les pavillons à jour ornés de clochettes, les buffets sculptés remplis de porcelaine, les cloisons transparentes, la jonque, les bonzes, la queue et la tête rasée, les pagodes, magots ou poussahs, le thé, le riz et les nids d'hirondelles, etc. . . . Donc, chez les deux romantiques, même illusion dans la touche de couleur locale. Tous deux affectent de croire par exemple, que l'opium se fume comme le tabac dans la pipe. Le mandarin Tou-Tsong "fume l'opium, au coucher du soleil, | Sur sa porte en treillis, dans sa pipe à fleurs bleues."

Certes, Gautier a bien soin d'indiquer en détail la façon dont se prend ce narcotique, mais, chose étrange, lui aussi perd de vue les circonstances extérieures de lieu et de conditions. N'écrit-il pas des deux amis Tou et Kouan, dans son *Pavillon sur l'eau?* "C'était un plaisir pour eux de s'envoyer du haut du balcon des salutations familières et de fumer la goutte d'opium enflammée sur le champignon de porcelaine en échangeant des bouffées bienveillantes." Or, le spectacle que présente un éthéromane ou morphinomane se livrant à sa passion se rapproche bien plus de celui du misérable inhalant sa funeste fumée que ce dernier ne rappelle le fumeur de pipe le plus endurci.

Au sujet de la troisième pièce, nous ferons seulement remarquer qu'il n'y a pas de dieu de la porcelaine dans l'Olympe chinois, bien que celle-ci doive son invention et quelques-uns de ses plus beaux produits à la Chine. Mais la porcelaine étant chose assez merveilleuse pour avoir son dieu, Bouilhet le lui créa à l'aide d'une note de Rémusat sur un certain temple de *Kouanym* (*Deux Cousines*, II, 49). "*Kouanym* est le nom d'un *Phousa* ou l'une des plus grandes divinités de la religion indienne importée à la Chine. Quelques mythologues peu instruits en ont fait la *déesse de la porcelaine.* Mais c'est en réalité un dieu, qui n'a rien de commun avec la porcelaine. C'est à lui que se rapportent la plupart de ces figures appelées *Magots de la Chine* qui étaient autrefois en possession de toutes les cheminées." Donc, bien que ce poussah ne soit pas le dieu de la porcelaine, il pourra l'être et c'est lui qui est décrit dans la première strophe: "Il est, en Chine, un petit dieu bizarre, | Dieu sans pagode, et qu'on appelle Pu; | J'ai pris son nom dans un livre assez rare, | Qui le dit frais, souriant et trapu."

Quatre des huit pièces des *Dernières Chansons* sont d'une saveur bien différente. Versions en vers de poésies chinoises, elles sont exemptes de toute couleur locale, vraie ou fausse, à un mot près, *bonze*, dans la dernière. A chacune la probité de l'auteur a laissé une étiquette qui en indique la provenance.

La première, *Imité du chinois*, porte en sous-titre *Iu-kiao-li*, nom en transcription française du roman des *Deux Cousines* auquel Gautier a emprunté tant de détails. Cet ouvrage du XVème siècle est regardé comme un des chefs-d'œuvre de la littérature populaire chinoise et fut traduit pour la première fois par Abel-Rémusat en 1826. Ce sont huit vers placés en tête du chap. VI du tome II qui ont séduit le poète, et on comprend pourquoi, si l'on sait combien il était fier de son art. Et c'est bien cette traduction qui est la source de la poésie de Bouilhet.

Il suffira pour s'en convaincre de comparer les deux textes. Si l'on objecte que l'écrivain français étudiant le chinois a pu s'inspirer directement de l'original, nous répondrons que la ressemblance verbale évidente des deux morceaux s'oppose absolument à cette supposition. Une telle coïncidence peut s'expliquer à la rigueur dans des traductions indépendantes en une même langue d'œuvres appartenant à d'autres langues indo-européennes où les mots correspondent plus ou moins. La chose est impossible dans une traduction du chinois en français. Nous nous en rapportons à ce que dit sur ce sujet le marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys (étude sur *l'Art poétique et la Prosodie chez les Chinois*, en tête de sa traduction des *Poésies de l'Epoque des Thang*, Paris, 1862): "La traduction littérale est le plus souvent impossible en chinois. Certains caractères exigent absolument une phrase tout entière pour être interprétés valablement. Il faut lire un vers chinois, se pénétrer de l'image ou de la pensée qu'il renferme, s'efforcer d'en saisir le trait principal et de lui conserver sa force et sa couleur" (p. ciii). Abel-Rémusat ne déclare-t-il pas aussi qu'il est loin d'affirmer "que le sens de ces morceaux poétiques soit toujours rendu et à l'exception de quelques phrases qui ne paraissent pas susceptibles de deux interprétations qu'il se pourrait bien que la traduction qu'il en donne n'eût rien de commun avec l'original" (*Deux Cousines*, préface, p. 67, et t. II, p. 137). Dans la préface de la seconde traduction française de ce même roman par Stanislas

Julien, pour mettre hors de doute la grande difficulté d'interprétation d'une poésie chinoise, le traducteur place en regard les traductions d'une chanson faites par son devancier et par lui-même. Si Bouilhet avait donc traduit directement et indépendamment de Rémusat, sa poésie n'aurait pas présenté une telle ressemblance de mots avec celle du savant sinologue. Il faudrait aussi admettre, si l'on veut soutenir la proposition de la traduction directe, que le poète fût devenu assez fort en chinois pour se mesurer avec un tel maître. Or, aucun de ses autres emprunts n'en fournit la preuve et tous démontrent le contraire. Si Bouilhet a appris le chinois "pour se pénétrer du génie de la race," il ne nous a laissé aucune poésie qui soit la version directe en vers français de ce génie.

Sous des déguisements divers,
Plâtre ou *fard*, selon ton envie,
Masque tes mœurs, cache ta vie;
Sois honnête homme, en fait de vers!

Un seul beau vers *est une source*
Qui, dans les *siècles*, *coulera*.
Dix ans peut-être on pleurera
Quelques mots trop prompts à la course.

La strophe aux gracieux dessins,
Où l'œil en vain cherche une faute,
N'est pas d'une valeur moins haute
Que la *relique de* nos *saints*.

Mais aussi point de flatteries
Pour l'inepte ou le maladroit!
Le pur lettré seul a le droit
D'en arranger les *broderies*.

Tout poème perd ses appas
Dans les bassesses du parlage.
Si nous traversons un *village*,
Causons-y,—mais n'y *chantons* pas!

Qu'on plâtre sa réputation, qu'on farde sa conduite, qu'on sème l'or,
Mais qu'en littérature, au moins, on ne se permette pas de larcins!

Une seule expression poétique est une source qui coulera pendant des siècles;
Dix années de chagrin peuvent être la suite de quelques lignes.

De beaux vers
sont aussi précieux
que les reliques d'un saint.

L'homme de génie confiera-t-il à d'autres la broderie de la poésie?

Si vous vous livrez au plaisir d'une conversation de village,
Gardez de vous laisser aller à la tentation d'y chanter pour passer le temps.

La Chanson des rames a sa source dans la traduction française du marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys (*Poésies de l'époque des Thang*, p. lxix). Le poète a indiqué l'auteur, l'empereur Vou-ti. Ce nom fut porté par plusieurs empereurs de la Chine. Celui-ci est Hiao-vou-ti, de la dynastie des Han; il régna de 140 à 86 av. J.-C. et fut comme beaucoup d'autres empereurs chinois l'un des poètes les plus féconds de sa cour. "Un jour, ajoute le traducteur, qu'il traversait le fleuve

Hoën, entouré de ses officiers et de ses ministres, il sentit naître en lui la verve, et composa la chanson connue sous le nom de la *Chanson des rames.*"

Le vent d'automne s'élève, ha! de blancs nuages volent;
L'herbe jaunit et les feuilles tombent, ha! Les oies sauvages vers le midi s'en retournent.
Déjà fleurit la plante Lân, ha! déjà se répand le parfum des chrysanthèmes.
Moi, je pense à la belle jeune fille, ha! que je ne saurais oublier.

Mon bateau flotte doucement, ha! traversant le fleuve de Hoën;
Au milieu de ses rapides eaux, ha! qui jaillissent en vagues écumantes,
Au bruit des flots et des tambours, ha! j'improvise *la Chanson des rames.*
Plus vif a été le plaisir, ha! plus profonde est la tristesse qui lui succède.
La force et la jeunesse, combien durent-elles, ha! et contre la vieillesse que faire!

Il est souvent aussi oiseux que présomptueux de rechercher les motifs qui déterminent les poètes dans le choix de leurs sujets et de leurs rythmes. Il ne sera pas toutefois téméraire d'avancer que, si c'est le fond qui attira le poète vers le poème inséré dans *Iu-kiao-li*, c'est certainement la forme qui séduisit ici l'écrivain romantique. En effet, il voulut faire passer le petit poème chinois dans le français tel quel, il en fit pour ainsi dire un calque. Afin de faire voir jusqu'où il poussa l'imitation nous mettrons l'original et la copie en regard sans nous astreindre pourtant à reproduire tous les mots de la transcription; des tirets remplaceront les mots (monosyllabiques, comme on sait), exception faite pour les rimes.

Tsieou fong ki, hy! pe yun feï;	Bois chenus! *ah! vent d'automne!*
– – – hy! – – koueï.	L'oiseau fuit! *ah! l'herbe est jaune!*
– – – hy! – – fang.	Le soleil, ah! s'est pâli!
– – – hy! – – ouang.	J'ai le cœur, ah! bien rempli!
– – – hy! – – ho;	Sous ma nef, ah! l'eau moutonne,
– – – hy! – – po,	Et répond, ah! monotone,
– – – hy! – – ko.	A mon *chant*, ah! si joli.
– – – hy! – – to.	Quels regrets, ah! l'amour donne!
– – – hy! – – ho!	L'âge arrive, ah! puis l'oubli!

Même vers, l'heptasyllabe, divisé en deux hémistiches de trois syllabes par l'exclamation; même division en trois strophes de quatre, trois et deux vers; même ordre des rimes, excepté que le tercet et les deux vers de la dernière strophe, au lieu de porter la même rime roulent sur deux. A remarquer aussi que la poésie française n'a que ces deux rimes au lieu de trois, ce qui donne *aabb-aab-ab*.

Cette rigueur de forme a astreint Bouilhet à simplifier extrêmement l'original. Son imitation concerne donc la forme plus que le fond, elle est plus apparente que réelle. En effet, si l'heptasyllabe est en français un vers court, en chinois il est loin d'en être de même. Un lettré du XVIIème siècle, Han-yu-ling, s'exprime ainsi sur les vers de différentes mesures: "Les vers de quatre mots sont les plus simples, mais ils sont trop serrés; ceux de sept mots sont trop lâches et trop délayés; la confusion y est facile et le pléonasme à redouter. Les vers de cinq mots sont les meilleurs; aussi depuis les Han jusqu'à nos jours ont-ils toujours été préférés." L'heptasyllabe chinois correspond donc à notre alexandrin. Si le poète français s'était servi du vers de onze ou de treize syllabes, il s'y serait senti aussi à l'aise que l'empereur-poète dans son vers de sept et l'imitation en aurait été plus réelle.

Il s'en rendit compte, car il choisit le même arrangement strophique, mais cette fois d'alexandrins sans exclamation pour la pièce *l'Héritier de Yang-ti*. Il employa cette forme, sorte de sonnet écourté, avec assez de bonheur.

La pièce suivante *le Vieillard libre* a aussi sa source parmi les poèmes cités dans la même étude (p. lxiii). "L'empereur Yao, dit le *Sse-ki* (recueil de chansons), se promenant un jour dans la campagne, aperçut des vieillards qui lançaient le *jang* (sorte de jeu de palet) et qui chantaient joyeusement ce qui suit":

Prêt, dès l'aube, à déloger,	Quand le soleil se lève, je me mets au travail;
Je rentre avec la nuit noire;	Quand le soleil se couche, je me livre au repos.
J'ai dans mon *puits de quoi boire*,	En creusant un puits, je me suis procuré de quoi boire;
Dans *mon champ de quoi manger* . . .	En labourant mon champ, je me procure de quoi manger.
A *l'Empereur* suis-je pas étranger! . . .	Pourquoi l'empereur se préoccuperait-il de moi?

L'original est un quatrain de vers de quatre syllabes suivi d'un de sept: En choisissant le vers de sept et de dix, pour en rendre l'effet, Bouilhet a donc encore imité, mais moins servilement. Cette chanson très ancienne a un ordre de rimes que n'a pas conservé le poète français. Sur les quatre vers, seulement le second et le quatrième riment, et l'on n'est pas sûr que le cinquième qui est détaché rime avec le dernier du quatrain. Ce quatrain avec son vers court

de quatre syllabes et n'ayant de rime qu'aux deuxième et quatrième a une ressemblance aussi intéressante que frappante avec le quatrain du vers à quatre pieds des anciennes ballades d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse.

La versification chinoise, en ce qui concerne la strophe et l'ordre des rimes, n'a donc pas été sans intérêt pour Bouilhet. Il composa même un poème de dix-huit strophes appelé du nom des vers qu'il a imités. Ce sont les *Vers Paï-lu-chi*. Voici ce que dit de ces vers le marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys (p. lxxvii): "Bientôt vinrent les *paï-lu-chi*, douze vers divisés en trois strophes (la strophe régulière est désormais de quatre vers); . . . Les vers de quatre pieds sont à peu près abandonnés; on ne compose plus guère que sur le rythme de cinq ou de sept mots, et l'on s'accorde généralement à ne vouloir qu'une seule rime pour chacun de ces petits poèmes, mais, à l'égard de la rime, on voit régner la plus grande liberté. Tout poète en renom croit devoir imaginer quelque combinaison plus ou moins ingénieuse, dont les subtiles exigences sont souvent difficiles à saisir." Et ici s'impose une nouvelle comparaison avec la poésie de l'occident. Ces inventions concernant la rime et le rythme ne rappellent-elles pas les savantes compositions de nos troubadours et des minnesingers et maîtres chanteurs allemands? Le poète rouennais composa son poème de six sections de trois quatrains chacune, en vers de sept syllabes. Quant à l'ordre des rimes, il choisit celui qui est donné à la page lxxxi dans lequel le premier vers rime avec le second et le quatrième. La première section suffit comme exemple, puisque les mêmes caractères se répètent dans les autres.

L'écho douze fois frappé
Par le vers sept fois coupé,
C'est la cadence opportune
D'un couplet bien échappé.

Ce galop sans halte aucune
Semble une bonne fortune
A tout poète trempé
D'une façon peu commune;

Et sur ce rythme escarpé
L'oiseau d'ombre enveloppé,
Récite au clair de la lune
Les vers de Li-taï-pé.

Et c'est la traduction du modèle offrant l'ordre des rimes qui a suggéré le clair de lune; mais d'oiseau, il n'y a nulle trace dans l'original, qui est une des perles de Li-taï-pé.

Le bouddhisme n'a pas laissé indifférent le poète français admirateur du paganisme.[1] Parlant de l'introduction en Chine de la religion venue de l'Inde, le marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys cite comme

[1] *L'Héritier de Yang-ti* repose sur la croyance à la métempsychose, doctrine bouddhique.

exemple des idées bouddhiques reflétées dans la littérature deux strophes d'une poésie de Song-tchi-ouen (p. xxxvii), *La pluie venue du mont Ki-chan* (p. 185). Bouilhet a conservé le titre et indique l'auteur entre parenthèses.

Le vent avait chassé
la pluie aux larges gouttes,
Le soleil s'étalait,
radieux, dans les airs,
Et les bois, secouant
la fraîcheur de leurs voûtes
Semblaient, par *les vallons*,
plus touffus et plus verts.

Je montai jusqu'au temple
accroché sur l'abîme;
Un bonze m'accueillit,
un bonze aux yeux baissés.
Là, dans *les profondeurs*
de la raison sublime,
J'ai rompu le lien
de mes désirs passés.

Nos deux voix se taisaient,
à tout rendre inhabiles;
J'écoutais les oiseaux
fuir dans l'immensité,
Je regardais les fleurs
comme nous immobiles,
Et mon cœur *comprenait*
la grande vérité!

La pluie, venue du mont Ki-chan,
Avait passé rapidement avec le vent impétueux.
Le soleil se montrait pur et radieux, au-dessus du pic occidental,

Les arbres de la vallée du Midi semblaient plus verdoyants et plus touffus.
Je me dirigeai vers la demeure sainte,

Où j'eus le bonheur qu'un bonze vénérable me fit un accueil bienveillant. Je suis entré profondément dans les principes de la raison sublime. Et j'ai brisé le lien des préoccupations terrestres.
Le religieux et moi nous nous sommes unis dans une même pensée;
Nous avions épuisé ce que la parole peut rendre, et nous demeurions silencieux. Je regardais les fleurs immobiles comme nous;
J'écoutais les oiseaux suspendus dans l'espace, et je comprenais la grande vérité.

Reste les deux pièces *la Paix des Neiges* et *le Tung-whang-fung*. Nous ne savons rien de la seconde. Elle rappelle la poésie de Victor Hugo (1835, n° XXVII des *Chants du Crépuscule*). Amours de fleur et d'oiseau, de fleur et de papillon!

Quant à la première, en outre que maint vers chinois chante la neige, elle peut avoir été suggérée par la fameuse chanson de *la neige blanche* (Pe-sioue-ko) à propos de laquelle S. Julien (*Deux Cousines*, II, 189), rapporte ce qui suit: "Quand Seekouang, célèbre musicien de l'antiquité, jouait l'air de *la neige blanche*, les dieux descendaient pour l'entendre." La poésie de Bouilhet peint le calme de l'hiver à la campagne. Elle contient quelques passages dont l'inspiration se retrouve dans l'ouvrage où l'apprenti sinologue a tant puisé, *Poésies de l'époque des Thang*. Les onomatopées de la première strophe:

"Pi-po, pi-po! le feu flamboie; L'horloge dit: Ko-tang, ko-tang!" semblent être de l'invention du poète qui a lu aux pp. xlii et 88: "*Ling-ling*, les chars crient, *siao-siao*, les chevaux soufflent." Trois oiseaux figurent dans ce morceau, des corbeaux, un loriot, de blanches hirondelles; on n'a qu'a lire les poésies choisies par le marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys et celles qui se trouvent intercalées dans la prose des romans des *Deux Cousines* (traduction Rémusat) ou des *Deux jeunes filles lettrées* (traduction S. Julien, 1845) pour constater que les noms de ces oiseaux viennent fréquemment sous le pinceau des poètes chinois. De même que le premier, Bouilhet a aussi très probablement connu le second de ces romans, mis en français en vue d'aider spécialement à l'étude de la langue chinoise, car, en plus de l'intérêt que cette œuvre présente à qui veut s'initier aux mœurs et coutumes de la Chine, sa valeur comme instrument d'étude ne pouvait la laisser ignorer de l'aspirant sinologue.

La Paix des neiges, en outre de ce qui précède, ne renferme que trois allusions dénotant une connaissance un peu intime des choses de la Chine. Deux d'entre elles ont leur source dans ces mêmes, *Poésies de l'époque des Thang*. 1° "J'ai dans ma maison deux épouses, | L'une assise, l'autre debout"; rappelle la polygamie; ce sont les épouses du premier et du second rang. 2° "Très fort en littérature, | J'ai gagné . . . | Quatre rubis à ma ceinture," Dans la poésie intitulée *le Pavillon du roi de Teng*, on lit: "A la ceinture du roi dansaient de belles pièces de jade." Et en note: "C'est ce qu'on nomme *hoan peï*. Les princes et les hauts mandarins les suspendent à leur ceinture; la couleur et la forme en varient selon le rang de celui qui les porte. Reliées entre elles par de petites chaînes, elles sont souvent enrichies de pierres précieuses." 3° "Pour voir ce pays des sages | Je suis, sur le courant des âges, | La feuille rose des pêchers." Il s'agit ici de l'expression *chercher la source des pêchers*, c'est-à-dire chercher ce qui est introuvable (p. xciii).

Les vers *paï-lu-chi*[1] présentent aussi deux passages qui s'éclairent par certains rapprochements. 1° La IVème section débute par une interjection: "Youg-hao! plus de tristesse!" A la page 70 des *Poésies* se trouve *la Chanson du chagrin* et cette note: "Les strophes de cette pièce sont entrecoupées, dans le texte original, par les mots répétés, *Peï laï ho!* (le chagrin arrive!) qui en forment comme le refrain, et qui sont aussi le titre de la chanson. En chinois, l'intention de ces trois

mots réunis est de produire une imitation des sanglots. La chanson du chagrin est précédée de la chanson du rire, où le rire est imité d'une manière analogue, par le refrain *siao hy hou*, composé du mot *rire*, suivi de deux onomatopées sans autre valeur que leur son. 2° Le second passage est la dernière strophe: "O lecteur de race élue! | O sapience absolue! | O char à quatre chevaux | Le tout petit te salue!" Or, à la page 36, on lit: "Appelé à de hautes fonctions, Siang-ju a quitté sa province, | Monté sur un char rouge, que traînent quatre chevaux brillants." Et en note: "Le char rouge et les quatre chevaux sont les attributs des hautes fonctions auxquelles l'empereur l'avait appelé. Pour atteler quatre chevaux à son char il faut être d'un rang élevé."

Ces diverses touches ne sont ni claires ni très exactes, mais elles font leur effet sur le lecteur toujours disposé à se laisser éblouir par le miroir aux alouettes de l'exotisme.

Si les poésies de fantaisie qui sont en majorité donnent, dans leur fausseté, une nouvelle preuve de la souplesse et de l'ingéniosité du poète, celles où il a imité ne donnent qu'une bien faible idée du génie poétique des Chinois. Pour s'en convaincre, on n'a qu'a parcourir les *Poésies de l'époque des Thang*. D'une part, l'imitation de la forme, bornée à trois rythmes, ne s'est exercée que sur des sujets sans caractère ni couleur. Si l'on en excepte *l'Héritier de Yang-ti*, qui repose sur un fait historique et paraît original, ces essais sont restés stériles puisqu'ils sont uniques dans l'œuvre du poète. D'autre part, l'imitation du fond s'est arrêtée à deux pièces: *Imité du chinois* (*Iu-kiao-li*)[1] et *la Pluie venue du mont Ki-chan*.

On ne saurait trop regretter que la virtuosité et les dons poétiques dont l'ami de Gautier et de Flaubert a laissé des exemples convaincants, hautement admirés de ceux-ci, ne se soient pas appliqués à traduire dans des formes nouvelles des thèmes et des images, qui pour sembler parfois bizarres a des esprits d'occident, n'en sont ni moins frappants ni moins séduisants. Le Normand aventureux qui sommeillait dans le robuste Louis Bouilhet s'est contenté de faire en amateur quelques incursions sur les confins du royaume du Milieu; il n'a pas ouvert une large brèche dans la grande muraille de la Chine.

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[1] Dans l'édition Lemerre, il y a vers *Paï-lui-chi* et *In-kiao-li*, fautes de réimpression (?).

"CERTE TAVOLETTE"

Chapter XXXIV of the *Vita nuova* begins thus: "In quello giorno nel quale si compiea l'anno che questa donna era fatta de li cittadini di vita eterna, io mi sedea in parte ne la quale, ricordandomi di lei, disegnava uno angelo sopra certe tavolette."[1]

What were the *tavolette?* The question is not answered, so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, in any edition of the *Vita nuova,*[2] nor in any Dante monograph.

The question is answered in Cennini's *Libro dell' arte,* the contemporary and principal authority upon all matters relating to the art technique of the *Trecento.*

The opening chapters of Cennini's work are addressed to beginners in the practice of drawing. Chapters V and VI are as follows:

CAPITOLO V

A che modo cominci a disegnare in tavoletta, e l'ordine suo.

Sì come detto è, dal disegno t'incominci. Ti conviene avere l'ordine di poter incominciare a disegnare il più veritevile. Prima, abbi una tavoletta di bosso, di grandezza, per ogni faccia, un sommesso; ben pulita e netta, cioè lavata con acqua chiara; fregata e pulita di seppia, di quella che gli orefici adoperano per improntare. E quando la detta tavoletta è asciutta bene, togli tanto osso ben tritato per due ore, che stia bene; e quanto più sottile, tanto meglio. Poi raccoglilo, tiello, e conservalo involto in una carta asciutta: e quando tu n'hai bisogno per ingessare la detta tavoletta, togli meno di mezza fava di questo osso, o meno; e colla sciliva rimena questo osso, e va' distendendo con le dita per tutta questa tavoletta; e innanzi che asciughi, tieni la detta tavoletta dalla man manca, e col polpastrello della man ritta batti sopra la detta tavoletta tanto, quanto vedi ch' ella sia bene asciutta. E viene inossata igualmente così in un loco come in un altro.

CAPITOLO VI

Come in più maniere di tavole si disegna.

A quel medesimo è buona la tavoletta del figàro ben vecchio: ancora certe tavolette le quali s' usano per mercatanti; che sono di carta pecorina

[1] Ed. Barbi, Milan, 1907.

[2] I have examined the editions of: Casini, Florence, 1890; D'Ancona, Pisa, 1884; Flamini, Leghorn, 1910; Fraticelli, Florence, 1873; Giuliani, Florence, 1883; Kiel, Chemnitz, 1820; Melodia, Milan, 1911; Scherillo, Milan, 1911; Witte, Leipzig, 1876; and the annotated translations of Norton, Boston, 1902; Rossetti, London, 1906; Cochin, Paris, 1914; Delécluze, Paris, 1872; Forster, Leipzig, 1841. On the use of waxed writing-tablets in the Middle Ages see W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter,* Leipzig, 1896, pp. 51–89.

ingessata, e messe di biacca a olio; seguitando lo inossare con quello ordine che detto ho.[1]

Chapters VII and VIII describe the preparation of materials involved in processes of finishing the *tavolette*.

The *tavolette*, then, upon which Dante drew his angels, were presumably small panels of a sort used by beginners in drawing, some six inches square. The material was probably boxwood or old fig, possibly parchment, with a surface smoothed, cleaned, and carefully primed with bonedust, in the manner described by Cennini.

ELEANOR J. PELLET

CHICAGO

[1] *Il libro dell' arte, o trattato della pittura* di Cennino Cennini, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1859.

THE PEASANT LANGUAGE IN FERDINAND FABRE'S *LE CHEVRIER*

In America Ferdinand Fabre is little known except, perhaps, as the author of *L'Abbé Tigrane*, a book unique among the more important realistic novels of the nineteenth century, in that it contains no women characters that are intimately concerned with the plot. *Les Courbezon*, Fabre's first book, was crowned by the Academy, and the others, twenty in all, were received with enthusiastic praise by his contemporaries. He always made choice of novel incident, and his plots, as if propelled by a mysterious fatalism, move steadily to an exceptionally dramatic climax. Though his readers were many, and though his books always brought the highest prices from publishers, he never attracted any considerable attention from the general public. Unfortunately, he restricted his studies of human nature to the priest and to the peasant, two types whose lives do not make a universal appeal. The priest has been described by many writers, but none except Fabre has found in him the inspiration for nearly all his best novels. The character of the peasant Fabre understood as no one else, not even Balzac or Zola, and he has portrayed it in all its phases. The most typical of his *romans champêtres* is *Le Chevrier*. This book, besides offering the most exhaustive of all the author's studies of country life, has the added interest of being told entirely in the speech of a peasant.

Both Fabre and George Sand, in their treatment of peasant life, gave themselves a task which Balzac avoided. They chose to tell their stories in a vernacular that would at least suggest that of the region of which they wrote. George Sand, in order that she might write in a language that would resemble the native speech of her beloved Berry, and yet be understood by all her readers, imagined that she was recounting the story of *François le Champi* to a peasant on the one hand and to a resident of Paris on the other. Fabre, in *Le Chevrier*, made use of the device of a goatherd of the Cévennes, who tells his love story to a friend from Paris. As Fabre wrote to Sainte-Beuve (October 5, 1867), this plan had at least the advantage

of novelty. It also heightened the realistic impression that the author wished to convey, and justified to a large extent the rather detailed descriptions of the sordidness of farm life among the peasantry.

We are told[1] that Fabre, in picturing to himself the scenes and characters of his rustic stories, more easily and clearly formulated his ideas in the *patois* of his native mountains. Since this *patois*, however, was not readily understood outside the region, the author of *Le Chevrier* conceived the idea of putting into the mouths of his characters the speech of the renaissance, that of Rabelais, Montaigne, and Amyot, which, for its quaintness of phraseology, resembled his native *patois* more than did modern French. While George Sand, then, endeavored to reproduce a peasant language, Fabre sought to create a speech that would give the effect of a peasant *patois*. Thus the story loses none of its charm, even for those who are entirely ignorant of the French dialects. On the other hand, to gain anything like a full understanding of the language of *François le Champi*, the average reader has need of an annotated edition.

Though George Sand, and to a less extent Paul-Louis Courier, may have been Fabre's inspiration, they in no sense served as models. The peculiarities of the language of *François le Champi* lie rather in vocabulary than in syntax and sentence structure. The author has made relatively little attempt to heighten the atmosphere of the story by reproducing a syntax adapted to the mind of a peasant. Fabre as a realist, on the contrary, has kept constantly in mind a medium of expression that would conform to the method of thought usual with a simple peasant lad. To gain this result he carefully carries out the plan to imitate the style of the sixteenth century.

His vocabulary may be divided into three classes: modern French, which constitutes the vast majority of his words; those borrowed from the sixteenth century, although the spelling conforms to present-day rules; and lastly, words that are apparently taken from modern Provençal. Very few words belong to the *patois* of the region, and the meanings of these few are explained in the text. *Patte-courte* is "un lièvre plus mesquin que le lièvre ordinaire"; *cabrade*, "un troupeau de chèvres"; *coquillade*, "une alouette"; *bastides*, "maisonnettes." Moreover, in preference to the local dialectal forms,

[1] F. Pascal, "Ferdinand Fabre," *Revue Bleue*, XIX, 658.

Fabre has deliberately chosen a word common to Rabelais or Montaigne. He uses, for instance, *bouter*, which, as shown by the *Atlas linguistique*, is not generally found in the department of the Hérault, where the usual word is *mĕtrĕ*. It does exist, however, in the *patois* of Gascony and Auvergne. The same is true of *un brin*, usual in Gascony, Gers, and Berry. In the Cévennes, only *oem pdŭ* occurs. *Bailler* for "donner," although common in other parts of the Midi, seems to be rare in the Hérault.

Apparently, then, Fabre did not desire words that would give local coloring, so much as words which, by their quaintness, would set forth the personality of his characters. George Sand constantly employed rare words restricted to the language of familiar and inelegant conversation or to the dialects of the provinces. Among these we find: *s'accoiser*, *détempcer*, *égrolé*, *cheret*, *éclocher*, *tabâtre*, *alochons*, *bessons*, all of which would cause the reader difficulty. In contrast to these we find the goatherd of the Cévennes using *besogner*, *gente*, *sapiente*, *seoir*, *ouïr*, *souvente fois*, *mélancolieux*, *devers*, and *liesse*. They are quaint or obsolete now, but none the less readily understood. Modern words Fabre often employs according to their sixteenth-century meanings, as *larguer*, in the sense of "to chase" or "drive," *partance* as equivalent to *départ*, and *devis* for *propos*.

He has so altered the spelling of the words derived from the Provençal that they appear to be French, although retaining their original meaning. Some of these are: *couder* from the Provençal *couida*, which is equivalent to "faire le coude"; *devers*, which is the same as the sixteenth-century French word; *esprité*, from *esprita*, meaning "avoir de l'esprit"; *ételles*, from *estello*, in French "éclisse"; *fougasse*, *fougassa*, the modern "fouace"; *précon*, from *precoun*, "un crieur public"; *quilles*, from *quiho*, "jambe mince," which occurs in modern slang; *répiquer*, from *repica*, in the sense of "refrapper."

Fabre shows a great fondness for certain suffixes, especially *-ance*, as in *souvenance*, *éjouissance*, *à la coutumance*, *demeurance*. He seems even to outdo Montaigne in his liking for long adverbs formed from adjectives. On one page (103) alone occur, *vitement*, *fermement*, *aigrement*, *semblablement*, and *humblement*. Of frequent occurrence are, *pareillement*, *aucunement*, *petitement*, *grandement*, *péniblement*, *mêmement*, *doucettement*, and *douillettement*. The peasant who here recounts his love story falls into the use of the diminutives when

speaking of his mistress, as *Félicette*, or *Françonnette*, or *Fantinette* and even when mentioning whatever has to do with her, as *fillette, chambrette, chaînette, amourettes.*

In regard to syntax Fabre does not adhere constantly to the usage of the sixteenth century, but he does so to a sufficient extent to afford an interesting comparative study. Those characteristics which he has adopted, in most cases, he repeats often and to great advantage. Like Montaigne and Rabelais he displays great freedom in his use of the article. For the most part, like them, he omits the definite article before abstract nouns and nouns used in a general sense; especially is this true of the partitive in the plural. Before concrete nouns the article is seldom omitted except in a definition or when stating an habitual fact.[1] He regularly omits the indefinite article before a qualified noun,[2] which accords with the usage of Amyot and Montaigne.

Of Fabre's treatment of adjectives there is little to observe, except that he betrays the same carelessness as to position as did Rabelais.[3] Adjectives such as *bon, vieux, jeune, beau,* are as likely to follow as to precede their nouns. He avoids the older forms of the demonstrative and possessive adjectives, and never substitutes tonic for atonic forms.

His use of the personal pronoun accords with modern rules, with the exception of the suppression of the subject with impersonal verbs in both negative and affirmative clauses.[4] In the case of the neuter demonstrative *ce* he reverts to earlier usage in employing it as object of a preposition or of a present participle, although never of a finite verb. We frequently find *ce nonobstant, ce néanmoins, ce pendant, sur ce, ce disant.* Like Rabelais he prefers the relative *lequel* to *qui,* especially in the feminine (pp. 23, 30, 31; Huguet, *op. cit.*, p. 119).

With the exception of the long adverbs already referred to, Fabre seems to use very few of the older adverbs constantly employed by the sixteenth-century authors, such as *adoncques, prou, moult,*

[1] Cf. p. 17: "*Chèvres* tombèrent en nos étables comme tombent *noix* de l'arbre." So pp. 13, 27, 29, 37, 42. Cf. J. Le Maire de Belges, *Illustrations de Gaule*, p. 21: "La manière de semer *blé* entre *arbres* et planter *vigne* en lieux convenables."

[2] Cf. p. 24: "nul s'attendait à pareille question"; p. 46: "tout ceci fut chose plaisante"; also pp. 27, 28, 37, 192.

[3] Cf. Huguet, *Etude sur la syntaxe de Rabelais* (Paris, 1894), p. 414: "Les astres ne y feront influence bonne" (II, 28).

[4] Cf. p. 82: "m'est avis"; p. 95: "point n'avait été de femme meilleure"; p. 31: "par manière de parler s'entend."

pieça, oncques. He has, however, adopted the pleonastic *tant* in the adverbs *tant seulement,* and *tant plus,* and *par* in *par ainsi.* For the second member of the negative Fabre limits himself to *pas, point, mie.* These, however, he generally omits, except when both are placed before the verb. Because of his fondness for participial phrases he restricts the subordinating conjunctions to a very few, and of these *que* is by far the most frequent. *Encore que* regularly introduces clauses of concession (pp. 373, 390, 400).

In regard to the preposition we note that *dans* rarely occurs in *Le Chevrier, en* replacing it in nearly all instances. Occasionally *en* replaces *avec,* as, "je le fisse en joie" (p. 49). The author frequently uses *à* where modern usage would require *pour.* We find the same construction in Rabelais.[1] Besides the old form *devers* for *vers,* Fabre also employs the preposition *auparavant que de* for *avant de* (pp. 351, 356). These few complete his list of the older prepositions.

In the syntax of the verb Fabre differs most widely from modern usage. He adopts the preterite as the conversational past tense. In his manner of employing the subjunctive modern rules obtain, except in conditional sentences where the subjunctive appears in both protasis and apodosis, as in Rabelais and Montaigne.[2] Sometimes a participial phrase serves as the protasis with the apodosis in the subjunctive. Again the past conditional occurs in the protasis and the pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis. The following paragraph illustrates both constructions: "Ayant assassiné père et mère, soeur et frère, je n'eusse pas à ce point été saisi. De vrai, me semblait-il, je venais de commettre un crime, et certainement un gendarme m'aurait agrippé au collet, que je me fusse laissé mener en prison sans lui demander le pourquoi de la chose" (p. 40). Fabre makes comparatively little use of the infinitive as a noun, and never when preceded by the definite article. Neither does he make any extended use of it with pronoun subject accusative instead of a subordinate clause when there is no change of subject, although such a construction was common during the sixteenth century.[3] On the

[1] P. 43: "prise de compassion à ma douleur." Cf. Rabelais, II, 46: "né à domination pacifique sus toutes bestes."

[2] See Voizard, *Etude sur la Langue de Montaigne* (Paris, 1885), p. 111.

[3] We find one good example, however, p. 159: "Je considérais s'en aller ma vie." For a list of the verbs that took such a construction in the sixteenth century, see Huguet, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Cf. Rabelais, I, 264: "Le clerc, pensant sa femme *estre* morte et la cure de sa ville *vacquer,* conclud en soy-mesmes que il happera ce benifice."

other hand, he does make very effective use of the historical infinitive in vivid narrative: "Mais nous de le [le bouc] saisir tout en colère, de couper des sarments où pendaient des fruits verts, de l'enguirlander, et de lui permettre de manger la ramée, que nous ayant à cheval promené l'un ou l'autre au long du bief des Fontinettes ou des haies vives de Sainte-Plaine" (p. 102).

One of the most striking features of the style of this book is the author's use of both participles in absolute construction in place of subordinate clauses (pp. 16, 19). In this respect he particularly resembles Amyot. The present participle, whether adjective or gerund, with or without *en*, is always invariable. Its complement need not be the subject of the sentence. Often, as in Rabelais,[1] it is indeterminate: "Le lendemain de mon arrivée, réclamant un pic à cette fin de creuser une rigole à des eaux de pluie formant mare puante en la cour, on ne put me montrer qu'un tas de ferrailles rouilles" (p. 191; cf. 16, 21). Frequently the present participle takes a disjunctive pronoun subject, as, "moi ne gagnant plus de gages" (p. 118; cf. 181, 380),[2] and occasionally as the logical subject of *être*, "c'est ne sachant qu'en faire" (p. 13). The past participle in its agreement follows strictly the rules of modern grammar. In absolute construction it frequently precedes its noun, as, "eu égard au danger qu'il y a pour nous à sa naissance" (p. 23). When modifying two nouns of different gender, the past participle takes the masculine plural.

Like all the writers of the sixteenth century, Fabre displays the utmost freedom as to word order. He adopts all possible arrangements of subject, verb, and attribute. In illustration of the order of verb, attribute, subject, we find: "Dans cet espace, où montagnes et vallées, où torrents coulent en hiver entraînant troncs d'arbres et rochers en leurs eaux neigeuses, *se trouvent éparpillées fermes* et *métairies* des riches, *bordes* et *huttes* des pauvres gens" (p. 22). For the order of verb, adverbial clause, subject, we have: "Quand *brilla*, non loin de la mare, comme si du ciel une étoile fût tombée dans la campagne, *une lumière éclatante*" (p. 50). Frequently phrases modifying the verb open the sentence followed by verb and subject,

[1] Cf. Rabelais, I, 245: "La *portant* ainsi et la *faisant* sonner par les rues, tout le bon vin d'Orléans poulsa et se gasta." See Huguet, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[2] Cf. Rabelais, III, chap. 3: "*moy* faisant à l'un usage plus ouvert et chère meilleure qu'es autres."

as, "En les yeux petits et rouges de la vieille *parut abondance* de larmes" (p. 197). Sometimes the verb is first: "*arriva* chez nous *un soldat*" (p. 401). Fabre is very fond of opening his sentences with long participial phrases followed by subject and then verb, or verb then subject. One sentence may contain both arrangements, as: "Donc, abandonnant aux vieux et à Baduel les travaux des champs et le soin de la *cabrade*, pendant plusieurs jours, avec l'Hospitalière, nous eûmes occupation à l'affaire de notre mariage, moi disposant tout en la ferme, elle cousant une robe de percaline, que, prévenues de la circonstance, lui avaient envoyée les soeurs du Caylar" (p. 380). Another characteristic arrangement consists in placing both parts of the negative before the verb: "point ne s'offrait une occasion de m'y arrêter que je ne le fisse" (p. 49), or, "Point je ne me faisais faute de penser à la pauvre délaissée" (p. 95). He also frequently intercalates an adverbial phrase between the auxiliary and the past participle, and also between a verb and its dependent infinitive, as, for example, "La gaule du père Agathon ne m'eût, par un coup sec, coupé le mot" (p. 30), and, "j'eusse dû, autour de mon poignet, rouler solidement la ficelle de mon bâton" (p. 241). This construction having dropped from good usage during the fifteenth century, gained greatly in favor during the sixteenth, but quite disappeared during the next.[1]

His impression of quaintness and simplicity Fabre secures less through word order, however, than through the general looseness of sentence structure and lack of coherence. In the following paragraph all syntactical connectives are lacking: "Finalement, vous le comprenez, Monsieur Alquier m'ayant aidé à m'étendre sur la paillasse de l'Eremberte et aussi glissé quelques bonnes paroles en l'oreille, telles que seul il savait en dire pour le réconfort de l'âme, possible ne lui était, oubliant toute la paroisse, de prendre racine aupres de mon lit."[2] This somewhat careless style is not at all displeasing, for the sense is never obscure, and it has the advantage of suggesting the actual manner in which a peasant boy would give

[1] See Voizard, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[2] P. 102. Cf. Amyot, *La Mère de Coriolan:* "Mais à la fin, vaincu de l'affection naturelle, estant tout esmue de les voir, il ne peut avoir le cœur si dur que de les attendre en son siège; ains en descendant plus viste que le pas, leur alla au devant, et baissa sa mère la première, et la teint assez longuement embrasée, puis sa femme et ses petits enfants, ne se pouvant plus tenir que les chauldes larmes ne lui vinssent aux yeux, ny se garder de leur faire caresses, ains se laissant aller à l'affection du sang, ne plus ne moins qu'à la force d'un impétueux torrent."

expression to his thoughts.[1] Nothing is lost thereby in the earnestness of the lad's appeal.

In a letter to Fabre, Sainte-Beuve[2] acknowledged that *Le Chevrier* was eminently a work of art, and expressed his appreciation of the author's scholarly methods in creating its peculiar style. He felt, nevertheless, the reader would receive greater pleasure from the story had the author only now and then lapsed into the peasant vernacular. What Sainte-Beuve criticized, however, the poet Mistral praised.[3] He declared that Fabre was fortunate in his choice of style, and that it was delightful and racy of the locality of which he wrote. More than this, it lends a certain tone to the story which relieved parts that otherwise would have been sordid. Without this appropriate language much of the boy's confession would have sunk to the level of pure animalism, but through its medium it becomes artistic and often poetic. It is essential to a sympathetic understanding of the love story and to a full realization of the peasant's character. This, as it seems to me, was the result the author sought to accomplish.

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[1] Fabre may well have taken his idea of a style adapted to the mind and education of the speaker from Rabelais, who constantly alters his diction and phraseology according to whether Panurge, Frère Jean, Gargantua, or Pantagruel is speaking. See Huguet, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

[2] June 26, 1868. "Cher Monsieur, Depuis que j'ai reçu *Le Chevrier*, j'ai bien des fois pensé à vous, et, si mon remercîment n'est pas allé plus tôt vous trouver, c'est que ma santé me dispose souvent à remettre ce que j'aimerais le mieux faire. Il faudrait toute une dissertation pour traiter avec vous les questions que soulève ce roman d'art et de style. Il y a des études doublement savantes dans votre tableau; celle du pays et celle du langage. Sur ce dernier point, vous avez pris, en quelque sorte, le taureau ou du moins le *bouc* par les cornes: en soutenant la gageure pendant un aussi longtemps, vous avez fait un tour de force. Mais selon moi, ce n'est qu'un tour de force. J'aurais mieux aimé que cet essai de language rustique composite, à la manière de George Sand et de Paul Courier, ne régnât point durant toute l'étendue du livre. Si vous aviez pris la parole vous-même, si de temps en temps seulement vous aviez introduit vos personnages avec le langage observé et studieusement naïf que vous leur prêtez, vous auriez sauvé quelques invraisemblances, et donné, ce me semble, plus de satisfaction au lecteur. Il y a un peu de contention à vous suivre, tout en goûtant de charmant passages. Je ne vous donne point ces impressions rapides pour jugement. Il faudrait écouter vos raisons, car vous en avez eu; et dans tous les cas, vous avez fait dans cette œuvre acte d'artiste" (Pascal, *op. cit.*, p. 658).

[3] July 4, 1868. He says in part: "*Le Chevrier* est un livre consciencieux et écrit goutte à goutte d'observation locale. On voit que vous avez beaucoup hanté les *causses* des Cévennes, que vous avez vécu de la vie des *raïou*, que vous avez rêvé l'idylle sous les plantureux chataigniers. On sent que vous aimez votre pays natal, que vous aimez la gent rustique; et vrai fils de la terre, vous comprenez le sens du paysage, et ce que dit le vent, et ce dont parle l'arbre et ce que pense l'homme. Ils sont parfaits, vos paysans, et vos personnages sont vrais, vivants et sympathiques. Vous n'inventez pas la nature. Vous exprimez avec bonheur ce qu'elle a mis autour de vous, et vous l'exprimez d'une manière savoureuse et charmante" (*ibid.*, p. 659).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Cornell University Library. Catalogue of the Petrarch Collection Bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Compiled by MARY FOWLER. Oxford University Press, 1916. Pp. xxiv+547.

This catalogue, a magnificent volume printed at Oxford, will be recognized as the most important Petrarch bibliography in existence, and worthy to stand beside the Dante catalogue issued by the Cornell Library nearly twenty years ago. It is a striking tribute to the richness of these collections that a list of the books actually included in them is an indispensable work of reference even for scholars who may never be able to visit the library where they are housed. The Dante catalogue fills two closely printed volumes, while that of the Petrarch collection, although it includes the publications of the last twenty years, and is printed in larger type, is contained in one. Dante has been the occasion of far more discussion than any other Italian poet; yet the influence of Petrarch has also been both far-reaching and profound. His incomparable mastery of the Italian language, together with the human and appealing psychology of his poems, has led poets to study and imitate him with particular care, and the literary and historical references of his Latin and Italian writings alike offer abundant opportunity for scholarly investigation. The extent of the literature which has been published may be seen by consulting Part II of the catalogue (pp. 193–496), "Works on Petrarch." Many of the titles are of general works which treat only in part or incidentally of Petrarch; others are of unimportant imitations, sometimes single poems inspired by his lyrics. These, however, as well as the more significant titles, show the vogue and influence of the poet. References are added to reviews of the books mentioned. There is a large amount of valuable information concerning the editions of Petrarch and also many of the works about him, in critical and descriptive notes, which frequently indicate quite fully the contents of a volume. The subject index gives the title and date of the writings referred to, not merely the author's names as in the Dante catalogue. There is an appendix on iconography, and one (written by Mr. Fiske) on certain literary controversies. In short, the catalogue is a mine of information and a guide and inspiration for further study.

The collection includes over four thousand volumes, and in addition the catalogue contains the titles of articles in periodicals and sets belonging to the library, even when not in the Petrarch collection itself. Of the known editions of the *Rime* from 1470 to 1900—something over four hundred—all but sixteen are in the collection. Most of them of course have little or no

critical value; but such an approach to completeness lends importance to items otherwise insignificant. Of the editions before 1500, the collection includes twenty-three, lacking only that of Naples, 1477, of which a single copy is known, and another edition whose existence is doubtful. The rare commentaries of the sixteenth century are fully represented, as may be seen by comparing Suttina's catalogue (1908) of the rich Biblioteca Rossettiana of Trieste. There are several fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Rime*, a beautiful illuminated page from one of them being reproduced (opposite page 69). The editions of the original text and of translations occupy one hundred and ninety-two pages in the catalogue.

The story of the collection is told in an interesting introduction by Mr. G. W. Harris, who succeeded Mr. Fiske as librarian at Cornell. It was begun by Mr. Fiske in 1881, and occupied much of his time until his death in 1904. He corresponded not only with booksellers all over Europe but with numerous authors, from whom he obtained many rare publications. It is noteworthy that the Dante collection, begun in 1893, was practically completed in three years. Mr. Fiske also gave to Cornell his unique library of Icelandic and Rhaeto-Romance books, and made provision for the maintenance and increase of all these collections. Scholars have reason to be profoundly grateful to expert book-collectors who, like Mr. Fiske, have the taste and knowledge as well as the leisure and the means necessary for gathering comprehensive collections of books on special subjects which so frequently reach the public libraries.

Until the Petrarch books came to America in 1905, they were kept in Mr. Fiske's library in Florence, a picture of which forms the frontispiece to the catalogue. The writer of these lines remembers vividly a visit to this library in July, 1904, a few weeks before Mr. Fiske's death, and immediately after the memorable celebration at Arezzo of Petrarch's six hundredth anniversary, where Mr. Fiske was the leader of a group of American Petrarchians. It was a most interesting experience to see him in the midst of his books, and to hear him talk about them. He was a bibliographer rather than a scholar or a critic; but his wealth of accurate knowledge and his untiring enthusiasm made him an ideal collector.

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The Ad Deum vadit of Jean Gerson. Published from the manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds fr. 24841, by DAVID HOBART CARNAHAN. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. III, No. 1, February, 1917.

In this scholarly edition of the *Ad Deum vadit*, a sermon preached by Gerson before the French court in 1402, Professor Carnahan has made a valuable contribution in a field which will undoubtedly prove increasingly

attractive to American investigators. French scholars have repeatedly given encouragement to workers in the Middle French period, but the latter have busied themselves largely with the publication of the verse of an epoch which was essentially not poetic, and have devoted relatively little attention to its vast and interesting prose literature. Yet the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries form the linguistic link between Old and Modern French, and offer a mine of information to the philologist as well as to the historian.

The Introduction occupies about twenty-eight pages and is devoted to a discussion of the following topics: (1) the life of Gerson, (2) the influence of Gerson's life on his works, (3) the influence of the three preceding centuries on the *Ad Deum vadit*, (4) style and composition, (5) mechanical form, (6) manuscripts and editions. After a brief account of Gerson's life, Professor Carnahan takes up the works of the famous Chancellor of the University of Paris. Their central thoughts (as had already been pointed out by Lanson) are justice to the poor and much-abused people, and peace in the Church and in the kingdom, and it was for these ideals of peace and justice that this noble and gentle figure scorned a life of ease and affluence. While the editor does not perhaps fully recognize the energy of the indefatigable Gerson, handicapped as he was by poor health and implacable enemies, he thoroughly appreciates the Chancellor's courage and unselfishness. We may note in passing (p. 17) an ingenious explanation of our author's well-known interest in St. Joseph, as due, in part at least, to an "idea of mystic relationship between himself and Christ, who was also a man of the people." Gerson alone, whose family name was Le Charlier, refers to Joseph as a *charlier* (wheelwright).

A complete study of the sources of the *Ad Deum vadit* is reserved for a later time. Gerson's natural inclinations were rather toward St. Bernard and St. Bonaventura than toward St. Thomas Aquinas. On the whole the language of the sermon is dignified, serious, and sincere, and if the style is often uneven it is the result of the conventions of the day rather than a consequence of a lack of clearness of thought. In fact Gerson was constantly struggling to free himself from the scholastic platitudes and allegorical absurdities in which his age delighted, and in this respect he differs strikingly from his celebrated contemporary, Christine de Pisan. It is only when the latter is off her guard, when she is carried away by intense personal interest in her subject, that she throws aside the trammels of pedantry and erudition, and produces passages of real eloquence. So if we feel while reading this sermon that Gerson neglects to take advantage of several good places to stop, and are inclined to marvel at the patience of hearers who could listen to so long a sermon in one day, we must remember that its mechanical form is simple when compared to that of earlier preachers. The structure of the *Ad Deum vadit* is as follows: the Latin text at the beginning is followed by the Exordium, and then come the first part of the sermon, delivered in the morning, and the second part, preached in the late afternoon. Each of these

parts is divided into twelve sections, and each section consists of a scriptural passage (texte), the Exposition and the Oroison. The first part, the sermon proper, contains 2,045 lines; the second, the Collation, 1,132 lines.

The editor is fortunate in being able to base his text upon a manuscript which was probably written during the lifetime of Gerson, and which is "superior to the other manuscripts both from the point of view of mechanical form and of contents." This manuscript he calls A, and he uses three others, B, C, and D, which are also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, for collation. He has thus been able to obtain a clear and accurate text which leaves but few real difficulties. In accordance with the practice now frequently adopted the editor has retained the readings of his best manuscript, including their orthographic peculiarities, with the following modifications:

He makes a new division of words.

He makes the modern distinction between *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*.

He punctuates and capitalizes.

He uses the apostrophe, the dieresis, and the acute accent where there would otherwise be ambiguity (the grave accent seems to be confined to the word *après*).

He corrects obvious mistakes.

The editing of such a text is a matter of extreme difficulty, and it is with a full appreciation of this fact that the reviewer makes the following suggestions. The comma is sometimes used too freely, *par, ce que*—lines 370 and 2501 (cf. *par ce qu'ilz*—2658), *part*, —371, *fait*, —818, *confidence*, —980, etc. On the other hand, it should sometimes be supplied, as after *encerchera*—971. The dieresis should be used over the *y* in *oyl*, in *oyr*, and the forms of that verb in 1414, 1748, 2264, 2605; also over the *y* in *tray* in 587, *trays* in 520, etc. *A tout* should be printed *atout* throughout the text, as in 514 (and entered in the glossary in that form), and *ce cy* should be *cecy* (113, 646, 765, 943, 1566, 1821). *Advenir* should be divided (*ad venir*) in 139, 254, 376, 412, 601, 707; *a venir*—1434(2) as in 1887. Too much reluctance is shown to correct manuscript A, and in every case where other readings are chosen the reviewer heartily approves. In addition he would read *ce* for *se* in 1304, 1413, 1501, 1857; *tous* for *tout*—1316; *desrons* for *descouz*—407; *gaucher* for *gancher*—869; *furent* for *fuirent*—942; *nuement* for *neument*, 371 (cf. glossary), *pour tant* as in 2444 for *pourtant*—2349, 3028.

The glossary has been prepared with much care. It may be doubted whether in a work of this nature such words as *bailler*, *contenance*, *clore*, etc., should be included, especially when such words as the following are omitted: *passible*—218, *truans*—546, *degarpi*—731, *trebuchez*—1054, *vertus*—1294, *cause*—1578, *oste*—1733, *mourir*—2126, *mors*—2898, *complye*—3065. It is misleading to translate *entredemander*—916, *to ask each other*, and *entregarder* —2265, *to look at each other; depuis que*—2391, 3066, does not mean *after that; bouter, refl.* only means to *enter* after *en*, and *a tant* (see *tant*) only means *until* when it is used after *jusque; de* should be omitted before *ligier* in the

reference to 2461; *finir* should of course be *finer* (p. 140); *cogneu* should be *congneu*. No attempt has been made to define *quer* except when it means *for*. On page 137 *confusion* should follow *confrouesser*, and on page 144 *prouvable* should precede *puis*.

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American Literature in Spain. By JOHN DE LANCEY FERGUSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916.

The present work forms one of the admirable series of "Columbia Studies in Comparative Literature," which includes such sterling works as Spingarn's *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* and Chandler's *Romances of Roguery*. Unlike others in the series, Mr. Ferguson's study is unhappily conceived. One had always suspected that the influence of American upon Spanish literature was next to nothing. That suspicion is converted into a certainty by the reading of this book. Seldom has a dissertation reached so negative a result. It is a pity that the industry and sound method displayed by Mr. Ferguson has not been applied to some more grateful theme. If, for example, the horse had been put before the cart, and the influence of Spain upon Prescott, Irving, Longfellow, John Hay, and others had been studied, the result would have better repaid the effort. Something has already been done along this line, it is true; but much remains to be done. The greater part of the thesis is taken up with copious extracts from Spanish critics who have sought, unsuccessfully, to interpret our authors to their countrymen. Much of this makes sprightly, entertaining reading, and it is fair to note that the humor of it does not escape Mr. Ferguson. It is interesting to see how completely Spain has misunderstood us; but, frankly, not all of this material is worth reprinting. Walt Whitman appears to be the only American author who has been honored with intelligent criticism at the hands of Spanish critics. No American author, not even Poe, appears to have exerted any material influence upon Spanish literature. The case is different with Spanish-American authors; the influence of Whitman upon Rubén Darío, for instance, is marked.

Chapters are devoted to Irving, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Prescott, Emerson, and Whitman. These authors have been frequently translated into Spanish, but for the most part indirectly through the French. There is only incidental mention of Ticknor, in spite of the fact that his *History of Spanish Literature* is the American book best known in Spain. Mr. Ferguson may have excluded this as being a work of erudition. But in that case why devote a chapter to Prescott? Irving has met with little honor in Spain, even though a Granada hotel has been named in his honor. Mention of Espronceda's graceful tribute to Irving before the Spanish Cortes would have been interesting. We are grateful to Mr. Ferguson for

his new information concerning George Washington Montgomery, the American whose adaptation of *Rip van Winkle* as reprinted by Longfellow was the first Spanish textbook to be used in America. There are other curious bits of information, as, for example, that the best rendering of Cooper into Spanish is that of *The Two Admirals*, made by Montojo, later Dewey's antagonist at Manila; and that Longfellow has been presented to Spanish readers as a poet of orthodox Catholicism.

The bibliography of American translations into the Spanish affords evidence that Spanish publishers are more catholic in taste than discriminating. We find such works as *Las mujercitas* by Louisa M. Alcott, *El arte de hacer millones* by P. T. Barnum, *El Descubrimiento del Polo Norte* by Dr. F. A. Cook, *La cosecha humana* by David Starr Jordan, cheek by jowl with serious works by Emerson, John Fiske, Andrew D. White, Woodrow Wilson, and William James. (Henry James is still awaiting a Spanish translator.) This bibliography is interesting and valuable. Its miscellaneous character is inevitable. Of greatest value, however, is the bibliography of periodical literature. The nature of his subject led Mr. Ferguson to delve deeply into Spanish literary periodicals. One pursuing such an investigation must travel widely. Mr. Ferguson has used all the material he could find in the British Museum, the Ticknor collection, the Hispanic Society, the public libraries of Boston and New York, and the university libraries of Harvard and Columbia. Clearly, he would have gained new material if he had visited Paris and Madrid, and especially if he had used the periodicals in the library of the late Menéndez y Pelayo in Santander. Without going so far afield he might have consulted the library of Professor M. A. Buchanan of Toronto, containing one of the richest collections of Spanish periodicals on this side of the water. Nevertheless, the author has used no less than 164 different periodicals, which he lists, telling where they are to be found. This bibliography will be valued by Spanish scholars. It is a pendant to the similar lists of LeGentil and Churchman. Mr. Ferguson deserves only the highest praise for his scholarship: he has made the best of a bad subject.

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THE *FRANKLIN'S TALE*, THE *TESEIDE*, AND THE *FILOCOLO*

There is in the *Franklin's Tale* a remarkable borrowing from the *Teseide*, which has hitherto been entirely overlooked. For in that part of Chaucer's narrative which deals with Aurelius' unrevealed love for Dorigen, Chaucer is drawing upon Boccaccio's account, in the fourth book of the *Teseide*, of Arcita's unspoken passion for Emilia. The indebtedness is not only of decided interest on its own account, but it has also significant bearing upon the vexed question of the source of the *Franklin's Tale* as a whole. I shall deal with it first independently, and then in its relation to the larger problem.

I

A brief summary of the parallel situations will serve to make what follows clear. In the *Teseide* Arcita, after his release from prison, determines to return from Aegina to Athens. On his arrival (IV, 40–41) he goes to the temple of Apollo, and invokes the god (IV, 42–48). He enters Theseus' service, relying on his changed appearance and on his assumption of the name Penteo to conceal his identity (IV, 48–50). Theseus gives *una mirabil festa*, at which, among other ladies, Emilia is present (IV, 51). Arcita thanks Jove for his fortune, but contents himself with looking on Emilia's face (IV, 52–54). Emilia, however, although she alone recognizes Arcita, has as yet but little knowledge of what love is (IV, 56–58).

Arcita so serves Theseus that he is beloved of all (IV, 59), takes part in the gay life of the court (IV, 62), and resolutely conceals his passion (IV, 60–61), although it grieves him that Emilia is unaware of it (IV, 62). Unable to endure the necessity of silence, he often retires to a grove, where he gives voice to his laments (IV, 63–88).

In the *Franklin's Tale,* Aurelius, like Arcita, is a "wel biloved" squire, and like Arcita he enters into all the gaieties of the life about him (F 925–34). He loves Dorigen without her knowledge (935–40), and does not tell his love (941, 943, 949, 954). Like Arcita he too can give vent to his pent-up feelings only through his songs (944–48), and by looking on his lady's face (954–58). And in his distress he, like Arcita, invokes Apollo's aid (1031 ff.). The parallel, thus briefly sketched, is striking, but without verbal coincidences it could scarcely be regarded as conclusive. There is, however, not only similarity but even identity of phrasing, which we may now proceed to consider.

In the *Teseide,* Arcita, after he has returned to Athens, asks a boon of Apollo. In the *Franklin's Tale,* Aurelius, after Dorigen has set her impossible task, also prays to Apollo for aid. And in the opening lines of Aurelius' "orisoun" Chaucer has taken over, in part, the beginning of Arcita's prayer.

O luminoso Iddio che tutto vedi,
E'l cielo e 'l mondo e l'acque parimente,
E con luce continova procedi,
Tal che tenébra non t'è resistente,
E sì tra noi col tuo girar provvedi,
Ched e'ci nasce e vive ogni semente,
Volgi ver me il tuo occhio pietoso,
E a questa volta mi sia grazioso.[1]

He seyde, 'Appollo, god and governour
Of every plaunte, herbe, tree and flour,
That yevest, after thy declinacioun,
To ech of hem his tyme and his sesoun,
As thyn herberwe chaungeth lowe or hye,
Lord Phebus, *cast thy merciable yë*
On wrecche Aurelie, which that am but lorn. . . . .'[2]

[1] *Tes.,* IV, 43.

[2] F 1031–37.

Chaucer has expanded Boccaccio's fifth and sixth lines into four of his own (1032–35),[1] and has taken over the seventh line verbatim. The rest of the prayer deals with the specific task Aurelius has before him, and need not detain us here,[2] except in two details. At its close, Aurelius declares: "Thy temple in Delphos wol I barefoot seeke" (F 1077). Arcita goes "agli eccelsi templi . . . . del grande Apollo" (IV, 42). Aurelius prays: "Lord Phebus, *see the teres on my cheke*" (F 1078). Arcita says: "*Di lagrime*, di affanni e di sospiri . . . . Son io fornito" (IV, 45), and after his prayer "dipartissi il suo dolore amaro Il qual l'avea *col lagrimar* consunto" (IV, 50).

With this unmistakable borrowing before us, we may now turn back to F 925 ff., where Aurelius is introduced.

> Up-on this daunce, amonges othere men,
> Daunced a squyer biforen Dorigen,
> That *fressher was and jolyer of array*,
> As to my doom, than is the monthe of May.
> He *singeth*, *daunceth*, passinge any man
> That is, or was, sith that the world bigan.
> Ther-with he was, if men sholde him discryve,
> *Oon of the beste faringe man on-lyve*.

We are dealing, it should be remembered, with that part of the fourth book of the *Teseide* which Chaucer omitted in the *Knight's Tale*. Arcita's behavior is thus described:

> *Esso cantava e faceva gran festa*,
> Faceva prove *e vestia riccamente*,
> E di ghirlande la sua bionda testa
> Ornava e facea bella assai sovente,
> E in fatti d'arme facea manifesta
> La sua virtù, che assai era possente.[3]

In the next two lines Chaucer has summarized, in his description of Aurelius, every detail of his characterization of Arcite in the *Knight's Tale:*

> *Yong*, *strong*, right *vertuous*, and *riche* and *wys*,
> And *wel biloved*, and *holden in gret prys*.[4]
> For he [Arcite] was *wys* . . . .

[1] See below, p. 696, for the influence on these lines of another stanza of the *Teseide*.

[2] But see below, p. 721.

[3] *Tes.*, IV, 62, 1–6. Compare *T. and C.*, III, 1716–22, where Chaucer elaborates somewhat upon *Filost.*, III, 72.

[4] F 933–34.

For he was *yong* and mighty for the nones,
And ther-to he was *strong* . . . .
But half so *wel biloved* a man as he
Ne was ther never in court, of his degree;
He was so gentil of condicioun,
That *thurghout al the court was his renoun* . . . .
There as he mighte *his vertu* exercyse.
And thus, withinne a whyle, his name is spronge . . . .
That Theseus hath taken him so neer
That of his chambre he made him a squyer,
And *yaf him gold* to mayntene his degree;
And eek men broghte him out of his contree
From yeer to yeer, ful prively, *his rente*.[1]

Since this characterization is not in the *Teseide* (except for the "wel biloved"—*Tes.*, IV, 59), it is probable that Chaucer is at this point recalling the *Knight's Tale*, rather than Boccaccio. But in what immediately follows he returns to the stanzas of the *Teseide* which he has passed over in the *Knight's Tale*.

And shortly, if the sothe I tellen shal,
Unwiting of this Dorigen at al,
This lusty squyer, servant to Venus,
Which that y-cleped was Aurelius,
Had loved hir best of any creature
Two yeer and more, as was his aventure,
But never dorste he telle hir his grevaunce;
With-outen coppe he drank *al his penaunce.*
He was despeyred,[2] *no-thing dorste he seye.*[3]

E *posto che ferventemente amasse,*
Sempre teneva sua voglia celata . . . .[4]

Ed e' non gliele ardiva a discoprire,
Ed isperava[5] e non sapea in che cosa,

[1] A 1420–43. Without laying too much stress on autobiographical reminiscences, it is at least interesting that Chaucer makes Arcite first a "page of the chambre" (1427) of a court lady, and then "of [the duke's] chambre . . . . a squyer" (1440). These details are not in the *Teseide*.

[2] Compare *Tes.*, IV, 68, 3 (68, 2 is quoted below): "Ond'io non spero mai d'aver conforto." This is from Arcita's lament.

[3] F 935–43.

[4] *Tes.*, IV, 60, 5–6.

[5] Professor Wilkins queries whether Chaucer may not have read: *E disperava*. Cf. "He was despeyred" above.

Donde sentiva sovente martire:
Ma per celar la sua voglia amorosa,
E per lasciar li sospir fuori uscire,
Che facean troppo l'anima angosciosa,
Avie in usanza talvòlta soletto
D'andarsene a dormire in un boschetto.[1]

For the "*two* yeer *and more*" (F 940), however, Chaucer's memory has gone elsewhere:

And *three yeer* in this wyse his lyf he ladde.[2]

It is the *Knight's Tale* and not the *Teseide*, then, which he is recalling in this detail.

Here in the grove (described in the next two stanzas), before he falls asleep *sotto un bel pino* to the sound of murmuring waters (IV, 66, 1–6), he makes his lament:

. . . . ma del suo disire
Focoso, prima che s'addormentasse,
Con Amor convenia si lamentasse.[3]

So in Chaucer's next two lines:

Save in his songes somwhat wolde he wreye
His wo, *as in a general compleyning;*[4]

And the burden of Aurelius' complaint is word for word the burden of Arcita's:

He seyde he lovede, and was biloved no-thing.[5]

Perocch'io amo, e non son punto amato.[6]

Of swich matere made he manye layes,
Songes, compleintes, roundels, virelayes,
How that he dorste nat his sorwe telle,[7]

[1] *Tes.*, IV, 63. This is the beginning of the scene which Chaucer totally modifies in A 1491 ff.

[2] A 1446. The reference is to Arcite, and immediately follows the lines quoted above.

[3] *Tes.*, IV, 66, 6–8.

[4] F 944–45.

[5] F 946.

[6] *Tes.*, IV, 68, 2.

[7] F 947–49.

E queste e altre più parole ancora
Metteva in nota lo giovine amante.[1]

But languissheth, as a furie dooth in helle;[2]
And dye he moste, he seyde, as dide Ekko
For Narcisus, that dorste nat telle hir wo.[3]

Deh *quanto mi saria stata più cara*
La morte. . . . .[4]

In oother manere than ye heere me seye
Ne dorste he nat to hir his wo biwreye;
Save that, paraventure, som-tyme at daunces,
Ther yonge folk kepen hir observaunces,
It may wel be he loked on hir face
In swich a wyse, as man that asketh grace;[5]

. . . . e sì dicendo, fiso
Sempre mirava l'angelico viso.[6]

But no-thing wiste she of his entente.[7]

Ma duol sentiva, in quanto esso credea
Emilia non sentir per cui 'l facea.[8]

The account of Aurelius' secret love, accordingly, is largely indebted to the rehearsal of Arcita's hidden passion in the *Teseide.* And by far the greater number of the parallels to F 925–59 are found within the compass of ten stanzas of the *Teseide* (IV, 60–69).

The lines that now follow in Chaucer deal with Aurelius' disclosure of his love, and have to do with the underlying situation

[1] *Tes.*, IV, 78, 1–2. See especially the long "compleint" in IV, 80–88.

[2] On this line, as a reminiscence of *Dante*, see *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 721. Compare also, for "languisshing," the closing words of IV, 39, 4.

[3] F 950–52. Chaucer is here amplifying a general statement of Boccaccio by a specific reference, just as he does a score of times in the *Troilus:* see for instance (comparing in each case the *Filostrato*), *T. and C.*, III, 1600; IV, 473, 1188, 1538–40; V, 207–8, 212, 643, 664–65, 892, etc. For the reference in the text he is probably recalling *Met.*, III, 375 ff.

[4] *Tes.*, IV, 69, 1–2. This is from Arcita's lament. Compare also IV, 39, 2–4.

[5] F 953–58.

[6] *Tes.*, IV, 53, 7–8.

[7] F 959.

[8] *Tes.*, IV, 62, 7–8. Compare also IV, 86, 1–2; 87, 7–8.

of the *Franklin's Tale*. They therefore diverge of necessity from the account in the *Teseide*. But at one most interesting point Chaucer seems to have returned to Boccaccio. Aurelius has taken advantage of a lull in the revelry to speak to Dorigen. But they are interrupted:

> Tho come hir othere freendes many oon,
> And in the aleyes romeden up and doun,
> And no-thing wiste of this conclusioun,
> But sodeinly bigonne revel newe
> *Til that the brighte sonne loste his hewe;*
> *For th'orisonte hath reft the sonne his light;*
> This is as muche to seye as it was night.[1]

Chaucer apparently took his cue for these famous lines from the *Teseide*. They carry us back to the May-morning scene (III, 5–12), on which Chaucer so charmingly set his own stamp in the *Knight's Tale* (A 1033 ff.). There Emily is in the garden "at the sonne upriste" (A 1051), and the day is bright, so that Palamon can see her plainly:

> Bright was the sonne, and cleer that morweninge.[2]

In this detail, however, Chaucer has sharply diverged from Boccaccio. Arcita has to strain his eyes to see what Emilia is doing, for

> *Egli era ancora alquanto il dì scuretto,*
> *Che l'orizzonte in parte il sol tenea.*[3]

In the *Franklin's Tale* Chaucer seems to have come back to the lines. "Era . . . . il dì scuretto" becomes more concrete: "the brighte sonne loste his hewe,"[4] and the second line ("hath reft the sonne his light") is modified under the influence of another occurrence of what is, in point of fact, one of Boccaccio's favorite phrases: "mentre il mondo chiuso *Tenne Apollo di luce.*"[5] "*Reft* the sonne his light" is not a *translation* of "*tenne* Apollo di luce"; but the vividness of the paraphrase is characteristic. As for the transfer of the reference

[1] F 1012–18.

[2] A 1062.

[3] *Tes.*, III, 12, 1–2.

[4] Cf. "bright was the sonne" in the corresponding passage in the *K.T.*

[5] *Tes.*, VII, 68, 1–2. This passage Chaucer also knew peculiarly well, for *Tes.*, VII, 51–66 = *PF*, 183–294 (see *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 68–73). And the immediately *following* stanzas (*Tes.*, VII, 70 ff.) Chaucer employs in A 2271 ff. With "reft," cf. *Tes.*, III, 43, 1–2: "Ma poichè al mondo *tolse* la bellezza Libra" (*Tes.*, III, 47 ff. = A 1189 ff.). In general compare "E mentre il ciel co' suoi eterni giri *L'aere tien di vera luce spenta*" (*Tes.*, IV, 72, 5–6); "in l'eterna prigione, *Dove ogni luce Dite tiene spenta*" (X, 14, 5–6).

from the dawning of day to the fall of night, Chaucer is merely reverting (perhaps quite unconsciously) to Boccaccio's original. For Boccaccio in his turn is recalling *Dante*. And in Dante the line refers to night. Sordello is telling the two pilgrims that only *la notturna tenebra* prevents their ascent of the Mount of Purgatory by night; for them to descend, on the other hand, is possible,

> E passeggiar la costa intorno errando,
> *Mentre che l'orizzonte il dì tien chiuso.*[1]

But there are other indications that Chaucer had the May-morning stanzas in the *Teseide* in his mind. Let us return to Aurelius' invocation. I have already pointed out that Chaucer expanded Boccaccio's *ogni semente* into "every *plaunte, herbe, tree* and *flour*." And the source of the expansion seems reasonably clear. The opening stanza of the garden scene gives the position of *Phoebus*, Venus, and Jupiter at the beginning of May:

> Febo salendo con li suoi cavalli,
> Del ciel teneva l'umile animale
> Che Europa portò senza intervalli
> Là dove il nome suo dimora avale;
> E con lui insieme graziosi stalli
> Venus facea de' passi con che sale:
> Perchè rideva il cielo tutto quanto,
> D'Amon che 'n pesce dimorava intanto.
>
> *Da questa lieta vista delle stelle*
> *Prendea la terra graziosi effetti,*
> E rivestiva le sue parti belle
> Di nuove *erbette* e di vaghi *fioretti;*
> E le sue braccia le *piante* novelle
> Avean di fronde rivestite, e stretti
> Eran dal tempo gli *alberi* a fiorire
> Ed a far frutto, e 'l mondo rimbellire.[2]

[1] *Purg.*, VII, 59–60. This is from the canto in which occur the lines about "prowesse of man" which Chaucer quotes in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* (D 1125–30 = *Purg.*, VII, 121–23), and it is not impossible that he recognized Boccaccio's source. He certainly knew Dante at least as well as the present writer, to whom the line in Boccaccio instantly recalled the line in the *Purgatorio*, through the association with *orizzonte*—to a foreigner, a striking word. I do not, however, wish to lay undue stress on the "orisonte" lines as evidence.

[2] *Tes.*, III, 5–6. For the bearing of these same stanzas on *Troilus*, II, 50–56, see Kittredge, "Chaucer's Lollius," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXVIII, 113–14.

There is the definite dependence of the "tyme and sesoun" on Apollo's declination. And "erbette . . . . fioretti . . . . piante . . . . alberi" correspond exactly to Chaucer's "plaunte, herbe, tree and flour." Moreover, the scene in Chaucer's garden is laid on the sixth of May.[1]

But Chaucer (as has also not been observed) used this same passage elsewhere. I shall repeat the opening of stanza 5, and add to it stanza 7.

Febo salendo con li suoi cavalli,
Del ciel teneva *l'umile animale*
Che Europa portò . . . .

E gli uccelletti ancora i loro amori
Incominciato avien tutti a cantare,
Giulivi e gai nelle fronde e fiori;
E gli animali nol potean celare
Anzi 'l mostravan con sembianti fuori;
E giovinetti lieti, che ad amare
Eran disposti, *sentivan nel core*
Fervente più che mai crescere amore.

Let us turn to the B-version of the Prologue to the *Legend:*

My besy gost, that thrusteth alwey newe
To seen this flour so yong, so fresh of hewe,
Constreyned me with *so gledy desyr,*
That in my herte I fele yit the fyr,
That made me to ryse *er hit wer day*—[2]
And this was now the firste *morwe of May*—
With dredful herte and glad devocioun,
For to ben at the resureccioun
Of this flour, whan that it shuld unclose
Agayn *the sonne,* that roos as rede as rose,
That in the brest was of the beste that day,
That Agenores doghter ladde away.[3]

The lines which follow in the B-Prologue (115 ff.) deal with the new garments of Spring and the loves of the birds; so do the two stanzas

[1] F 906. See also below, p. 702.

[2] Compare Emilia's rising (*Tes.*, III, 12) while "era ancora alquanto il dì scuretto."

[3] *Leg.*, B-version, ll. 103–14. "Agenores doghter" may be a reminiscence of "Agenore nata" in *Met.*, II, 858. But there is a very striking parallel in the *Filocolo:* "In questa vita stette infino a tanto che *Febo in quell'animale che la figliuola d'Agenore trasportò de' suoi regni* . . . ." (ed. Moutier, II, 149). See below, p. 712.

(III, 6–7) just quoted from the *Teseide.* But in Chaucer there is an interweaving with Machaut, Guillaume de Lorris, and Baudouin de Condé which is too complex to enter upon here.[1]

With these lines in the B-Prologue in mind, we may now return to the *Franklin's Tale:*

> So on a day, right in the morwe-tyde,
> Un-to a gardin that was there bisyde . . . .
> They goon and pleye hem *al the longe day.*[2]
> *And this was on the* sixte *morwe of May,*[3]
> Which May had peynted with his softe shoures
> This gardin ful of leves and of floures.[4]

The garden into which Dorigen is led to play, as well as "the floury mede" into which Chaucer goes "to loke upon the dayeseye," is accordingly Emilia's garden in the *Teseide.* And precisely as in the B-Prologue to the *Legend* Chaucer interweaves with Boccaccio's account reminiscences of garden scenes from Machaut and the other French vision-poets whom he knew, so here he modulates at once from Boccaccio into Machaut. For the immediately following lines, as Schofield long ago pointed out, are taken over almost bodily from the *Dit du Vergier.*[5]

Lines 901–1037 of the *Franklin's Tale,* then—barring the conversation in lines 960–1010, which has to do with the situation peculiar to this particular story—are a free working over of definite suggestions drawn from third and fourth books of the *Teseide.*

We have not, however, quite exhausted the borrowings. The superb description of winter (F 1245–55), that begins: "Phebus wex old, and hewed lyk latoun," owes at least two of its lines to the *Teseide.* After the first May morning, Emilia comes daily into the garden (III, 29–31 and 40). But at last the season changes:

> Il tempo aveva cambiato sembiante,
> *E l'aere piangea tutto guazzoso,*
> *Sì ch'eran l'erbe spogliate e le piante.*[6]

[1] See, in part, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers,* p. 103. I shall give the full evidence at another time.

[2] Compare B-Prologue, l. 180: "*The longe day* I shoop me for to abyde."

[3] Compare B-Prologue, l. 108: "*And this was now the* firste *morwe of May.*"

[4] F 901–2, 905–8. Compare *Tes.,* III, 7: "nelle *fronde e fiori.*"

[5] See the passage in full in *PMLA,* XVI, 446.

[6] *Tes.,* III, 44, 1–3.

That, to be sure, is October,[1] but Chaucer takes the detail over into his description of December:

> The bittre frostes, *with the sleet and reyn,*
> *Destroyed hath the grene in every yerd.*[2]

The opening lines of Dorigen's prayer (F 865–67) are perhaps reminiscent of the opening lines of Theseus' speech after Arcita's disaster in the amphitheatre (IX, 52–53, 1–4). And it is possible that another phrase of Dorigen's—"That unwar wrapped hast me in thy cheyne" (F 1356)—is suggested by "si strigneano le catene" of the *Teseide* (III, 32, 5). But I should lay no great stress on these two similarities.

Finally, the well-known phrase about love and "maistrie" probably appears in the *Franklin's Tale* (F 764–66), as it certainly does in the *Knight's Tale* (A 1624–26), because it occurs in the *Teseide:* "Signoria Nè amore sta bene in compagnia" (V, 13, 7–8). In the *Franklin's Tale* Chaucer has gone back to Jean de Meun,[3] as Jean de Meun went back to Ovid.[4] But it is not improbable that the passage in the *Teseide* was his starting-point.

There are, however, what seem to be two other borrowings in the *Franklin's Tale* which have gone unobserved. Toward the close of Machaut's *Dit dou Lyon,* which Chaucer almost certainly translated or took over in some form,[5] Machaut asks the lady of the garden (the name of which is "l'Esprueve de fines amours") why it is not

[1] See *Tes.*, III, 43, 1–2.

[2] F 1250–51.

[3] See Skeat's note, and Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose,* pp. 194, 220. To Fansler, p. 220, add *RR*, 9528–33 (ed. Michel, I, 291–92).

[4] *Met.*, II, 846–47. The form which this takes in the *Ovide moralisé* is not without interest, in connection with the Franklin's remarks:

> Ja n'avront bone compaignie
> Loiaus amours et seignorie,
> Quar trop sont divers et contraire:
> Amours est franche et debonaire,
> Et seignorie est dangereuse,
> Despiterresse et orgueilleuse,
> Si veult que l'en la serve et craime,
> Et amours veult que cil qui l'aime
> Soit frans et douz et amiables,
> Debonaires et serviables,
> *Si veult avoir per, et non mestre* (II, 4977–87).

The first three books of the *Ovide moralisé* are now published, edited by C. de Boer, in the *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenshappen te Amsterdam,* Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Rekes, Deel XV (1915). I shall discuss their bearing upon Chaucer in an article soon to appear.

[5] See the "Retraccioun" (I, § 104).

inclosed.[1] The lady replies that it was so ordained by the maker of the garden:

Mais par souffrir l'estuet conquerre
D'aucun bon cuer qui soit si frans
Qu'adès soit humbles et *souffrans;*
Car autrement estre conquise
Ne puet, tant soit bien entreprise . . .
Et s'il les vuet de dueil crever,
Il doit son corps dou tout offrir
A elles humblement *souffrir,*
Car cils qui vit et souffrir puet
Fait partie de ce qu'il vuet;
Et se dit on: "Qui sueffre, il veint";
Et s'est vertueus qui bien feint.
Einsi toutes les veinquera
Par souffrir, n'il ne trouvera
Donjon, closture ne muraille,
N'autre voie, qui mieus y vaille.[2]

Immediately after the "love and maistrie" lines in the *Franklin's Tale,* Chaucer passes to the idea of *constraint* in love:

Love is a thing as any spirit free;
Wommen of kinde desiren libertee,
And nat to ben constryned as a thral;
And so don men, if I soth seyen shal.[3]

This general notion of constraint seems to have recalled the passage in the *Dit dou Lyon.* At all events, Chaucer proceeds at once to emphasize Machaut's very doctrine of "suffrance" as the vanquisher in love:

Loke who that is most *pacient in love,*
He is at his avantage al above.
Pacience is an heigh vertu certeyn;
For it venquissheth, as thise clerkes seyn,
Thinges that rigour sholde never atteyne.
For every word men may nat chyde or pleyne.
Lerneth to suffre, or elles, so moot I goon,
Ye shul it lerne, wher-so ye wole or noon.[4]

[1] Ll. 1996 ff. (*Œuvres de Machaut,* Soc. des anc. textes fr., II, 229).
[2] Ll. 2040–44, 2066–76.
[3] F 767–70.
[4] F 771–78. Compare "*suffrance* hir behight" (l. 788).

Skeat refers these lines in Chaucer to one of Cato's distichs:

> Quem superare potes, interdum vince ferendo,
> Maxima enim morum semper patientia virtus.[1]

And directly or indirectly either this or some of its proverbial analogues may very well underlie both Machaut and Chaucer. But the application in both poems to *love*, and the common emphasis on *suffering*, together with the practical certainty of Chaucer's close familiarity with the *Dit dou Lyon*,[2] point strongly to the latter poem as the *immediate* source of the Franklin's lines. Not once but twice, then, it would seem that Machaut appears in the *Franklin's Tale*.

The other borrowing is slight, but not without significance. The following lines occur in Aurelius' prayer, and are addressed to Phoebus with reference to his "blisful suster," the moon:

> Ye knowen wel, lord, that *right as hir desyr*
> *Is to be quiked and lightned of your fyr. . . . .*[3]

In the *Anticlaudianus* Alanus thus speaks of the moon:

> Quomodo mendicat alienum luna decorem,
> Cur a luce sua Phœbe demissa parumper
> Detrimenta suæ deplorat lucis, at infra
> Plenius exhausta totius luminis amplam
> Jacturam quæritur, sed rursus *fratris in igne*
> *Ardescens nutrit attriti damna decoris.*[4]

The reminiscence—once more from a book which (this time certainly) Chaucer knew—seems to be clear. If so, Boccaccio, Machaut, and Alanus de Insulis were all in Chaucer's mind when the *Franklin's Tale* was written.

II

What bearing has all this on the problem of the source of the *Tale* as a whole? Does it further Schofield's view that this source is, as Chaucer states, a Breton lay? Or does it corroborate Rajna's

[1] *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 388. Skeat's other references have to do merely with the general idea of the proverb: "vincit qui patitur."

[2] See *PMLA*, XXX, 4, 7.

[3] F 1049–50.

[4] Distinctio Secunda, cap. III (*Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, Rolls Series, II, 296–97).

contention that the *Tale* is based on the fourth *questione d'amore* in the *Filocolo?* Three points demand consideration. First, the fact of Chaucer's use of the *Teseide* cuts both ways, so far as Schofield's and Rajna's evidence is concerned. Second, the employment of the *Teseide* demonstrates that in the *Franklin's Tale* we have, in any case, a *combination* of sources to deal with. And third, it adds to our information the important fact that when Chaucer wrote the *Tale* he went for at least part of his materials to Boccaccio. Let us consider briefly these three points in order.

First, then, a certain number both of Rajna's parallels between the *Franklin's Tale* and the *Filocolo*, and of Schofield's *rapprochements* between the *Franklin's Tale* and the Breton lay (or other French poems) are now seen to be directly explicable by the *Teseide*.

1. According to Rajna the *garden* in the *Franklin's Tale* represents the magic garden in the fourth *questione*, and even more closely the Neapolitan garden in which the *questioni* are held:

> Alle origini di quel giardino, che 'May had peinted with his softe shoures,' non è forse estraneo il giardino incantato; ma poichè una brigata ci va a trascorrere in canti, balli ed altri piaceri tutto un giorno, inclino a vederci ancor più il riflesso del giardino napoletano in cui si propongono e discutono le nostre Questioni d'amore.[1]

But we have seen that the garden in the *Franklin's Tale* is directly suggested by the garden of the *Teseide*, combined with details from the *Dit du Vergier*. Particularly, the fact that Chaucer's garden is described as in *early* May is definitely and specifically due to the *Teseide*. There the sun is in the Bull,[2] and Chaucer's date, the sixth of May, is in accord with this. The *festa* in the Neapolitan garden takes place late in May, for the sun has already entered Gemini.[3] Chaucer's garden (except for the "softe shoures," which are not in the *Filocolo* either) may be fully accounted for from the *Teseide* and the *Dit du Vergier*.[4] On the other hand, the garden in the

[1] *Romania*, XXXI, 42, n. 2 (end); cf. XXXII, 236. For Dr. Cummings' discussion of this parallel, see p. 714 below. For the magic garden, see *Filocolo*, II, 50, 56–57; for the garden of the setting, see II, 32, 119.

[2] See *Tes.*, III, 5, quoted above, p. 697.

[3] *Filocolo*, II, 22.

[4] Of the five passages which Dr. H. W. L. Dana suggests as containing possible traces of the garden of the *Filocolo* (Tatlock, *The Scene of the Franklin's Tale Visited*, Chaucer Soc., 1914, p. 77), the first, third, and fifth seem to be due rather to the *Teseide*.

Teseide is not the scene of revels; that in the setting of the *questioni* in the *Filocolo* (as Rajna points out) *is*. And if there should be independent supplementary evidence of Chaucer's use of the *Filocolo* in the *Tale*, the assumption might not be unwarranted that Chaucer's garden includes reminiscences of both the *Teseide* and the *Filocolo*.

2. Chaucer's "But sodeinly bigonne *revel newe*" (F 1015) troubles Rajna, and, even more, Tatlock. "Perchè," asks Rajna, "'revel newe'? Non vedo che il festeggiare sia mai stato interrotto, se non forse dal passeggiare di taluni su e giù per i viali, del quale d'altronde non ci si dà punto un perchè."[1] Tatlock regards this argument of Rajna's as "especially to the point," and refers to "the *unaccountable* 'revel newe.'"[2] In the first place, the difficulty, in reality, does not exist. There is a lull in the dancing, and Aurelius seizes the opportunity to speak with Dorigen. After they have talked a while, their friends come up, are unaware of the tense situation upon which they have unwittingly intruded, and so pay no heed, but at once begin to dance again.[3] One need scarcely be given pause upon reading that after a breathing space dancing is resumed! And the fresh beginning of the revels is no more unaccountable here than in the *Squire's Tale:* "Heer is the revel and the jolitee"; then a lull; then, "Thus glad and blythe, this noble doughty king *Repeireth to his revel as biforn*" (F 278, 338–39). There is no need to go beyond the situation in the *Franklin's Tale* itself to account for "revel newe." Assuming, however, in the second place, that Chaucer *had* a definite source in mind, is this the *Filocolo?* Rajna, of course, followed by Tatlock, refers "revel newe" to the fresh beginning of the festivities, when the heat of the day has passed, in Fiammetta's garden ("e i nostri compagni avere *ricominciata la festa*," etc.).[4] I grant at once that this is a possibility. But the weight of the parallel with the *Filocolo* is somewhat lessened by the fact that in the *Franklin's Tale* the lines that describe the coming of night are (possibly) from the *Teseide*, and that (certainly) Aurelius begins at once his appeal to Apollo in the words of Arcita in the

[1] *Romania*, XXXII, 237.

[2] *The Scene of the Franklin Tale Visited*, p. 57, note. Italics mine.

[3] "Bigonne" is of course plural.

[4] *Romania*, XXXII, 237; Tatlock (as above), p. 57, n.

Teseide. In view of its immediate context, "revel newe" can scarcely be taken, in and for itself, as evidence for Chaucer's use of the *Filocolo*. On the other hand, it is again possible that Chaucer remembered both the *Teseide* and the *Filocolo*.

3. The parallel between Aurelius and Equitan which Schofield draws[1] may be transferred, word for word, to Aurelius and *Arcita*, except that Emilia is unmarried. But the heroine of the *Franklin's Tale* is *ex hypothesi* a wife, whatever the source of the story, and Aurelius owes unmistakably his characterization to Arcita. This particular parallel of Schofield's, therefore, loses its force.

4. The same statement applies to Schofield's ascription of Aurelius' complaints to "the influence of contemporary French works."[2] The *immediate* influence turns out to be that of the *Teseide*.[3]

It is obvious, then, that both Rajna's and Schofield's evidence is in certain details either weakened or rendered nugatory by the recognition of Chaucer's use of the *Teseide*.

The second consequence of this recognition is the definite assurance which it gives us that Chaucer, in the *Franklin's Tale*, was following his familiar method of combining various sources. We have no more warrant, therefore, for assuming that we should find all of the details of the story (even the major ones) accounted for in any single source—whether that source be Breton or Italian in its origin—than we should have for a similar assumption in the case of the *Troilus*, or the *Book of the Duchess*, or the *Parlement*, or the *Merchant's Tale*.[4] What Chaucer demonstrably did with Aurelius—whether his original was Tarolfo in Menadon's story, or a lover in a lost Breton lay, or some third unknown—he was perfectly capable of doing with any other character or incident in the story or stories that he had before him. It is probable almost to the point of certainty that we should postulate, not a single source, but two or more sources for the *Tale*. The *Teseide*, at least, is neither a Breton lay

[1] *PMLA*, XVI, 428.

[2] *PMLA*, XVI, 445.

[3] See above, p. 693. Chaucer was of course familiar with innumerable complaints in French. But it was *Arcita's* complaints that were definitely in his mind.

[4] Chaucer's use of the *Teseide* in the *Franklin's Tale*, for instance, is closely analogous to his use of the *Miroir de Mariage* in the *Merchant's Tale*.

nor the *Filocolo*. Its presence in the *Franklin's Tale* as an integral element of the story is therefore of the first significance. For it raises the *complexity* of Chaucer's procedure to a certainty.[1]

In the third place, the presence of the *Teseide* makes it clear that Chaucer was, so far, under the influence of Boccaccio, when he wrote the *Tale*. That does not constitute proof that the other elements of the story reached him also through Boccaccio. He interweaves his reminiscences of Boccaccio with the wide range of his reading in French and Latin in *Anelida*, and *Ariadne*, and the *Parlement*, and the *Troilus*, and the Prologue to the *Legend*. And, a priori, he may perfectly well in the *Franklin's Tale* have dovetailed one section of the *Teseide* into a Breton lay, as he certainly dovetailed, for instance, another section into a complex of Macrobius, and Dante, and Claudian, and Alanus in the *Parlement*. But the demonstration of his use of the *Teseide* carries with it the certainty that, at the moment, the influence of Boccaccio was at work. And to that degree at least it enhances the possibility of his employment of the *Filocolo*.

These three conclusions, I think, change somewhat the bearings of the entire problem, and render a certain degree of reconsideration necessary. And first, in the light of what has been presented, let us return to the *Filocolo*.

III

In view of the notable differences between Chaucer's and Boccaccio's versions of the story, the presence or absence outside the *Franklin's Tale* of evidence that Chaucer knew the *Filocolo* is a matter of the first importance. If there are independent grounds for believing that Chaucer read the *Filocolo*, such evidence establishes a strong presumption in favor of his use of it in the *Franklin's Tale*. If there are no such grounds, the presumption looks the other way. Professor Karl Young has contended for Chaucer's employment of the *Filocolo* in the *Troilus*.[2] That contention has just been sharply called in question by Dr. H. M. Cummings.[3] Without for the

[1] See also below, pp. 724–25.

[2] *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer Soc., 1908, pp. 139–181.

[3] *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio* (University of Cincinnati Studies, Vol. X, Part 2, 1916), pp. 1–12.

moment entering into this particular divergence of opinion, I wish to bring forward additional and independent evidence of Chaucer's knowledge of the *Filocolo*.

The *Filocolo* is not a work from which it is very likely that Chaucer (or anyone else) would often quote *verbally*. It is diffuse to the last degree, and, except in a few passages, unmarked by distinction of style. Nevertheless, there is some apparent justice in the remark with which Dr. Cummings closes his argument: "If Chaucer had known the *Filocolo* it is inconceivable that he, who so thoroughly culled out from Boccaccio's *Teseide* so many beauties and incorporated them into his several works, should have neglected to avail himself of any of all the rich store of them in that most tapestried of Italian prose romances." I wish, however, to call attention at once to the fact that it is precisely "tapestry" that, as a rule, Chaucer does *not* borrow. Nothing, indeed, is more striking about his use of the *romans courtois*, for example, than what he *omits*. And what he passes over there is, *mutatis mutandis*, exactly the sort of thing that he passes over (assuming that he knew it) in the *Filocolo*.[1] The more widely one follows Chaucer in his reading, the more is one impressed by his abstentions, which are often far more significant than his borrowings. It is hazardous business to assume that Chaucer *would* have borrowed this or that, had he known it.

Moreover, Dr. Cummings' analogy with the *Teseide* is scarcely a happy one. The *Teseide* is a work of art; the *Filocolo* falls short of that enviable distinction. And the books from which Chaucer quotes *verbally* (I do not, of course, refer to translations of a work *in toto*) are those which either interested him more or less deeply for their subject-matter—especially as that touched in some way upon life—or bore the stamp of *form*. The *Filocolo*, in the main, possesses neither merit. The real analogy, in the case of the *Filocolo*, is not with the *Teseide*, but rather with (let us say) the *Roman de Troie*. And it is as pertinent to ask why Chaucer seldom, if ever, quotes Benoit verbally, as it is to insist that a knowledge of the *Filocolo* must show itself in verbal borrowings. It would not be

[1] This statement about the romances is based on investigations which were begun before Dr. Cummings' dissertation was published, but which I may not elaborate here.

surprising, in either case, to find a few such borrowings. It would be cause for surprise to find more than a few.

And we find, I think, precisely what we should expect to find. For there are a number of passages in which Chaucer seems definitely to have recalled the phraseology of the *Filocolo*.

1. The first passage is perhaps the most familiar one in Chaucer.

> Whan that Aprille with his shoures sote
> The droghte of Marche hath perced *to the rote*,
> And bathed every veyne in *swich licour*,
> *Of which vertu engendred is the flour;*[1]

Se quella terra che noi incalchiamo lungamente *alle tue radici presti grazioso umore, per lo quale esse diligentemente nutrite le tue fronde nutrichino.*[2]

> *When Zephirus eek with his swete breeth*
> *Inspired hath in every holt and heeth*
> *The tendre croppes.*[3]

Come quando Zeffiro soavemente spira si sogliono le tenere sommità degli alberi muovere per li campi.[4]

The two passages are only fourteen lines apart, and the last is as nearly a literal translation as the differences between verse and prose allow. To estimate at its full value the closeness of the parallel, it is only necessary to compare with it the lines from Guido's *Historia Troiana*[5] and from Boccaccio's *Ameto*,[6] which are conveniently brought together by Tatlock.[7] It is of course possible that Guido may also have been in Chaucer's mind. The one passage would be very apt to recall the other. But the verbal correspondences with the *Filocolo* are too close to be readily accounted for as mere coincidence.

2. The second parallel is brief, but significant. After Arcite has offered his prayer to Mars in the temple,

> The statue of Mars bigan his hauberk ringe.
> And with that soun he herde *a murmuringe*
> *Ful lowe and dim*, that sayde thus, 'Victorie.'[8]

[1] A 1–4.
[2] *Filocolo*, II, 238.
[3] A 5–7.
[4] *Filocolo*, II, 239.
[5] Book IV (opening).
[6] Ed. Moutier, pp. 23–24.
[7] *Anglia*, XXXVII, 86–88.
[8] A 2431–33.

The *Teseide* has:

> Di Marte, le cui armi risonaro
> Tutte in sè mosse *con dolce romore.*[1]

The "murmuringe Ful lowe and dim" is felt at once to be a rather striking paraphrase of Boccaccio's "dolce romore." As a matter of fact it seems to be a reminiscence of another passage. It so happens that in the *Filocolo* Florio and Ascalione, like Arcita, visit the temple of Mars, from which they pass at once to the temple of Venus (*Filocolo*, I, 207–8). There, after Florio's sacrifice, "per tutto il tempio si sentì *un tacito mormorio.*" Arcita's visit to the temple of Mars in the *Teseide* has apparently recalled to Chaucer Florio's visit to the temple of Mars in the *Filocolo*, and for the "dolce romore" of the one he has substituted the noteworthy "tacito mormorio" of the other.

3. The confusion between Titan and Tithonus in *Troilus*, III, 1464–70[2] has been duly noticed, but its source has never been pointed out.[3] The same confusion, however, occurs again and again in the *Filocolo*, and once in a context that strikingly suggests Chaucer's.

The address to *day* in the *Troilus* (III, 1450 ff.), of which the lines just referred to form a part, is preceded by a corresponding address to *night:*

> *O night*, allas! why niltow over us hove,
> As longe as whanne Almena lay by Jove?
> O blake night . . . .
> . . . . ther god, makere of kinde,
> Thee, for thyn hast and thyn unkinde vyce,
> *So fast ay to our hemi-spere binde,*
> *That never-more under the ground thou winde!*[4]

[1] *Tes.*, VII, 40, 5–6.

[2] For the gloss in Harl. 2392, see *Oxford Chaucer*, II, lxxiii. Cf. Skeat's note, II, 482.

[3] Since this article was written, Professor Kittredge has discussed the passage briefly in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXVIII, 116, referring to Boccaccio's form *Titon* for Tithonus in *Tes.*, IV, 72, as a possible source of Chaucer's confusion, and comparing Ovid, *Amores* i. 13.

[4] *Troilus*, III, 1427–29, 1437–40.

In the *Filocolo*, the king, in his eagerness that day may come (thus reversing Criseyde's desire), also invokes the night:

> *O notte*, come sono le tue dimoranze più lunghe che essere non sogliono! Il sole è contro al suo corso ritornato, poichè egli si celò in Capricorno, allora che tu la maggior parte del tempo *del nostro emisperio* possiedi . . . . perocchè *quando tu ti partirai dal nostro emisperio* la farò ardere nelle cocenti fiamme.[1]

And here, as in the *Troilus*, the address to night is followed immediately by an invocation to the *sun*, which in like manner usurps the place of Tithonus:

> E tu, o dolcissimo *Apollo*, il quale desideroso suoli sì prestamente *tornare nelle braccia della rosseggiante aurora*, che fai? *Perchè dimori tanto?*

The prayers are again reversed, since it is an *aubade* that Chaucer is writing, but the remarkable similarity of the two passages needs no comment. And the specific confusion involved becomes explicit in Book IV:

> Le notturne tenebre dopo i loro spazii trapassano, e *Titano venuto nell' aurora* arreca nuovo giorno.[2]

Moreover, in the fourth *questione* itself we find: "avanti che *il sole s'apparecchiasse d'entrare nell'aurora.*"[3] The confusion of Titan and Tithonus, it is true, antedates Boccaccio. Servius comments on *Georg.*, III, 48 as follows: "et modo *Tithonum pro Sole posuit, id est pro Titane:* nam Tithonus frater Laomedontis fuit, quem proeliantem Aurora dilexit et rapuit."[4] It is, however, the occurrence of the same confusion *in a similar context* in the *Filocolo* and the *Troilus* that gives such significance as it possesses to the parallel.

4. The fourth parallel clears up an otherwise unsolved puzzle. Chaucer's authority for the statement in the *Legend of Ariadne* that Androgeus was slain at Athens "*lerning philosophye* . . . .

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 173.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 222.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 50. Compare: "Salito il sole nell'aurora" (II, 254).

[4] Ed. Thilo and Hagen, III, 279.

nat but *for envye*" has never, I believe, been traced.[1] The full passage is as follows:

> Minos, that was the mighty king of Crete,
> That hadde an hundred citees stronge and grete,
> *To scole hath sent his sone Androgeus,*
> *To Athenes;* of the whiche hit happed thus,
> That he was slayn, *lerning philosophye,*
> Right in that citee, *nat but for envye.*[2]

In his elucidation of *Aen.* vi. 14, Servius has the following:

> Sed Androgeus *cum esset athleta fortissimus et superaret in agonibus cunctos apud Athenas,* Atheniensibus et vicinis Megarensibus coniuratis occisus est.[3]

That hints at *envy,* but gives no indication of Androgeus' philosophic bent. The statement that Androgeus was slain "*for envye,*" resulting in this case also from his superiority in the games, is explicitly made by Boccaccio:

> Inter quos Androgeus praeclaræ indolis fuit. hic ab Atheniensibus et Megarensibus *invidia occisus est:* eo quo *caeteros in palestra superaret.*[4]

Boccaccio (in the *Genealogia Deorum*) and Servius, accordingly, agree upon Androgeus' athletic prowess, and the motive for his death as stated by Boccaccio is implied in Servius. But neither says a word about "lerning philosophye." The *Filocolo,* however, does.

In Book II the King, who is sending Florio away in order to separate him from Biancofiore, endeavors to convince him that no particular hardship attaches to his banishment. And he enforces his contention by examples:

> Già sappiamo noi che *Androgeo* giovane quasi della tua età, *solo figliuolo maschio di Minos re della copiosa isola di Creti, andò agli studi d'Atene,*

[1] See Bech, *Anglia,* V, 339–40; Macaulay, *Works of John Gower,* III, 503; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer,* III, 334. Neither Ovid (*Met.,* VII, 458; *Her.,* X, 99) nor Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 20) gives any clue. Hyginus (*Fab.,* XLI) says: "Androgeus *in pugna* est occisus." See *Conf. Amantis,* V, 5231–45 for Gower's account of his death.

[2] *Leg.,* 1894–99.

[3] Ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, 6. The same account appears in Lactantius' comment on *Achilleis,* 192 (ed. Jahnke, p. 495), and in Bode, *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum,* I, 16 (Mythogr. I, cap. 43), 116 (Mythogr. II, cap. 122). Cf. Servius ii. 9; iii[1]. 79; iii[2]. 123, 267.

[4] *Gen. Deor.,* XI, 26. Both Servius and Boccaccio seem to have been overlooked in this connection.

lasciando il padre pieno d'età forse più che io non sono, perchè in Creti non era studio sufficiente *al suo valoroso intendimento.* E Giasone, più disposto all'arm *che a'filosofici studi,* con nuova nave prima tentò i pericoli del mare. . . .[1]

Androgeus, therefore, went to Athens to "learn philosophy."[2] Chaucer and the *Filocolo,* accordingly, are in agreement, apparently, against all the other authorities.[3]

5. In the *Legend,* Chaucer is describing Dido:

> So yong, so lusty, with her eyen glade,
> That, *if that god,* that heven and erthe made,
> *Wolde han a love,* for beaute and goodnesse,
> And womanhod, and trouthe, and seemlinesse,
> Whom sholde he loven but this lady swete?
> *There nis no womman to him half so mete.*[4]

In the *Filocolo,* Florio is addressing Biancofiore:

Niuna virtù pare difetto, nè belli costumi fecero mai più gentilesca creatura nell'aspetto che i tuoi, senza fallo buoni fanno te. La chiarità del tuo viso passa la luce d'Apollo, nè la bellezza di Venere si può agguagliare alla tua. E la dolcezza della tua lingua farebbe maggiori cose che non fece la cetera del tratio poeta o del tebano Anfione. Per le quali cose l'eccelso imperador di Roma, gastigatore del mondo, ti terrebbe cara compagna, e

[1] *Filocolo,* I, 94.

[2] The context emphasizes the point. Compare Florio's reply: "caro padre, nè Androgeo nè Giasone non seguirono *l'uno lo studio* e l'altro l'arme, se non," etc. (I, 94). The King had previously made definite reference to study at Athens: ". . . . *i solleciti studi d'Atene*" (I, 90). And he returns to the idea of "lerning philosophye" a little later: ". . . . *lo studiare alle filosofiche scienze* reca altrui" (I, 96). Compare the last phrase of the sentence that immediately precedes the account (see above, p. 703) of how the *festa* began anew in the Neapolitan garden: ". . . . l'altre rimanghino *a'filosofanti in Atene*" (II, 119).

[3] Chaucer's statement (*Leg.,* 1895, above) that Minos "hadde *an hundred citees* stronge and grete" also comes into relation with the *Filocolo.* The hundred cities of Crete are mentioned, of course, in the *Aeneid,* and Chaucer may, without doubt, have had Virgil's lines in mind:

> Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto;
> Mons Idaeus ubi, et gentis cunabula nostrae.
> *Centum urbes habitant magnas,* uberrima regna (*Aen.* iii. 104–6).

But in the *Filocolo,* as in the *Legend,* the hundred cities are brought into immediate connection with *Minos:* "la quale [Pasife] il vittorioso marito, *re di cento città,* non sostenne d'aspettare" (*Filocolo,* I, 297). Over against the implications of its context, however, must be set Chaucer's possible recollection of the *Aeneid,* and this last parallel, though significant, is not conclusive.

[4] *Leg.,* 1038–43.

ancora più, ch'egli è mia opinione, *che se possibile fosse che Giunone morisse, niuna più degna compagna di te si troverebbe al sommo Giove.*[1]

The parallel is both general and specific.

There seems, then, to be significant evidence[2] that Chaucer knew and used the *Filocolo*, and this evidence is altogether independent of Professor Young's argument for his employment of the *Filocolo* in connection with the first night of Troilus and Criseyde. That argument, I am compelled to say in passing, has been dealt with in Dr. Cummings' recent dissertation[3] in a fashion that leaves much to be desired. Cummings has,[4] I think, broken the force of one of the "several minor circumstances of Chaucer's account that have definite parallels in *Filocolo*."[5] But it is significant of the inadequacy of Cummings' destructive criticism that he says not a word of the highly important supplementary evidence presented by Young on pp. 161–78 of his monograph. And these pages constitute practically one half of the chapter under review. No one reading Cummings' dissertation would have the slightest inkling of the fact that Young's argument was not confined to the "several minor circumstances" which are examined. Yet the parallels that are passed over in silence are even more conclusive than those which are discussed, and they offer, moreover, precisely the sort of evidence which Cummings, in the sentence quoted above,[6] demands. No destructive argument can carry great weight that leaves untouched one half of the evidence under scrutiny. And the oversight becomes a very grave one when Cummings sums up his argument in the words: "Professor Young has based too much on *two or three fortuitous parallels*."[7]

The evidence, then, that Chaucer used the *Filocolo* elsewhere in his works establishes a presumption in favor of its employment in

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 108. The same idea appears in Arcita's words to Emilia, as he addresses her from the lists, in the *Teseide:* "O bella donna, più degna di Giove Che d' uom terren, se moglie ei non avesse" (VII, 123, 1–2). But the parallel with Chaucer's lines is in no respect so close.

[2] See also p. 697, n. 3 above.

[3] Pp. 1–12.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[5] Young, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[6] P. 706.

[7] P. 11. Incidentally, Cummings seems to be unaware (since he gives no reference) that the parallel between the *Eve of St. Agnes* and the *Filocolo* which he draws on p. 11 was fully worked out by MacCracken in *Mod. Phil.*, V, 145–52.

the *Franklin's Tale*. That presumption is strengthened when we examine the evidence in the *Tale* itself.

IV

It is not my purpose to rehearse at length arguments already elaborated elsewhere. But the new evidence presented makes necessary a brief restatement of the case, so far as the parallels between the *Franklin's Tale* and Menadon's story are concerned.

And first, there is a fundamental point which has been overlooked by more than one investigator of the problem. The central feature of the *Franklin's Tale*—namely, "the lady's imposition of a seemingly impossible task as the price of her love in order to get rid of her unwelcome suitor"—"this, or the like of it, is found in no early version but Chaucer's and Boccaccio's."[1] It is possible that this, or the like of it, may have been found in a lost Breton lay, and Schofield[2] points out that "this theme, of establishing an apparently impossible condition as a barrier to a lover's success in winning a lady, ... is paralleled in at least two extant Breton lays." That, however, really proves no more than that Breton lays were not inherently averse to the use of a well-known motive from the stock-in-trade of mediaeval narrative, and although the particular hypothetical Breton lay in question might have included it, it might equally well have agreed with all the other extant versions of the story except Boccaccio's in omitting it. In other words, even granting in general the influence of a Breton lay, it still remains pure assumption that the impossible task was due to this influence. On the other hand, in view of the evidence for Chaucer's knowledge of the *Filocolo*, the agreement in this fundamental element of the story between Chaucer's and Boccaccio's versions as against the rest is weighty evidence.

In the second place, we have to reckon with the definite parallels in detail, as pointed out by Rajna,[3] between the *Franklin's Tale*

[1] Tatlock, *The Scene of the Franklin's Tale Visited*, p. 57; cf. especially *ibid.*, pp. 75–77, and Rajna, *Romania*, XXXII, 220–23. Schofield, as Tatlock points out (pp. 57, 65), slipped up in this matter. Cummings mentions it once, quite incidentally, in his comment (p. 192) on Rajna's "first parallel" (see below, p. 717).

[2] *PMLA*, XVI, 416–17.

[3] *Romania*, XXXII, 234–44, especially 240–44.

and the fourth *questione* in the *Filocolo*. And since these have just been subjected to examination by Cummings in the dissertation already referred to, it will be necessary to consider them in the light of that.

The *differences* on which Cummings lays stress[1] I shall consider later,[2] in another connection. There are, however, two points which demand comment here. The first has to do with the *garden*. "Momentarily," says Cummings,

> Momentarily Professor Rajna's case seems to be weak. And at a fatal moment he makes a desperate shift. It will be remembered that in the *F.T.* the final confession of Aurelius of his love to Dorigen takes place in a garden, whither her friends have enticed her to divert her attention from her grief and longing. To strengthen his case Professor Rajna feels that he must have a garden, and forthwith he applies a telescope to the text of the *Filocolo*, where he finds two passages which mention gardens, the first about thirty pages earlier and the second about fifty pages later than the passage in which the story we are studying occurs, and neither of them in any way connected with it. The purpose of those who seek refreshment in *these two gardens*[3] and their conduct in them are, he feels, similar to the purpose and conduct of Dorigen and her companions in the *F.T.* But that similarity does not obviate the fact that the gardens which he cites do not appear within the limits of the *Filocolo* version of the story.[4]

This rests on an utter misunderstanding both of Rajna's argument and of the *Filocolo* itself. The "two gardens" to which Cummings refers are not two at all, but *one and the same*[5]—namely, the garden which serves as the setting for the whole series of *questioni*. It is mentioned before the series (II, 27–32), and it is mentioned after it (II, 119),[6] but the only gemination it has undergone meantime is in Cummings' misapprehension of it. And the real second garden, which Cummings fails to mention at all,[7] *is* in the story. As for the objection that the Neapolitan garden belongs to the *setting* of the

[1] Pp. 188–91. I refer especially to the divergence in the tasks, in the wooing of the two lovers, and in the character of the two magicians.

[2] See below, pp. 723–24.

[3] Italics mine.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

[5] Cummings gives no references, either to Rajna's article or to the *Filocolo*. But he is obviously referring to *Filocolo*, II, 27–32 and 119, as discussed by Rajna on p. 237.

[6] The fountain part is also mentioned in the middle (II, 79–82).

[7] It is definitely included by Rajna. See references above, p. 702. I have there discussed Rajna's argument from the garden in the *Filocolo*.

questioni and therefore plays no direct part in the story of Tarolfo and Tebano itself, that is of little weight, in view of Chaucer's familiar methods of combining his materials. If he drew from the *Filocolo* at all, he would be apt to recall more than one part of it.

In the second place, Cummings remarks:

> One last weak point of comparison is cited by the Italian scholar, before he adduces his most valuable evidence. He observes that the Thessalian Tebano and Tarolfo appear in the vicinity of the lady's home "assai vicini del mese" (VIII, 53), i.e., rather close to the month January, while Aurelius and the magician return to Brittany in the "colde frosty seson of Decembre" (F 1244).[1]

Let us see how "weak" this is. I shall carry the comparison somewhat farther than even Rajna, who understates its importance, has done.

> *'But loketh now, for no necligence or slouthe,*
> *Ye tarie us heer no lenger than to-morwe.'* . . . .
> Upon the morwe, whan that it was day,
> To Britaigne *toke they the righte way,*
> *Aurelius, and this magicien bisyde,*
> *And been descended ther they wolde abyde;*
> *And this was,* as the bokes me remembre,
> *The colde frosty seson of Decembre.*[2]

'Amico, a me si fa tardi che quel che m'imprometti si fornisca, però senza indugio partiamo, e andianne là ove questo si dee fornire.' Tebano gittate via l'erbe, e presi suoi libri e altre cose al suo mestiero necessarie,[3] *con Tarolfo si mise in cammino, e in breve tempo pervennono alla desiderata città, assai vicini del mese del quale era stato dimandato il giardino.*[4]

The significance of the parallel extends beyond the verbal similarity. The magicians in the two tales are different; the tasks are different. Yet the stories agree in the striking circumstance that in each the magician is met with *away from the lover's home,* to which he must therefore repair—a circumstance, it is important to observe, which does not occur even in the version of the story in the *Decameron.* And the lines from the *Franklin's Tale* just quoted, with their

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 191. Rajna's discussion is on p. 239.

[2] F 1232–33, 1239–44.

[3] Cf. F 1273 ff.

[4] *Filocolo,* II, 53. Rajna's comparison includes only F 1232–33 and 1244. He omits the *journey.*

remarkable correspondences with the *Filocolo*, bear every mark of being a *retention* on Chaucer's part of a detail from a source which has in other respects undergone deliberate change. And Chaucer's "as the bokes me remembre," in its context, is significant. Instead of being "weak," the parallel, expanded as I have expanded it, is one of the most significant of all.

It is, however, when we come to Cummings' treatment[1] of what he calls Rajna's "most valuable parallels" that it is necessary to take issue once more with his *methods*. For he has followed, in his examination of Rajna's evidence, exactly the procedure which he adopted in discussing the argument of Young. He has given the impression that he is weighing all the evidence, when in fact he is omitting more than half of it. And in this instance the impression of completeness is conveyed in a peculiarly definite fashion. For Cummings considers Rajna's group of specific parallels[2] *in numerical order*, from the first to the ninth.[3] But the numbers are utterly misleading. Between the parallels which Cummings designates as the third and fourth are *two* in Rajna which he omits; between the so-called fourth and fifth and sixth and seventh, *one* of Rajna's in each case is omitted; between the "seventh" and "eighth," *three* are omitted; between the "eighth" and "ninth," *five*.[4] Out of a total of twenty-one parallels in Rajna, that is (fifteen of which are with the *Filocolo*),[5] Cummings has passed over *twelve*, of which seven are with the *Filocolo*. What he refers to as "Professor Rajna['s] . . . . *ninth* parallel"[6] is really his *twenty-first*. The omitted parallels may be insignificant from Cummings' point of view. In reality some of them are of the very first importance. But whatever their value or lack of it, the use of the numerals misrepresents the evidence, unless the series is complete. Finally, Cummings omits altogether the list of "certe convenienze minute" (some of them very significant) which Rajna gives on p. 237, n. 4.

[1] Pp. 191–94.

[2] *Romania*, XXXII, 240–44.

[3] Cummings, *op. cit.*, pp. 191–94.

[4] These last five are from the *Decameron*, but so is the "ninth," which Cummings gives.

[5] Rajna's seventh (the second on p. 241) is really with the *Filocolo*, although Rajna erroneously refers to *Dianora*, instead of to Tarolfo's unnamed lady. See below, p. 721.

[6] P. 194.

Cummings' attempt is to show that Rajna's parallels are vitiated as evidence by the fact these same parallels occur between the *Franklin's Tale* and the Oriental analogues. And in principle his contention is sound. Four of Rajna's correspondences—the second, fourth, seventh, and eighth, as Cummings gives them[1]—*are* weakened as evidence by the fact that they also appear in the Oriental versions. With reference to the others, however, Cummings fails to make his case.

1. In the first,[2] Aurelius goes to seek Dorigen in "the temple," Tarolfo, to find his lady at *una grandissima solennità*. Cummings grants that no analogue for this appears in any one of the Oriental versions he is using, "but," he continues, "that this should be the fact is only natural, *since in none of them is a miracle performed*, and accordingly there can be no attendant surprise."[3] But this argument *against* the validity of the parallel is the strongest possible argument *for* it! And Chaucer's otherwise entirely unmotivated reference to "the temple" is at once explained by Boccaccio's *solennità*. The resemblance by no means "simmers down to the similarity between the words *commanded* and *comandaste*, *astonied* and *maravigliò*."

2. Rajna's third parallel[4] Cummings regards as "too brief." Brevity, of course, has nothing to do with the case; "the poynt of remembraunce" is enough, in four words, to betray the influence of Dante. It is the *significance* of the parallel alone that counts. And on this point Cummings is clearly wrong. "The delay of Dorigen," he asserts, "in the fulfilment of her promise, necessitated by the absence of Arveragus, is virtually paralleled in every instance in the other analogues by the lady's refusal to keep her vow before she has informed her husband or her lover of it." "Vow" here can only refer to the lady's promise to her first suitor. The pertinent passages are in *Originals and Analogues*, pp. 293, 299–300, 311, 316, 318–19, 320–21, 323, and 327. In none of these does the lady

[1] They are really Rajna's second, sixth, eleventh, and fifteenth. To a less degree Cummings' contention holds of the "fifth" set (Rajna's eighth).

[2] Cummings, pp. 191–92; Rajna, pp. 239–40.

[3] P. 192. Italics mine.

[4] Cummings, p. 192; Rajna, p. 240. It is: "For *out of towne* was goon Arveragus"; "che 'l signore mio vada a caccia, o in altra parte *fuori della città*."

refuse "to keep her vow before she has informed her husband or her lover of it." What she does refuse is to consummate the marriage until she has fulfilled (or offered to fulfil) her vow. The delay arises because the very terms of the vow do not require its fulfilment until the lady's marriage night. Dorigen's delay in the fulfilment of *her* promise, therefore, is "virtually paralleled" by none of the analogues. And Cummings' statement that "the postponement, not the [husband's] absence is the real parallel, and that postponement is the common attitude," is wide of the mark. Even were his reading of the facts correct, it would still remain true that in the particular *ground* for the postponement (the husband's absence, "out of towne," *fuori della città*) the *Franklin's Tale* and the *Filocolo* are in agreement against all the other versions.[1]

3. In the fifth parallel (Rajna's eighth)[2] Cummings quotes less than half of the passage which Rajna adduces. If he had carried the portion which he omits a few words farther, he might have seen that the parallel is much more significant than even Rajna indicates.

> *Aurelius gan wondren on this cas,*
> *And in his herte* had greet compassioun
> Of hir and of hir lamentacioun,
> *And of Arveragus, the worthy knight,*
> *That bad hir holden al that she had hight.*[3]

. . . . la qual cosa udendo Tarolfo, più che in prima *si cominciò a maravigliare e a pensar forte, e a conoscere cominciò la gran liberalità del marito di lei che mandata l'avea a lui.*[4]

Moreover, Cummings' statement that "the wonder of Aurelius, when Dorigen comes to him with her husband's message, *is repeated a number of times*" in the analogues is not correct. The single parallel which he gives ("brief" to the extent of one word!) is the only one which occurs.

4. In the sixth set (Rajna's ninth)[5] Cummings pays no attention to the fact that the lines immediately follow, in each version, those

[1] See Hart's interesting remarks on this particular line (1351) of the *F.T.* in *Haverford Essays*, p. 206, n. 33.

[2] Cummings, p. 193; Rajna, p. 241 ("Aurelius gan wondren on this cas," etc.).

[3] F 1514–18.

[4] *Filocolo*, II, 59.

[5] Cummings, p. 193; Rajna, p. 241.

just quoted, so that they really constitute, with them, one consecutive passage. And here, as there, the agreement is in part *verbal.*

> Than doon so heigh *a cherlish wrecchednesse*
> *Agayns franchyse and alle gentillesse.*[1]

. . . . e fra sè cominciò a dire, che degno di grandissima riprensione sarebbe *chi a così liberale uomo pensasse villania.*[2]

5. The ninth parallel which Cummings quotes[3] is between the *Franklin's Tale* and the *Decameron.* The version in the *Filocolo* is much closer to the *Franklin's Tale* than the version in the *Decameron,* which diverges in one or two important points from both; there is no valid evidence that Chaucer knew the *Decameron* at all; and the discussion of one parallel without the other five is meaningless.

What of the parallels that Cummings passes over? It so happens that three of them are among the most significant of all. For they belong to that part of the story *which does not appear in any of the analogues.* They are the first three on page 242 of Rajna's article. Of these three the first and third have to do with the bargain on the one hand between Aurelius and the Clerk of Orleans, on the other, between Tarolfo and Tebano. No such bargain exists in the analogues, because the enchanter (or clerk) enters into no version of the story except Chaucer's and Boccaccio's. The second of the three is also concerned with the wonder-worker, and so falls under the same category. And the two passages this time compared agree in setting the clerk (or enchanter) over against the *knight,* and in their emphasis on *gentilesse:*

> Everich of yow dide *gentilly* til other.
> Thou art a squyer, and he is *a knight;*
> But *god forbede,* for his blisful might,
> But-if a clerk coude doon *a gentil dede*
> As wel as any of yow, it is no drede![4]

Unque *agl'iddii non piaccia,* che là dove *il cavaliere* ti fu della sua donna liberale, *e tu a lui non fosti villano, io sia meno che cortese.*[5]

[1] F 1523–24. [2] *Filocolo,* II, 59.
[3] Cummings, p. 194; Rajna, p. 244.
[4] F 1608–12. [5] *Filocolo,* II, 60.

And this emphasis on *gentilesse* (which also appears in the parallel quoted under 4 above) is peculiar to these two versions of the story.[1] To none of these passages, accordingly, can Dr. Cummings' contention possibly apply—and he has omitted them every one.

Rajna's parallels, then, remain, with three or four exceptions, valid. If they stood alone, they might not, perhaps, be in and for themselves conclusive. They suffer, even as Rajna gives them, in being torn from their context. It is when one reads consecutively the closing portions of the two narratives, in conjunction with each other, and with the analogues in mind, that one is most strongly impressed by the fundamental likeness of the two, and by their radical divergence from the others. And taken together with the rest of the evidence they offer testimony of the first importance.

There are, moreover, a few parallels which Rajna has not included, and which add to the cumulative value of the evidence.

i) In the *Franklin's Tale*, Arveragus returns, finds Dorigen weeping,

> And asked hir, why that she weep so sore?[2]

In the analogues, with one exception, it is the *lady* who broaches the subject (of course under totally different conditions) to her husband.[3] In the *Filocolo*, however, the lady returns to her chamber,

> piena di noiosa malinconia; e pensando in qual maniera tornar potesse addietro ciò che promesso avea, e non trovando lecita scusa, più in dolor cresceva: *la qual cosa vedendo il marito si cominciò molto a maravigliare, e a domandarla che cosa ella avesse.*[4]

ii) In the *Franklin's Tale* Dorigen exclaims:

> For which, t'escape, woot I no socour
> Save only *deeth* or elles *dishonour*.[5]

[1] It does not even appear in the *Decameron*, where it is *liberalità* alone which is mentioned.

[2] F 1461.

[3] See *Originals and Analogues*, pp. 311, 316, 320, 323. There is no indication given regarding this point on pp. 313, 318. On p. 300 the husband asks a question, but it is after the wife has begged leave to carry out a promise. In the Indian version (p. 293) the lady weeps, but here her husband guesses the cause. In the *Gaelic* version (p. 327) the bridegroom comes, finds the bride weeping, and does ask her, "What ails thee?"

[4] *Filocolo*, II, 58.

[5] F 1357–58.

And she spends the time of her husband's absence "pleyning," and "purposinge ever that she wolde deye."[1] The ladies of the Oriental analogues, being for the most part of a markedly facile and accommodating disposition, have no thought of self-destruction.[2] In Menadon's tale, however, the lady, weeping, replies to her husband's injunction that she keep her vow:

> in niuna maniera io farò questo: *avanti m'ucciderei* che io facessi cosa che *disonore* e dispiacere vi fosse.[3]

iii) Finally, there is a striking parallel between the *Filocolo* and an earlier passage in the *Franklin's Tale*, which has hitherto escaped notice. Aurelius' prayer to Apollo begins, as we have seen, in the words of the *Teseide*. But it passes at once into a request that Apollo pray his sister Lucina for aid:

> *Your blisful suster*, Lucina the shene . . . .
> Wherefore, lord Phebus, this is my requeste . . . .
> *As preyeth hir* so great a flood to bringe . . . .
> Lord Phebus, dooth this miracle for me;
> *Preye hir* she go no faster cours than ye;
> I seye, *preyeth your suster* that she go
> No faster cours than ye thise yeres two . . . .
> *Prey hir* to sinken every rok adoun, etc.[4]

That aid, of course, looks toward the removal of the rocks, and so has no immediate parallel in the *Filocolo*. The point I wish to emphasize is not so much Chaucer's insistence on the relationship between Phoebus and Lucina,[5] as it is *the prayer to the one that he in turn invoke the aid of the other for the suppliant*. It need not be pointed out that this is no mere commonplace.

Now there also occurs in the *Filocolo*, as in the *Franklin's Tale*, a prayer to the one to pray to the other for aid to the suppliant.

[1] F 1457–58.

[2] The only exception is in the Persian version (*O. and A.*, p. 308), and there the lady's scruples are outweighed by other considerations.

[3] *Filocolo*, II, 59. Rajna (p. 241), by a curious slip, ascribes these words to *Dianora*. But they do not occur in the *Decameron* at all. There "la donna, udendo il marito, piagneva, e negava se cotal gratia voler da lui" (X, 5).

[4] F 1045, 1055, 1059, 1065–68, 1073.

[5] That relationship, however, appears again and again in the *Filocolo* with the same explicitness as in the *Franklin's Tale*. See I, 150–51, 314; II, 263. Cf. *Troilus*, IV, 1591: "*Phebus suster, Lucina* the shene." This is not in the *Filostrato*.

Florio is invoking *la figlia di Latona* for assistance in his efforts to win his lady:

> *Pregoti* per le oscure potenze de' tuoi regni,[1] ne' quali mezzi tempi dimori, che tu domani dopo la mia vittoria *preghi il tuo fratello, che col suo luminoso e fervente raggio mi renda alle abbandonate case*, onde ora col tuo freddo mi togli.[2]

It is the sister, this time, who is invoked to request her brother's aid in Florio's behalf. In the essential point, the parallel holds. And the conception is no less striking than it is unusual. Aurelius' prayer, accordingly, seems to owe this particular turn of thought to the *Filocolo*, as it undoubtedly borrows its beginning from the *Teseide*.

There should be added to the list the important parallel pointed out independently by Hinckley[3] and Young:[4]

> By proces, as ye knowen everichoon,
> Men may so longe graven in a stoon,
> Til some figure ther-inne emprented be.[5]

> Ma già per tutto questo Tarolfo non si rimaneva, seguendo d'Ovidio gli ammaestramenti, il quale dice: l' uomo non lasciare per durezza della donna di non perseverare, perocchè per continuanza la molle acqua fora la dura pietra.[6]

The cumulative effect, then, of the parallels between the *Franklin's Tale* and the *Filocolo* is greater than has hitherto been recognized—thanks, in part, to Dr. Cummings' attempt to break its force. Taken in conjunction with the independent evidence of Chaucer's knowledge of the *Filocolo*, it would be conclusive, were it not for two opposing considerations. These are the marked divergences between the two versions, and Chaucer's own explicit statement of his source. What is their bearing on the problem?

[1] Cf., in Aurelius' prayer: "*Prey hir* to sinken every rok adoun *In-to hir owene derke regioun*" (F 1073–74).

[2] *Filocolo*, I, 166.

[3] *Notes on Chaucer*, p. 243, note on F 831.

[4] *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*, p. 181, n. 1.

[5] F 829–31.

[6] *Filocolo*, II, 49.

V

I hold no brief for the view that Chaucer's source is Menadon's tale *alone*, and what I have now to say is not an argument *de parti pris*. But it must, I think, be recognized that the differences between the *Franklin's Tale* and the *Filocolo*, salient as they are, have been given undue weight, in view of Chaucer's known freedom elsewhere in dealing with his materials. It is not my purpose to discuss the divergences in detail. I wish merely to point out their general relation to what we know Chaucer to have done in other instances.

The chief divergences (which carry with them minor differences as a consequence) are: the emphasis on the motive of "love and maistrie"; the radical change in the setting, and in the names of the characters; the new conception of both Aurelius and Dorigen; the fundamental dissimilarity in the nature of the tasks and in the character of the magicians who perform them; and Dorigen's complaint. That constitutes, at first sight, a formidable list. But, assuming it for the moment to represent a conscious reworking of the story in the *Filocolo*, is it in any respect so remarkable as the array of changes which we know Chaucer to have made, when it was the *Filostrato* that he had before him? The metamorphosis of Tarolfo and his lady is no more radical, and incomparably less subtle, than the transformation of Griseida and Pandaro. And both Aurelius and Dorigen exemplify, on a smaller scale and with infinitely less complexity, the same lifting of the characterization to a higher plane that finds embodiment, as a masterpiece of consummate art, in the persons of Troilus and Criseyde. Moreover, the substitution of the one task for the other, so that Dorigen's inachievable condition is given its ironical motivation in her very solicitude for Aurelius' safe return—this (still assuming that it *is* a substitution) is far less striking than the long series of changed and added incidents which leads up to and absolutely transforms Boccaccio's motivation of Griseida's ultimate surrender. And the further substitution of the Clerk of Orleans for the highly Ovidian Tebano is in keeping with innumerable changes in the interest of greater realism in the *Troilus*. Nor need we confine ourselves to the *Troilus*. The *Knight's Tale* affords almost equally significant evidence of the magnificently free hand with which Chaucer dealt with his Italian materials. And I can do no better

than refer to Dr. Cummings' own summary of the differences between the *Knight's Tale* and the *Teseide*[1] for a statement of the case. The resetting of the story is paralleled again and again.[2] The change of names does not stand by itself.[3] In a word, if Chaucer did read the story in the *Filocolo*, the last thing on earth which we should expect to find would be a bodily transference of it to his pages. Boccaccio's "priceless service" was always that "of stirring him to emulation."[4] What we *should* expect is that he would deal with the tale in the *Filocolo* as he dealt with the *Filostrato* and the *Teseide*. And that in turn implies that he would remould it nearer to a conception of his own.

For we are apt to forget, in our preoccupation with the materials that Chaucer used, that he was, especially at the period when he was treating his Italian sources, a very great creative artist in his imaginative handling of these same materials. And in general, except when he is actually translating (as, for example, in the *Second Nun's Tale*, *Melibeus*, and, to a less degree, in the *Man of Law's Tale* and the *Clerk's Tale*), Chaucer deals both independently and enrichingly with the stuff that came to his hand. He adds, omits, substitutes one motivation for another, modifies or completely transforms a character, and interweaves new strands from other fabrics. He follows, in a word, the procedure of all the great imaginative writers. Allowing for the differences between the drama and pure narrative, he does precisely what Shakspere does in such plays as *King Lear* or *As You Like It*. He reconceives his story, and shapes it in accordance with his new and individual conception. In the case of the *Troilus*, the *Knight's Tale*, the *Merchant's Tale*, the *Pardoner's Tale*, and even the *Book of the Duchess*, the evidence for this creative process is unmistakable. And with no less certainty it holds true of the *Franklin's Tale*, whether his source be a Breton lay or the *Filocolo*. For Aurelius is modeled upon neither; he is Arcita. And the chief value, once more, of the recognition of the borrowing from the *Teseide* is the fact that it shows beyond peradventure that Chaucer is dealing

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 134–46.

[2] See Tatlock, *The Scene of the Franklin Tale Visited*, p. 70, n. 1; Kittredge, "Chaucer's Lollius," p. 57.

[3] Compare "Philostrate" for "Penteo" in the *Knight's Tale*.

[4] Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry*, p. 26.

freely with whatever version of the story he has before him. The discrepancies between the *Franklin's Tale* and the *Filocolo* count for nothing as evidence against Chaucer's use of Menadon's tale. Whatever the source of the story, the outstanding fact is that Chaucer's imagination was caught by its possibilities and proceeded to develop them in its own way.[1]

This does not, in itself, prove that Chaucer's source was the *Filocolo*. It does, I think, break down any argument against that source which rests upon the divergences between the Franklin's and Menadon's narratives.

VI

Let us look, now, squarely at the problem of the Breton lay. Chaucer's statement is explicit:

> Thise olde gentil Britons in hir dayes
> Of diverse aventures maden layes,
> Rymeyed in hir firste Briton tonge;
> Which layes with hir instruments they songe,
> Or elles redden hem for hir plesaunce;
> *And oon of hem have I in remembraunce,*
> *Which I shal seyn with good wil as I can.*[2]

That demands at least respectful consideration! And such consideration has been accorded it. Professor Schofield, in a brilliant and often quoted article,[3] has done all that mortal man can do to buttress Chaucer's statement with corroboratory evidence. And he has established certain points of fundamental importance to any complete solution of the problem. The view that the names (especially Aurelius and Arveragus) are drawn from Geoffrey, or from Geoffrey's source,[4] must stand until these same names are found in

[1] All this was recognized, in essence, by Professor Kittredge thirty years ago. See *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, VII, 179–80: "It is not impossible that Chaucer simply took the story from Boccaccio, changed the setting, and referred the adventure to 'Armorik, that called is Britayne.' *For Chaucer handled his material with conscious literary art. . . . .*" The italics are mine. Professor Kittredge also recognized the possibility that 'the story . . . . may have reached Chaucer through a lay of Brittany.'"

[2] F 709–15.

[3] *PMLA*, XVI, 405–49.

[4] *PMLA*, XVI, 409–16. Schofield's discussion of the name Dorigen should be supplemented by Tatlock's fourth chapter in his *Scene of the F.T. Visited*, pp. 37–41. The story, however, which Schofield reconstructs about these names, on the basis of certain hints in Geoffrey, must remain, in spite of its rare plausibility, hypothetical.

actual connection with some other verison of the tale. That the suggestion for the particular change in the case of the task came also from Geoffrey,[1] we may hold as a working hypothesis of undoubted value. And Schofield has also shown, by a wealth of examples, that none of the major elements in the story is repugnant to the essential character of the Breton lay. Beyond that, without the lay itself, it is impossible to go. But Schofield does not discuss the *Filocolo* at all,[2] and all the evidence, new and old, brought forward in the present article has been published since his consideration of the problem. That consideration must, accordingly, be supplemented and corrected by the new evidence.

There are, in the light of that evidence, four alternatives open in the premises. The first is Schofield's: namely, that a Breton lay and a Breton lay alone is the source of the tale. That, I believe, the later evidence has rendered extremely doubtful. The second is Rajna's, which throws the Breton lay wholly out of court; assumes Boccaccio (either through the *Filocolo*, or the *Decameron*, or both) as the only source; and explains the reference to the Breton lay (since Chaucer never names Boccaccio) as a literary subterfuge.[3] That is a possible, though perhaps, on the whole, too drastic a solution. The third alternative is that recognized by Young: "while I believe that Chaucer used an independent lay, I think he may also have been influenced by the similar tale in *Filocolo*—an influence for which Professor Schofield makes no explicit allowance."[4] And at least there is nothing in Chaucer's usage elsewhere that need raise the slightest question, a priori, of such a possibility. The fourth is Tatlock's: "Why should he [Chaucer] not have been thoroughly charmed with the lay-type . . . . and with his very evident desire to vary the *Canterbury Tales* as much as possible, have fashioned one in its likeness?"[5] And Tatlock argues with great acumen for his tempting hypothesis, which includes the utilization of material from the *Filocolo*. In other words, we are at liberty to assume (1) that

[1] Schofield, p. 418; Tatlock, p. 67.

[2] His only reference to it is in a footnote on p. 435, and he considers the version in the *Decameron* only in its possible relation to the Breton lay.

[3] *Romania*, XXXII, 261–67; cf. Tatlock, p. 60.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 181, n. 1.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 62; cf. pp. 74–75.

Chaucer means precisely what he says, no more, no less; (2) that he is employing a literary artifice in order to conceal his real original, which is Boccaccio alone; (3) that he is combining an actual Breton lay with the *Filocolo;* or (4) that he is imitating the *type* of the Breton lay, while drawing the story itself from Menadon's tale.

The fundamental difficulty about the Breton lay is, of course, the fact that we have only Chaucer's word for it. And at least where Boccaccio is concerned Chaucer's word is always to be taken *cum grano.*[1] Rajna's view *may* be correct. It is, however, entirely unnecessary to go to such extremes. Either Young's or Tatlock's theory reconciles the sharply opposing views of Rajna and Schofield, without doing violence to anything we know of Chaucer's methods of procedure. Here, on the one hand, is Chaucer's statement; there, on the other, are the weighty facts which point to the *Filocolo.* And the two are not mutually exclusive. If that fundamental fact is once recognized, the atmosphere is appreciably cleared.

For my own part, I do not believe that it is necessary to postulate an actual Breton lay containing just this story, although I grant that as a possibility. But if the missing Breton lay should ever be found, I suspect that it would turn out to be little, if any, nearer than the *Filocolo* to the *Franklin's Tale.* As the matter stands, there is positive evidence that when Chaucer wrote the story, he had at least the *Teseide* definitely in mind. There is very strong evidence that he also knew the *Filocolo.* And the *Filocolo* contains the story in a form which, in spite of marked but wholly explicable differences, is closer to Chaucer's narrative at certain fundamental points and in certain minutiae of detail than any other version that is known. Were it not for Chaucer's own statement and the differences referred to, no one, I think, would hesitate to accept the fourth *questione d'amore* as a source. The divergences, however, are in entire accord with the practice of Chaucer's matured art. The initial statement is open to interpretation as referring simply to a Breton setting (and, if one will, a Breton *tone*) imposed upon an Italian story, or it may suggest the actual interweaving of a Breton with an Italian source,[2]

[1] See especially Rajna, pp. 261–66; Tatlock, p. 60.

[2] In any case, the presence of the borrowings from the *Teseide* proves that combining of *some* sort was going on.

or it may be literary artifice pure and simple.[1] We may accept the influence of the *Filocolo*, accordingly, without in the slightest degree impugning Chaucer's veracity. That particular question simply does not enter in. And we may await without solicitude new light upon the Breton lay.[2]

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[1] Since this paper was written, Professor Kittredge has been kind enough to send me the proofs of his article on "Chaucer's Lollius," now printed in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXVIII, 47–133. Mr. Kittredge's discussion as a whole—especially the racy and illuminating remarks on pp. 55–58—makes it unnecessary to argue further here the point of a possible literary artifice in the case of the *Franklin's Tale*.

[2] It is possible that the facts which I have presented may ultimately throw some light on the date of the *Franklin's Tale*. But the evidence is open to a decided difference of interpretation, and I do not care to confuse the major issue by a discussion of it here.

THE MAK STORY

In a recent issue of *Modern Philology*[1] Professor Cook calls attention to a second analogue to the story of Mak the sheep stealer in the *Towneley Plays*. Parallels to this well-known incident are strangely infrequent. Until the publication of Professor Cook's article the story was known in only one other connection: as an episode in the career of the notorious Jacobean jester, Archie Armstrong. In 1897 Kölbing[2] pointed out for the first time that *Archie Armstrang's Aith*, a ballad first published in the third edition of Scott's *Minstrelsy*, 1806, was a variant of the Mak story. Professor Cook notes that another version of this incident occurs in the preface to *Archie Armstrong's Banquet of Jests*.[3] The new analogue, however, which it is the purpose of his article to record, is found in William Hutchinson's *History of the County of Cumberland*, 1794, and purports to be an authentic anecdote of one Thomas Armstrong who supposedly lived in the eighteenth century. Up to the present time these are the only analogues that have been published; and, unfortunately for the Mak episode, both are late (end of the eighteenth century) and of such a nature as to obscure somewhat the popular character of the story. It is the purpose of the present paper (1) to record certain earlier occurrences of the motive and (2) to show that the incident is unmistakably of popular origin.

The central point in the Mak story is the device which the rogue employs to escape detection by the searching-party. This consists essentially of two parts. First, he puts the sheep to bed (in a cradle) and passes it off as a human being; and secondly, in order to rid himself of the searchers, he tells them his wife is ill. With differences that are of detail only, not of motive, these essential features of the story are present in a collection of Italian stories contemporary with

[1] Vol. XIV, p. 11.

[2] *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, N.F., XI, 137. The article is reprinted in English in the Early English Text Society's edition of the *Towneley Plays*, Extra Series, LXXI, pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

[3] Cambridge, 1872.

the *Towneley Plays*, *Le Porretane* of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti.[1] *Le Porretane* was first published in 1483, and the analogue which the forty-second *novella* offers to the Mak story is thus the earliest that has as yet been found. The story briefly is as follows:

In the neighborhood of the Studio of Siena dwells a certain physician who in his own conceit is wiser than Avicenna or Galen. One day when the Studio is closed on account of the death of a student from the plague, four merry associates decide to have a good time at the doctor's expense. Since it is the salting season, Maestro Nicolao, the physician, has just bought a pig and has hung it up on a beam in his house preparatory to the salting process. During the night the students obtain entrance to the doctor's house and carry the pig off. The next morning the physician upon discovering his loss suspects the students because of other pranks which they have played, and goes straightway to the magistrate to make complaint. The magistrate orders the students "about three times" (*circa tre volte*) to return the pig, but they deny having any knowledge of it. Thereupon he orders their house searched.

Alarmed at this turn which the affair has taken, the students are in a quandary until one of their number, "misser Antonio da Cità de Castella, clerico canonista," called "the priest" by his companions, "come uomo facetissimo, ingenioso e molto activo ad ogni impresa," comes to the rescue with a suggestion. A room which communicates with the hall is to be fixed up as a sick-room with bottles and suitable accessories, and the pig is to be put in bed there in place of the sick man.[2] If anyone comes to search the apartment, the students in the hall are to affect violent grief and say that one of their fellow-students is dying of the plague in the next room.[3]

When things are prepared an officer appears and the students act their parts well. When the officer looks in the door of the sick-room, he sees Antonio dressed as a monk with a lighted candle in his hand, making the sign of the cross over the pig. He rushes in terror from the infected house and, returning to the magistrate, acquaints him with what he has seen. The magistrate, in turn becoming excited, drives the officer from his presence and forbids him to come near, as he values his life.

At this stage Antonio feels that the joke has been carried far enough; so he goes to the magistrate and gives a full account of the matter. The

[1] Sabadino degli Arienti, *Le Porretane*, a cura di Giovanni Gambarini (Bari, 1914 [Scrittori d'Italia, No. 66]). For a bibliographical note, etc., see pp. 441–43. On Sabadino, cf. Siegfried von Arx, "Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti und seine Porrettane," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXVI (1909), 671–824; and Erhard Lommatzsch, *Ein italienisches Novellenbuch des Quattrocento: Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti's Porrettane* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1913).

[2] E nui poneremo in camera nel lecto el porco in luoco de l' infermo. . . . .

[3] In the jests of Arlotto the Priest (No. CXLII) pretended illness of the plague is used as the motive for escape by a smuggler. Cf. A. Wesselski, *Die Schwänke und Schnurren des Pfarrers Arlotto* (Berlin, 1910, 2 vols.), II, 136–37.

magistrate is so amused that he insists upon Antonio's repeating the story to the Signori. These gentlemen are equally diverted by it. When they order the students to return the pig, Antonio pleads with them not to force the restitution and gains his point; whereupon the students feast on the pig at the doctor's expense.

The similarity of this story to the Mak episode is so apparent as to need little comment. The pig is concealed in a bed, and the setting for the incident is appropriate. The violent grief which the students affect is to be compared with the groans of Mak's wife. In other details like similarities could be noted.[1]

An analogue such as this can have no literary connection with the Mak story in the Towneley cycle; and there is just as little reason for believing that a connection exists between the *Second Shepherds' Play* and the analogues noted by Kölbing and Cook. The latter are separated from the *Towneley Plays* by an interval of several centuries. The ballad of *Archie Armstrang's Aith* was written by the Rev. John Marriott, who was not born till 1780, and, as Kölbing says, it was "scarcely composed long before 1802, in which year the 'Minstrelsy' made its first appearance in the literary world."[2] The version in Hutchinson's *History of the County of Cumberland* was first published in 1794. Between the latter and the *Second Shepherds' Play* no connection has been suggested. In the case of the former, although Kölbing adduced four passages in which there is a certain similarity either of incident or of treatment between the Towneley version and Marriott's poem, he did not maintain any borrowing on the part of Marriott. Nor would such an assumption be justified. The similarities are such as might very naturally occur independently in two versions of the story. In fact they are just such similarities as are everywhere in the popular ballads and in folk literature in general. Moreover, the differences between the two versions ought not to be

[1] The motive of palming off a stolen object as a human being in order to escape detection or to disarm suspicion is also found in another *novella* of the same collection, the forty-fourth. Here, although the similarity to the Mak story is somewhat hidden by external differences, the analogous character of the motive is still perceptible. Occasion may also be taken here to note an Irish folk-tale in which a cradle is used for a somewhat similar purpose to that in the *Second Shepherds' Play*. The story is of Fin M'Cool, whose wife conceals him from Cuchullin by putting him in a cradle and passing him off as Fin's infant son. Cf. *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*, ed. W. B. Yeats (London, n.d. [Camelot Series]), p. 266.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

lost sight of. As Hemingway[1] points out, the fact that Marriott's ballad omits the "best part of the story, the return of the shepherds after we think the suspense is over," should tend to show that the later narrator was not plagiarizing the earlier. On the whole it does not seem possible to attach any importance to Pollard's note "that the *Secunda Pastorum* was printed in the *Collection of English Miracle Plays* published at Basel in 1838 by a Dr. William Marriott, who may possibly have been a relation of the Rev. John Marriott of Professor Kölbing's Ballad."[2] The circumstance which Professor Child mentions,[3] that this edition of the *Second Shepherds' Play* was not published for thirty-six years after the ballad was probably written (thirty-two years after it was actually in print), deprives the suggestion of most of its significance. Opinion today is practically unanimous against the notion that Marriott was in any way plagiarizing the Towneley story and consequently against the assumption that there is any literary connection between the two versions.

Moreover, at the end of his paper Professor Kölbing says: "Whether the happy or unhappy end of the story is to be considered as the original one, is a question which, in the want of other materials, we shall perhaps never be able to solve with any certainty." It is worth noting that in the Italian parallels, as in Marriott's ballad, the theft is successful. This would seem to be the original form. The change made in the *Second Shepherds' Play* is no doubt to be explained by the circumstance that a religious play could not well hold up an ideal of wickedness, however clever, that should escape successful and unpunished. If this be true, the fact that Marriott's poem represents a version of the story more original than that in the *Towneley Plays* is additional evidence that Marriott was not plagiarizing from these plays.

The point is of some consequence only because the version of the story printed by Professor Cook makes a pretense to being authentic history, and for this reason he thinks the "problem presented by Marriott's ballad becomes rather more than less perplexing in the

[1] "English Nativity Plays," *Yale Studies in English*, XXXVIII (New York, 1909), p. 286.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

[3] *The Second Shepherds' Play . . . . and Other Early Plays* (Boston, 1910 [Riverside Literature Series, No. 191]), p. 28.

light of this account." If the incident were authentic, it is true that we should have a rather odd coincidence to account for; but if it is not authentic—is but a popular tale that has become attached to a person of local notoriety—it aids in explaining, rather than complicates, the problem of Marriott's poem. Since the story is found independently in several other places in popular literature, we should well hesitate to attach too much significance to the circumstance that Boucher apparently credited the anecdotes he was recording. This he may have done in entire good faith. But the version of the story which he records is not alone in laying claim to historical foundation. The story of Archie Armstrong also purports to reproduce an actual incident;[1] and the analogue from Sabadino degli Arienti which is given above is attached in the same way to particular persons and treated as an actual fact.[2] Since all versions of the story except that in the *Towneley Plays* lay similar claim to historical validity, we must credit all or none, for they are all of equal authority. Certainly it is easier to believe that in the claim to authenticity we have but a conventional characteristic of the popular tale than that an incident of this sort should have occurred independently in a number of different places as widely separated as mediaeval England and Italy.

If then, as we believe, the incident can lay claim to no historical foundation, we are forced to conclude that it belongs to the province of folklore. And ever since Marriott, in the note appended to his version, asserted that "the exploit detailed in this ballad has been preserved, with many others of the same kind, by tradition, and is at this time current in Eskdale," opinion has been gradually crystallizing toward the acceptance of a folklore origin for the story. Kölbing believed that "this funny tale was preserved by oral traditions, possibly in a metrical form."[3] Hemingway was of the opinion that "this is an old legend which was used by the author of the *Towneley Plays* in the 14th century, which survived in folklore, and

[1] Cf. especially the preface to *Archie Armstrong's Banquet of Jests* (Cambridge, 1872), pp. vii–viii, quoted by Cook in a footnote to p. 12.

[2] Even von Arx, in his study of Sabadino mentioned above, thinks the story is authentic, listing it with those he considers "mehr oder weniger wahrscheinlich historisch." Cf. p. 772, n. 2.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

was later fathered upon the notorious court jester of the 17th century, Archie Armstrong, and finally was used by Marriott as matter for his poem in the 19th century."[1] Child says: "The source of the story of Mak was probably a folk-tale."[2] Cook alone is unwilling to come to a decision, but among the possible explanations which he suggests for consideration he asks: Does the incident "merely represent an early folk-tale, which from time to time embodies itself in literature, or attaches itself to some notorious individual?" In the light of the fifteenth-century Italian parallels here recorded, this question can now, it would seem, be answered in the affirmative.[3]

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[1] "English Nativity Plays," p. 286.

[2] *The Second Shepherds' Play*, p. 28.

[3] In the Mak story the student of folklore will find a wider connection with popular beliefs in the changeling superstition which Mak's wife pleads in explanation of the sheep's presence in the cradle, and in the relation of the main motive to other folk-tales, such as the *Red Riding Hood* story, in which an animal is made to assume the disguise of a human being in bed.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Modern Greek in Asia Minor. A Study of the Dialects of Sílli, Cappadocia, and Phárasa, with Grammar, Texts, Translations, and Glossary. By R. M. Dawkins. With a Chapter on the Subject-Matter of the Folk-Tales, by W. R. Halliday. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Putnam, 1916.

This book is a notable contribution to the study of the philology and folklore of the Greeks of Central Asia Minor. The first two chapters (pp. 1–214) are devoted to a careful grammatical presentation of the dialects. The value of these chapters for classical students has been pointed out in a review by R. McKenzie in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVI (1916), 406–8. The larger relations of this grammatical research are very interesting and are not sufficiently emphasized by McKenzie. It is a significant contribution to the study of language-mixture.[1] Behind all the Turkish excrescences it is possible to discern a Greek language, common to all the villages, and possessing peculiarities which link it up with Pontic Greek, the κοινὴ διάλεκτος of Asia Minor before the Turkish invasion. The varying susceptibilities of the different parts of speech to foreign influence are clearly displayed, and every stage in the decay of a conquered language is exposed to our view.

The remainder of the book (pp. 215–579) is devoted to 95 folk-tales printed in the original Greek with a translation facing the text. These tales were collected in the village of Sílli (7 tales), in the Cappadocian villages of Ulaghátsh (12), Axó (7), Phloïta (8), Phárasa (32), and elsewhere in Cappadocia in less numbers. As an introduction to this part of the work W. R. Halliday contributes a chapter on the subject-matter of the tales, in which he reviews the whole collection and cites all the Greek analogues accessible to him, as well as certain typical tales from other lands. Halliday's list of collections of Greek *Märchen* is not complete. One notices the absence of the following works (which are of very unequal value): M. P. Bretos, *Contes et poèmes de la Grèce moderne*[2] (Leipzig, 1858); E. Capialbi and L. Bruzzano, *Racconti greci di Roccaforte* (Montaleone, 1885–86); Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Contes licencieux de l'Asie Mineure;* Georgeakis and Pineau, *le Folklore de Lesbos* (Paris, 1894); K. N. Kannellakes (comp.), Χιακὰ ἀνάλεκτα, ἤτοι συλλογὴ ἠθῶν, ἐθίμων, παροιμιῶν (Athens, 1890); Misotakis, *Ausgewählte griechische Volksmärchen*[3] (Berlin, 1889); Pineau, *Revue des*

[1] See an important article by Windisch, "Zur Theorie der Mischsprachen und Lehnwörter," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der k. sächs. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, XLIX (1897), 101–26.

traditions populaires, XII, etc. Reinhold Köhler (*Kleinere Schriften*, I, 365–77) gives an annotated bibliography of all the modern Greek folk-tales published down to 1871. Halliday's labor in collecting parallels to the tales might have been greatly reduced by the use of Köhler; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen;* and Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*. The second volume of the *Anmerkungen*, which appeared in 1915 and continues the annotation of Grimm's collection through the one hundred and twentieth tale, may of course have been inaccessible to Halliday.

The different narrators display a greater or less incapability to tell a good story, and the versions are consequently fragmentary and often unintelligibly corrupt. These faults are increased by the terseness of the style, so that comparison with related forms is necessary to throw light on what is really meant. Dawkins' praiseworthy accuracy in reproducing what he really heard conceals none of these difficulties. In subject the tales have much in common with those current among the Turks, Southern Slavs, and other near Eastern peoples. Halliday denies wholly—due exception being made for the fables—the possibility of their descent from ancient Greek literature. Only one tale, which is more or less of the Polyphemos type, can even be compared to anything in ancient Greek literature, and there is no good reason for insisting on its descent from Homer: see Halliday's remarks, page 217, and add Chauvin, IX, 93 to his references. In this connection one might expect to find mention of J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, which is a study of classical religion and literature in the light of present-day tradition.

Halliday's remarks on the several tales call for occasional comment. The "Bargain with the Hairless [i.e., Beardless] Man" (p. 234) consists in the agreement between master and servant that the first one to lose his temper shall pay a forfeit.[1] Halliday quotes approvingly von Hahn's statement that the "Lying Match" (Dawkins, p. 234) is a "different species of the same genus"; but the "Lying Match" is a contest for a loaf in which the one who tells the biggest lie wins. Halliday's statement can be true only if the "genus" is conceived in the broadest terms, and even then the grouping is not suggestive or helpful. The amusing incident of the boggart which could not be shaken off appears in a broken-down version of the "Bargain"; it is much more frequent in Western Europe than Halliday's one (Irish) parallel would suggest.[2] The "Son Who Feigned Blindness" (p. 236) is really a

[1] See Bolte and Polívka, II, 293, for abundant parallels to this, the "Zornwette."

[2] Bolte and Polívka, II, 422, n. 1; Liebrecht, *Zt. f. rom. Philol.*, VIII, 469; *Folk-Lore*, IV, 400; Axon, *Echoes of Old Lancashire*, p. 210; Sikes, *British Goblins*, p. 111; Blakeborough, *Wit . . . . of the North Riding*, p. 205; Hartland, *English Fairy- and Folk-Tales*, p. 146; Roby, *Traditions of Lancashire*, II (1830), 289–301; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 183; Blake, *Jour. of Am. Folk-lore*, XXVII, 238; Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, Nos. 43, 103; Müllenhof, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 335; cf. *Mitt. d. schles. Ges. f. Volkskunde*, Heft 12, p. 77.

combination of two tales; the episode of the feigned blindness by which the husband learns of his wife's unfaithfulness appears both independently and as a prelude to the wanderings of the corpse of a lover who trusted too implicitly in the husband's pretense. This combination has a very curious history; it seems to have been made in India (in recent times), in Germany by Hans Sachs, and again in Europe by the folk; see Taylor, *Modern Philology* (August, 1917), pp. 226–27. The inclusion of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" (p. 241; add Chauvin, V, 79–84 to the references) under the heading "Didactic Stories" is somewhat surprising. The class entitled "Animal Stories" is even more heterogeneous; fables and *Märchen* are thrown together. The laborious task of collecting the variants of the "Two Daughters" (p. 255), which Halliday refuses to undertake, has been completed by Bolte and Polívka (I, 207–27, No. 24); and for the "Snake and the Magic Wallet, Staff and Ring" (p. 265) one can refer to the same work (I, 464–89, No. 54). The "Underworld Adventure" (p. 274) has been excellently studied by Panzer, in his *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte, I, Beowulf;* Halliday's statement (p. 219) that it is "unfamiliar in Western Europe" is inaccurate. Panzer claims that its theme is that of Beowulf, and notes forty variants from Germany alone. In Panzer's volume one can also find a discussion of the "Strong Man" tales (Halliday, pp. 277 ff.).

As a suggestion of the importance of the collection to the student of comparative folklore, one may note the following selection of familiar tales and motifs: "Get Up and Bar the Door" (p. 231; add Chauvin, VIII, 132); the chastity-testing garment and the Cymbeline motif (p. 237); the "Three Words of Advice" (p. 238; add Chauvin, VIII, 138); Bluebeard (p. 248); "Zauberlehrling" (p. 265); "Schneewittchen" (p. 269); the "Goldenermärchen" (p. 280; add Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*). Three tales belonging to the cycle of the Seven Sages appear: "The Goldsmith's Wife" (Inclusa); "How the Companions Rescued the Princess" (Quattuor Liberatores); "Born to Be King" (Ahmed, which is better known as Schiller's *Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*); for additional references to these tales see, of course, Chauvin, VIII. As Halliday points out, there are very few types of Greek *Märchen* that are not represented in this collection. It is a work of the first importance for the knowledge of Greek *Märchen*, and of great value, therefore, in comparative folklore.

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